

History of the Jesuits

by

Andrew Steinmetz

Here we have one of the most rare sets of books about the Jesuits. I could find but one set on the Internet at this time, here is the listing for that one set:

STEINMETZ, Andrew.

History of the Jesuits: From the Foundation of Their Society to its Suppression by Pope Clement XIV.; Their Missions Throughout the World; Their Educational System and Literature; With Their Revival and Present State. Wood Engravings by George Meason. London Richard Bentley 1848 First edition, extra-illustrated with 75 extra plates, 22 of which are in color 3 volumes, 8vo, marbled endpapers, full gilt-decorated morocco, a.e.g., ribbon bookmarks, by Bayntun Some faint foxing, covers a little rubbed, else a very fine, handsome set.

Bookseller Inventory #14416

Price: US\$ 1500.00 (Convert Currency)

Needless to say the set reproduced on this CD-ROM has not the beautiful deluxe binding and extra illustrations as does the set listed there, but the scarceness of this set was a factor in the price being so dear. I would guess the set reproduced here would have been priced today, 2002, at \$300.00 to \$500.00 on the Antiquarian Book Market.

Having been a Jesuit himself, Mr. Steinmetz writes from firsthand knowledge of the training and preparation of the Jesuit priest for his work in the world. This first hand experience, together with his scholarly research and fearless presentation, makes this one of the most excellent Works on the Society of Jesus ever written. It is with the keenest pleasure that Bank of Wisdom is able to preserve this magnificent Work, and again make it readily available to the reading public.

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom, LLC

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

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

www.Bank-of-Wisdom.com



HISTORY
OF
THE JESUITS:

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR SOCIETY TO ITS SUPPRESSION
BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.;

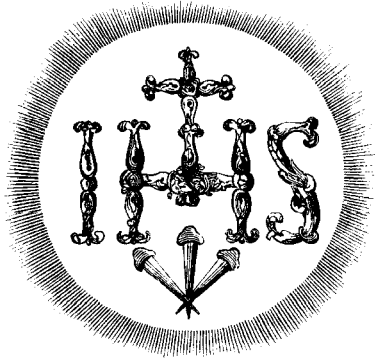
THEIR MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
THEIR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND LITERATURE; WITH THEIR REVIVAL
AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

ANDREW STEINMETZ,

AUTHOR OF "THE NOVITIATE," "THE JESUIT IN THE FAMILY."

WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY GEORGE MEARON.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

1848.

Reproduced in Electronic Form 2002

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

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

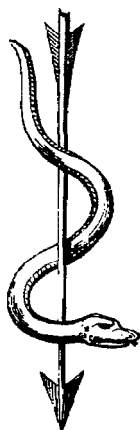
Reproduced in electronic form
2002

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

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

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

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom.



To the Catholic, as well as to the Protestant world this book is offered as some enlightenment on that important subject—the abuse of the religious sentiment. It is a book of facts. The Jesuits themselves, Catholic historians, and Protestant writers, the most impartial, furnish the groundwork. The main subject is connected with the contemporaneous history of the world during the last three centuries, which is brought home to the present times of political unrest and revolutions—and yet hopeful withal. It is a history of Human Nature—errors, crimes, and retribution—political as well as “religious”—and *therefore*, the book is impartial. Connected with no party whatever, my object has been to seek, and find, and boldly to express, the truth—such, at least, as it has appeared to me, after multitudinous consultations. For, intensely interested in the subject,

I have spared neither pains nor expense to collect such information on the subject as would enable me to put forth a decisive work, not only on the Jesuits, but the religious movement in general, which antagonised the South with the North of Europe.

To every mind the history of the Jesuits presents subjects of interest. In their exploits, the churchman, the missionary, the preacher, the educator,—all who possess influence on the minds of men, may find hints and admonitions :—their industry and perseverance are models for all humanity.

They laboured indefatigably, and received their reward in a world-encircling power. From first to last, they were never in obscurity. Like Minerva, sprung from the head of Jove, the Company of the Jesuits went forth from the brain of Ignatius, full-grown, ready for battle. In her infancy she was great—the world feared her when she won her position—the lust of conquest supervened—she exemplified the maxims of the very world which she went forth to reform—and dug the pit into which she fell, discarded by the popedom, for whose defence she was established.

It has been my object to enable the reader to judge for himself in the facts which led to that consummation. I have not indulged in the usual vituperation of the Jesuits : no animadversion will be found in this history unsupported by its fact. Neither have the apologists of

the Jesuits induced me to believe their representations. From the nearly equal mass of rancorous denunciation and defence of the Jesuits, I have endeavoured to arrive at the truth by a meditation of the times in which the Jesuits performed their part, their acknowledged method, and its results to humanity. The books written against the Jesuits would form an extensive library—so would their apologies:—even in the first century of their existence, the Jesuits put forth about one hundred works in defence of their Company or its men.

My object is simply to place a momentous subject in its truest possible light—would that all error were purely abstract—purely “indifferent”—so that we might cherish the *man* to our bosom, whilst we consign his *error* to its fittest abode.

According to the Jesuits themselves the Company was a band of angels; their friends are not less extravagant on the subject:—Vitelleschi, a General of the Company, is somewhat more reasonable and candid.

He compares the Society to the skies: the Society is Aurora; IGNATIUS is the sun; the members are the stars, “during so many years, and in so many lands, shining with the splendour of virtue, eminent and perfect. But if,” he continues, “any *comet* of disastrous result, compounded of the foul and pestilential vapours

of a world too near, should light its deadly flame among so many benign and propitious fires, we should not, on that account, condemn those skies, since even in the beautiful skies of nature we sometimes unwillingly behold the same anomaly." ¹ A bad Jesuit is therefore a comet ; but a comet is a functionary in the celestial systems ; it is a secondary cause, produced and propelled by a great Designer : then, may we substitute this Jesuit for the comet, and the spirit of Jesuitism for the great Designer ?

Thus, then, much has been said in favour of the Jesuits—more against them ; accusations have been denied, countercharges have been brought forward, and even questions of history still remain uncertain, undecided.

I am surrounded with books of every description about the Jesuits. They have all been written with one professed object in view—TRUTH. Truth has been contemplated by all ; but in how many different ways have they gazed at her charms ! Some have peered with one eye, others with half an eye ; some " with spectacles on nose," others with quizzing-glasses ; and not a few with that vacant stare which sees *nothing* ! It is thus with the affairs of the Jesuits ; any and every mind may find something to praise or blame in these extraordinary men, and their extraordinary achievements.

Almost all the authors whom I quote, are in my own possession ; and, in order to facilitate reference, I have preferred to quote works easily obtained,—but still due verification has never been omitted, when the original authorities could be procured. To Ranke I am under great obligations. His “History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century” is a treasury of facts, collected with vast labour, discernment, and impartiality. Mr. Kelly’s translation is so faithful and accurate, that I must also express my thanks to him, for diminishing my labour in the numerous versions I have had to make, from all the languages of Europe, in building up this temple of Jesuitism.

But there is another writer to whom I am still more indebted for the facts of a most important section of this history—I mean the Rev. M. A. Tierney, in his admirable edition of Dodd’s Church History of England. Mr. Tierney leaves us to regret that he did not completely recompose the whole history. What a frightful picture has he exhibited of the English Mission during the reign of Elizabeth and James I. ! Awful, indeed, are the disclosures of the documents now, for the first time, brought to light by this conscientious Catholic clergyman. The English Jesuits of Stonyhurst lent him their documents—apparently unaware of their contents ; and Mr. Tierney made good use of them in their damaging evidence : he laid bare the ghastliness of the Jesuit-scheme in England, and mortally offended the

descendants of Father Parsons and Garnet. The consequence was, that the gentlemen of *Stonyhurst* peremptorily demanded back their documents! And yet, what was Mr. Tierney's motive? He expressly declares his honourable reason, saying: "We should recur to the errors or the weaknesses of the past only to provide more effectually against the failings and the disasters of the future. It is by defending the faults, that we become answerable for the delinquencies of our predecessors: it is by a prompt and honest condemnation of their misdeeds, that we prove ourselves uninfluenced by their example, and establish the integrity of our own views. We are to judge of actions by their nature and tendency, not by the accidental relation in which their authors may stand to ourselves. Perfection is not the privilege of any order of men; and if history, contemplating the events of earlier times, condemns the encroachments of some, the jealousies of others, and the faults of all, it is not for the purpose of reviving the disputes, or embittering the recollections, of the past, but solely with a view to point out those errors which each should be solicitous to avoid."¹

Precisely the same motive has actuated me throughout this history. I have neither a "party" nor a system to uphold.

In the plan of the work, the Missionary schemes of

the Jesuits form a prominent subject—together with their training, their educational system, and literature. The main history of the Jesuits, however, belongs to the first century of the Order; thenceforward it was all retribution and downfall. Still it was my intention to enter deeply into the history of the last years of the Order before its suppression—to evolve the human mind of the age as exhibited particularly in France:—but the formidable *finis* cut short my meditations.

There are ten Books in the History, each being named after one of the *first ten Jesuits*, in the order of their *accession* to the scheme of Ignatius.

Unquestionably the work has been rapidly put forth. Nevertheless, I have no apology to make—no favour to beg. Ample preparation preceded the mere composition: what I undertook to produce, is, I believe, performed. Never will I insult the public by craving indulgence for offering of mine. Let it stand or fall by its merits or demerits. The motive which impelled me to the enterprise, will make me respectful of approval—but callous to vituperation. In the words of the unfortunate Jesuit Southwell—prefacing his “Magdalen’s Funeral Teares”—I may be permitted to say, “Let the work defend itself, and every one pass his censure as he seeth cause. Many carps are expected when curious eyes come a fishing. But the care is already taken, and patience waiteth at the table, ready to take away, when

that dish is served in, and make room for others to set on the desired fruit.”

I shall conclude with the words of Dr. Wiseman :
“ I know not if there be a worse class of slander than that which endeavours to affix the most odious of stigmas upon any one who shall dare to think differently from ourselves upon matters indifferent.”¹

ANDREW STEINMETZ.

Garden Cottage, Fakenham, June, 1848.

¹ Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, p. 185.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF IGNATIUS	To face the title.
FAC-SIMILE LETTER OF IGNATIUS	498

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

IVIMUS ET ROMÆ SCITATUM ORACULA; ET ILLO SIDERE NOS JUSSIT SOLVERE ROMA RATEM	6
GIVE ME BUT IGNATIANS, AND I'LL FIRE THE WORLD WITH ORTHODOXY	141
THE ARCHIMEDEAN SCREW	168
THE NEW AMADIS DE GAUL	202
QUANDO EL PADRE ETERNO ME PUSO CON SU HIJO	232
A THOUSAND NOSTRUMS FOR ALL DISEASES	284
NO ARROW STRIKES THE SUN	330
THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH	351
A MONGREL EARNING HIS SUPPER	353
FLAGELLANTS	413

VOL. II.

PORTRAIT OF PARSONS	To face the title.
-------------------------------	--------------------

VOL. III.

PORTRAIT OF ADAM SCHALL	To face the title.
FAC-SIMILE LETTER OF PARSONS	182
PORTRAIT OF AQUAVIVA	355
PORTRAIT OF RICCI	614

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

THE MIRACULOUS STRAW	209
EFFIGIES R. P. HENRICI GARNETI	210
THE BELGIC LION	369
THE JESUIT-BRAHMIN	377
JESUIT-ALTAR AT SHANGHAI	509
ANGEL PLAYING (<i>Fides</i>) THE FIDDLE BEFORE A DOOR	545
PATIENTIA MATER AMANTUM EST	546
CLAUSI TENEBRIS ET CARCERE CÆCA	547
VÆ! VÆ! VÆ! AH! AH! AH! AH! HEU! EHEU! ETERNITAS	546
QUALES CHOREÆ, TALES ET CHORAUÆ	549
INEXPIGABLE NINTH TORMENT OF THE DAMNED	550
NOVISSIMUS EXIT	574
LE JÉSUI TE SECULARISÉ	589
SUB PARVO SED MEQ	616

ERRATUM.

Vol. II, p. 301, *note*, 1st line,—for “penmanship” read “composition.”

CONTENTS TO VOL. I.



	PAGE
Book I. or IGNATIUS .—THE POPEDOM, RELIGION, POLITICS, MEN AND MANNERS,—IN A WORD, THE CHRISTENDOM OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	1
Book II. or FABER	170
Book III. or XAVIER	234
Book IV. or LAINEZ	285
Book V. or SALMERON	331

BOOK I. OR, IGNATIUS.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE POPEDOM, RELIGION, POLITICS, MEN AND MANNERS,—
IN A WORD, THE CHRISTENDOM OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

IN the moral, as in the physical world, effects suggest their causes. Events, in the history of individuals and nations, are moral effects, whose causes must exist. To trace these events or effects to their most probable causes, enters into the philosophy of history. One of the most remarkable events in the history of the sixteenth century was, not the *establishment* of the Jesuits, but their wonderful success and rapid development. At first sight, their origin is somewhat ridiculous. A crippled soldier in the guise of a pilgrim in rags, after collecting nine companions, reaches Rome, obtains an interview with the pope, offers him his services, his terms are accepted, a company is established, and, within sixteen years, this company is spread all over the world, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; dividing into twelve provinces a regiment of a thousand veterans, with a hundred colleges for their head-quarters, numberless entrenchments

View of the
subject.

in the walled cities of the Christian, or flying camps in the wilds of the cannibal, influencing, for good or evil, millions of earth's inhabitants. Many causes must have conspired to produce these effects to which the origin of the Jesuits lends, apparently, no adequate interpretation. Another example of rapid development may, however, lessen our wonder, though it will not, perhaps, explain the difficulty.

Mohammed, an ignorant man, as represented, with ten followers, went forth on his mission—and within twenty years from the moment of inspiration, his followers amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand—his sceptre triumphant from the shores of the Indian to the billows of the Midland Sea. The ambassadors, who knelt before the throne of the prophet “outnumbered the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” Without assuming national excitement to be the result of “electric evolution,” (the curious “*Kyffrawd*”¹ of an ingenious modern theorist), Mohammed's *method*, in the evident *circumstances* of his career, fully explains the causes of his wonderful success. War to the death—and fanaticism—in the midst of enervated Asiatics, bore down all before him; whilst the laws he framed for his followers made them at least comfortable in a sensual world—in wealth and strength, long to live, and cry *La Allah II Allah*, and “Mohammed is the Apostle of God.” Here was the “word of God” to the sword of man most desperately united—and the result was commensurate.

Somewhat different was the method of Ignatius of Loyola; the crippled soldier aforesaid, in the guise of

¹ The Geographical Progress of Empire, &c., by Rev. T. Price, 1847.

a ragged pilgrim, with his nine companions. Listen to the patriarch—the “man of God”—for his words will not beseem a soldier, though crippled and in rags. To his followers *he* said:—

The method
proposed by
Ignatius.

We are the company of Jesus. Under the banner of the Cross we do battle for God, and serve the pope, his vicar, on earth. You must vow perpetual chastity. You will have to labour for the advancement of souls in the way of salvation, and for the defence of the faith,—by public preaching, by the ministry of God’s word, by “Spiritual Exercises” in which you shall be duly initiated, and by works of charity. The young and the ignorant shall be the special objects of your ministry. You shall have but two objects constantly before you—God, and the design of this institute,—which you must promote with might and main, as the end proposed to you by God Almighty. But, observe, each member must confine himself to the grace vouchsafed to him, and the rank of his vocation: no one must aspire beyond his intellectual and spiritual powers, lest he be misled by the zeal of ignorance. Consequently the rank that each shall obtain, the functions that each shall perform, will be left entirely to the judgment and discretion of the Head who shall be chosen to govern the company. This Head shall be elected by the majority of votes; and the election will invest him with the right of drawing up the constitutions or statutes of the company; but the whole right of command shall be vested in the Head. There is one point of immense importance to which your attention is imperatively called. All the members must know, not only in the very threshold of their probation, but as long as they live must daily bear in mind, that the whole

company, and each member thereof, must fight in faithful obedience to our most holy lord, the pope, and his successors. Doubtless, all the faithful of Christ owe obedience to the Roman pontiff as their head, and the vicar of Jesus Christ ; but *we* have judged it expedient, in all humility, and perfect self-denial (besides the common bond aforesaid), to bind ourselves by a *special* vow to go whithersoever the pope shall be pleased to send us for the advancement of souls and the defence of the Faith. Without excuse, without a moment's hesitation, whether he send us to the Turks or other infidels, even to the Indies—to heretics or schismatics—in a word, to any and every place, without exception. In conclusion, you need not be told that all must vow obedience to the head of the company. Of course, all must vow perpetual *poverty*.¹

For God—for the Pope—for the Company :—a special vow of obedience to the pope :—absolute power vested in the chief of the company to whom obedience is vowed ;—chastity and poverty, the additional vows of each member—public preaching, spiritual functions, works of charity, and a prospective glance at “colleges,”—such are the broad ways and means of the institute whose expansion was so wonderful. Assuredly they are not adequate to account for that wonderful development. Something similar, if not identical, had existed, and still existed, in the various institutions of monks—the Orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Benedict. The design or scheme of Ignatius was not entirely original—unless we confine the peculiarity of his institute to

Three probable causes of his success.

¹ See the Bull establishing the Jesuits, *Litt. Apost. Paul III. Soc. Jesu Approbatio*.

the fact that the Jesuits were to be papal emissaries scattered over the world,—emancipated from convents, and yet essentially monks, by the obligations of their vows. But the pope could always insure the services of the monks : they were always ready to obey the Holy Father. Such being the case, why was this new order established ? And being established, how are we to account for its wonderful success ? It is evident that the secret of this Founder's success is not contained in the proposals of his institute : there was nothing in them likely to captivate, by novelty,¹ the admiration of the pope—for even the promise of obedience to his holiness was but a promise depending upon individual dispositions for its complete fulfilment. Still, the fact of success suggests, at once, three probabilities—that Ignatius was an extraordinary worker—that circumstances favoured his scheme—and that the state of the world at that time was exactly the medium best adapted to facilitate his advancement—like the peculiar fluid in which planets revolve round about their centres. Therefore, as in the case of Mohammed, we have to investigate the circumstances in which Ignatius went forth to fight, and conquer, and raise a shrine whereat to receive ambassadors from all the quarters of the habitable world, “outnumbering the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” These circumstances may give the force of originality to the scheme of Loyola, or present its results as those of a skilful adaptation of old materials. The investigation must begin with the sixteenth century—some forty years before the rise of the Jesuits. The popedom—religion—politics—men and manners—

¹ Ribadeneyra, the Jesuit, *proves* this in his “*Tratado—De la Compañia de Jesus,*” which will be noticed in Book III. of the present work.

in a word, the Christendom of those times must be understood, ere we accompany Ignatius and his followers in their wondrous expedition, sailing forth from the Apostolic port to invade the universe, under the most favourable auspices.



Ivimus et Romæ seitatum oracula ; et illo
Sidere nos jussit solvere Roma ratem.¹

Ever memorable in the annals of art, science, and politics, the sixteenth century is equally remarkable for the position successively occupied by the popes of Rome. Alexander the Sixth began the century. He bought the popedom ; and was fiercely ungrateful to the cardinals whose ambition and avarice he tempted. His whole pontificate exhibits an unequalled career of private vice and public atrocity. But Alexander was unquestionably a man of talent : his

Alexander
the Sixth.

¹ *Imago Primi Sæculi Soc. Jesu*, p. 46.

reign was prosperous. It is difficult to decide how far we are to hold the pope guilty of those public crimes in which his son, Cæsar Borgia, was most deeply concerned. The son was ambitious ; the father was intent on the aggrandisement of his house :—let them share the infamy of their crimes. Their aim was to put down the aristocratical factions of Italy. That was the age when monarchs became jealous of rival power, and were struggling to crush the worms of pettier tyrants who crawled within their precincts. Dreadful times for aristocrats were those of Pope Alexander ! His terrible son, Cæsar Borgia, was one of those many historical characters to whom ambition and fierce desires make all things lawful—such characters as throng on the page of history which is condemned to narrate the glorious deeds of the sixteenth century. Cæsar Borgia could brook no rival. His own brother stood in his way ; he had him murdered one night, and thrown into the Tiber, They had both just supped together at their mother's ! Their father, the pope, entirely connived at the dreadful parricide—for he undoubtedly dreaded the same fate from his ferocious son.¹ Cæsar Borgia killed his father's favourite Peroto—killed him beneath the very pontifical mantle ; the victim clinging close to his patron : the blood spurted on the pope's face. Cæsar Borgia triumphed in his crimes. Rome, and the States of the Church, bowed to his sway. Think not that he lacked what many did think, and many still may think, redeeming qualifications in his dread depravity. Of surpassing beauty, and wonderful strength of arm, was this blood-thirsty villain : in the bull-fight, he would

¹ "Connivente prorsus ad immane parricidii scelus patre pontifice, qui et ipse vim sibi afferri ab efferato filio procul dubio metuebat."—*Panvinius, Alex. VI.*

strike off the brute's head at a single blow. And he was liberal-handed withal—not without traits of magnanimity,—as if to prove, for the shame of humanity, that the most venerable virtues, or what seem such to the world, are not necessarily estranged from the most detestable vices ; for, as we have seen, he was bloody, and Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar needed gold, and had enemies : every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath ; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach were taken off by poison. There was but one spot where such deeds were possible ; that spot alone where unlimited power, and the highest spiritual authority, were united in the same individual : this spot Cæsar occupied. Even monstrosity has its perfection. Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things ; but none ever carried them to such a pitch : Cæsar was “ a virtuoso in crime.”¹ The reader will be surprised, doubtless, to hear that this man was made *archbishop* of Valencia, and a *cardinal*, by his father. “ He showed himself worthy of such a father,” says the Jesuit Feller, “ by his guilty passion for his own sister Lucretia, and by the murder of his elder brother, who was his rival.”² The same authority calls him “ a monster of debauchery and cruelty ; ” and every historian is of the same opinion as to facts, a few of which have been given.

Respecting the indirect influence of the great, by position or genius, on the mass of men, experience attests that the mere rumour of their guilty lives is

¹ Ranke's vigorous expression — “Cæsar ist ein virtuoso des verbrechenens.”
I. p. 52.

² Biog. Univ. Alex. VI.

sufficient, without actual proof, to supply those samples to which profligate hearts yearn to conform. Truly or falsely were the blackest crimes laid to the charge of Alexander the Sixth, it mattered little; the influence of those rumours, with the conduct of his hideous son (whom he idolised), before them, was necessarily disastrous to the morals of the age. Was it not believed that the pope had purchased the tiara? and did not opinion find in his subsequent conduct facts which tallied with that incipient simony?

The influence of example.

“He sells the keys, the altars, Christ himself:
By right he sells what he has bought with pelf.”¹

Every crime was attributed to him—murder, assassination, poisoning, simony, and incest.² “He played during his whole life a game of deception; and, notwithstanding his faithless conduct was extremely well known,” says Machiavelli, “his artifices always proved successful,”—a proof that decided success proves not the decided integrity of schemes. Oaths and protestations cost him nothing, says the same authority; never did a prince so often break his word, or pay less regard to

¹ “Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.”

² An epitaph was written for Lucretia, his licentious daughter, as follows:

“Here lies Lucrece, a Thais in her life—
Pope Sixtus’ daughter, daughter-in-law, and wife.”
“Hic jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.”

This epitaph has been attributed to Sannazarius, but I have been unable to find it among his works: the following epigram, on the same subject, is certainly his:

“Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus?
O fatum diri nominis: hic pater est.”

Sannaz. Epigram. l. ii. No. 4.

his engagements. This was because he so well understood this chapter in the art of government, adds the political philosopher, with wonderful complacency.¹ Possibly Alexander the Sixth was the model of Machiavelli's *Prince*—the all-famous *Principe*—that *gospel-book of the sixteenth century*.

Alexander the Sixth has thus been universally denounced: Catholics and Protestants have united in blasting his memory: the Jesuit Reeve styles him "the infamous Borgia."² Some there are who speak and write of his vices and crimes with a sort of gusto, because they seem to reflect on the religion of Catholics. Cruel, unjust, absurdest of imputations! Who charges the religion of Protestants with the vices and crimes of Henry the Eighth? It is not the religion of Catholics that explains the impurity of an Alexander's guilt, but the position of the popedom in the sixteenth century. Such a character at the head of the faithful—such a striking deviation from moral rectitude, even assuming him to have been slandered in some points,—was more to be lamented on the score of inconsistency. It was a sad position for "the successor of St. Peter," "the head of the church," "the vicar of Christ." But was it not, somehow, a natural position for an absolute monarch, as the error of the church permitted the father of the faithful to become, when the poverty (so beautiful and consistent) of the apostolic brotherhood first vouchsafed to humanity was no more? This was the prime error of

The prime error of the church.

¹ Il Principe, c. xviii.

² Hist. of the Christian Church, p. 428. Why is the title S. J. (Societatis Jesu) omitted in the title-page of *this* Jesuit's book? See Dr. Oliver's Collections, p. 173.

the church—the error on which all others hung flapping to and fro as the winds of the passions listed—on a sunny sea of temptation. Temporal power assumed or received by the spiritual guides of men, was contrary to the will of Him who sent them forth to be “ministers” —servants, not to “exercise dominion.”¹ In open defiance of the sacred counsel, the shepherd of the flock became a prince of many people, even as “the princes of the Gentiles,”—and how could the promise be kept, that “the gates of hell should not prevail against the church,” if its very head was in direct contravention of the most urgent of these conditions, *all* of which were to be complied with to eventuate that fulfilment? And, alas! how fearfully did the popes do as “the princes of the Gentiles!” They were kings—and the vices of kings had long ceased to be exceptions to the general rule; if not a matter of course, these vices were certainly a matter of notoriety. Long before Alexander VI. there had been popes of reprobate character, and yet enjoying, as heads of the Christian Church, the name and prerogatives of sanctity. But who could deem holy that Urban VI., who, to glut his revenge against those cardinals who opposed his election, had them tied up in a sack and drowned in the sea of Genoa?² Who could deem holy that Boniface VIII., of whom it was truly said that he entered the papacy

¹ “But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant—even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.”—Matt. xx. 25, *et seq.*

² “Quibus dum Genuam pontifex defertur, ex septem cardinalibus Nucerie captis, quinque saccis involutos, in mare demersit.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 206.

like a wolf, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog,—the terror he lived of all kings and nations, and an insatiate lover of gold? ¹ In the ages of faith flourished these “vicars of Christ.” Verily, notorious and infamous crimes have immortalised the memory of popes. And early did the human mind shrink back, horror-stricken at the awful inconsistency. Even in the fourteenth century, when men had scarcely dreamed of shaking off the bonds of superstition—in the age of vagabond pilgrimages and hobgoblins—it was one of the first glad tidings of coming freedom, when the earliest promoters of literature, in bold and daring numbers, sang the crimes and punishments of lawless, godless popes. In the realms of woe eternal, the genius of poesy found them. Ineffectual wails, unsatisfying torments, embodied the poetic conception, the infernal merits of those who abused the sacred sentiment of religion in the human breast, to suit their selfish purposes, their guilty passions: at the sight of whom Dante invoked the name of *Simon Magus*, and sounded forth his terrible trumpet.² Pope Anastasius in the deep abysm by an

¹ “Moritur hoc modo Bonifacius ille, qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare regna et auferre, pellere homines ac reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum undique conquisitum plus quam dici potest, sitiens.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 187; *Leti, Vit. de Sist.* V. i. 15. A curious anecdote is related of this pope, by the same honest Catholic: “We certainly know,” says Platina, “what he said to Prochetus, the Archbishop of Genoa, who was kneeling before him on a certain Ash-Wednesday. For whereas it is customary for the priest on that occasion to say, ‘Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt return;’ Boniface exclaimed, substituting the words, ‘Remember, man, that thou art a *Gibelline*, and with the *Gibellines* into ashes shalt return;’ whereupon he flung the ashes into his eyes, and not on his head, as is usual.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 186.

² “O *Simon Mago*, O miseri sequaci,

Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate

Deono essere spose, e voi, rapaci,

Per oro e per argento adulterate;

Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba,” &c.—*Infern.* c. xix.

inscription he recognised,¹ whilst his church on earth, as he found her, was "sunk under the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth." In hell he found Nicholas III. planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place—to be in his turn relieved by Clement V., *un pastor senza legge*, a lawless shepherd.² The milder spirit of Petrarca is roused on this subject of Roman depravity, to a higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon—

"L'avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco
D'ira di Dio, e di vizj empj e rei
Tanto, che scoppia; ed ha fatti suoi Dei
Non Giove e Palla, ma Venere e Bacco."³

To him, Rome is a fountain of grief, the dwelling of wrath, the school of error, and the temple of unbelief. He pours forth with wrathful energy every epithet of disgrace against the *putta sfacciata*—the unblushing thing of iniquity.⁴

Catholics easily account for their devotion to the holy see, in spite of its historical abominations, which, however, very few of them are aware of —their accredited histories in common use, "with permission of authority," veiling the subject with painful dexterity. When the matter is alluded to, a specious argument, with its clever distinctions, satisfies at least the bold propounders of theory against fact. They will tell you: we distinguish the *holy see* from the *court of Rome*. The pope, when representing the former in the spiritual

The holy see
and the court
of Rome.

¹ Inferno, c. xi.

² Ib. xix. 83.

³ Sonn. xv.

⁴ Sonn. xvi.; Rosc. Leo X. ii. 84. See also, Rosetti, *Disquisit. passim*.

government of the church, cannot err, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, and having received his impeccability, in that capacity, from Christ, when he said: "*I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.*" And when the pope goes astray, it is as prince of the *Roman Court*—the famous, or rather infamous, *Corte di Roma*—which is subject to all the passions, to all worldly interests, all the maxims of state policy, so often pernicious in their results—all the tortuous shifts of hireling machinations—the urgency of war—revenge, secret and public—display, pomp, factions, cliques—in fine, to all the passions notorious and infamous in the worst rulers of men.¹

Why not, then, elect two popes? Let one be king of Rome and its court. Let the other be *Dairi*, as in Japan, only concerned with spirituals—faith, morals, bulls, and dispensations. By such a plan we might almost go back to the apostolic simplicity of church-government. The present time urgently requires something of the sort: already we begin to see how impossible it is, in spite of splendid promise, for a pope of Rome to shake off utterly his ancient self.²

What the present time requires.

¹ Leti, Sisto V. lib. i.

² There is an old prophecy, known perhaps to the learned of the Catholic church, under the name of *Prophetia Malachia*, professing to give, by symbols, the characteristic of each successive pope or his pontificate. The symbol of Pius IX., the present pope, turns out to be very striking; it is *De balucis Æthurriæ*, that is, *out of the drinking-pots of Etruria*. Perhaps some will find it as difficult to accord the "promises" of the present pope with what he can, or means to do, in the way of "regeneration," as it is to explain the meaning of his mysterious motto, as conceived by Malachy at least It is, moreover, very curious to find that there will be only *eleven* more popes! At all events, there remains only that number of symbols. Whether we are approaching the end of the popedom, or of the world so nearly, is the serious question. However, after the last motto, we are told that "the Roman Peter will sit in the last persecution—and the tremendous judge will judge his people—Finis—the End." See the Jesuit Arsdckin, *Theol. Trip.* p. 78.

The disreputable characters of the popes interfered not with their spiritual pretensions—their power over the nations of earth and her princes. Those pretensions have sent down their names to posterity, coupled with the humiliation of kings and potentates, impelled by “public opinion” which was guided by the superstitions of the age, to kiss the hand that hurled them to the dust. Public opinion was led away captive by the arts which practised on the religious instinct of men. The acknowledged Father of the Faithful, Vicar of Jesus Christ, Temple of the Holy Ghost, and Keeper of the Keys of Heaven and Hell, triumphed aloft on the clouds of Public Opinion. That was the fact—the natural fact—for it is absurd to suppose that such spiritual domination could be simply usurped. It was the accumulated result of skilful management; and was finally dreaded, if not universally revered, or conscientiously conceded. The arms of that power were forged on the anvil of superstition, in the midst of barbarism—midnight darkness of mind. Scarcely remarkable in the first ages of the church, the See of Rome continued the struggle for supremacy over other Sees: but from the beginning of the seventh century to the middle of the eighth, the bishop of Rome was acknowledged the Head of the Church. From that period to the middle of the eleventh century, he was not only the Head of the Church, but a temporal prince of Italy:—and thenceforward to the present time, the pope has been the “Vicar of Jesus Christ,” and sovereign of the ecclesiastical states of Italy, with more or less of “temporal power” in other kingdoms, according to circumstances.¹

The source of
papal domi-
nation, and
its expansion.

¹ Zopf, t. i. 357.

Gregory VII. led off the band of fulminating pontiffs. He founded his domination with these words: *I excommunicate thee*. With these words the old man changed the face of his world. With this weapon he forced kings to yield to the pope those domains destined for the support of his clergy and his own comfort and consolation.

Soon these papal troops were cantoned in every quarter of Christendom, whilst all the property of the monks — domains vast and well cultivated — became the appurtenance of the sovereign pontiff. Wherever priests were found they were the subjects of the pope. The wealth of Europe, from bound to bound, went to fill the coffers of the Vatican, and Gregory, the universal monarch, had, so to speak, a foot in all the kingdoms of Christendom. The clergy, the popedom, Italy herself, became, by a single stroke, the central point of Christian Europe; thenceforth Rome was the common country of the priesthood. This vast ecclesiastical confraternity, receiving directly from the Vatican their power, their splendour, their fortune, no longer belonged to any king or country. Rome gave the law to the world.¹ As a set-off against this splendid domination of the popedom, we are told that the papal power held in check the tyranny of kings, protected the weak by mysteriously overwhelming the strong in those darksome days of man's troublous history. The proofs of this assertion are required—proofs plain and unequivocal—bereft of the tinsel of poetry or the clap-traps of rhetoric. The stern page of history declares that popes have rarely interfered in the wicked concerns and encroachments of kings, when *ecclesiastical prerogatives* were not at stake.

¹ Foscolo, Dante e il suo Secolo. Seelt. Op. i.

The Emperor Henry IV. was deposed by Gregory in 1076 ; Frederick I. was deposed by Alexander III. in 1160 ; Otho IV. in 1211, and King John of England by Innocent III., and Innocent IV. deposed Frederick II. in 1245. These facts seem to announce that the successors of Gregory possessed somewhat more than moderate power ; but what Gregory gained by spiritual arms succeeding popes expanded in a manner more in accordance with that of "the princes of the Gentiles."¹ Alexander the Sixth, more than any, "proved to the world what a pope was capable of doing by means of men and money."² His whole pontificate was spent in vice and spoliation and murder. Still he was endured by the Catholic Christians of those times ; he died in prosperity, his coffers filled with more than a million of golden ducats. He died by poison, as is commonly believed. He coveted the wealth of certain courtiers and cardinals, and resolved to poison them at a feast to which they were invited. The poisoned wine was given to himself by mistake : he lingered awhile, and died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the eleventh of his pontificate, A.D. 1503.³

¹ The reader has been reminded of the positive command of Christ to his apostles, touching "temporal power." The following piece of claptrap by a modern Catholic writer is as curious as it is absurd : "If he (the pope) had remained a simple individual or private subject, he could not have enjoyed the liberty necessary for the discharge of his duties as head of the universal church. The circumstances, therefore, which raised him to the rank of a temporal sovereign, are to be attributed to the dispensations of a wise Providence (!) who regulates events for the good of religion ; who saw how necessary it was that the sovereign pontiff should have temporal power enough to be independent (!) but not too much to divert him from the discharge of his spiritual functions, and gave him exactly (!) that moderate power." *Dublin Review*, xi. The words of Christ are, "It shall not be so among you." *Matt. xx. 25, et seq.*

² Machiav. *Il Principe*, xi.

³ *Panv. Alex. VI.* The case of the poisoning has been denied : but not
VOL. I.

Whilst we shrink from reproaching his religion with his crimes, the fact of such a man being the head of the church, and suffered to remain so, is highly characteristic of the age. Nor was he deficient in those other qualifications in which that age, like every other since that time, delighted; his vices seemed to be compensated by talents by no means vulgar. He was fluent of speech, had a good memory, great application, and a natural fund of eloquence and persuasion, which proved to be the ruin of many. His art of captivation was irresistible. Better than any man of his time, he could accommodate himself to all, adapting his conversation with great dexterity, according to circumstances,—pleasant subjects for the gay, serious topics for the grave. The care and government of the Christian republic occupied his deliberations with the cardinals. With kindness and patience he subdued and fettered his opponents. The most implacable of his enemies he converted into his staunchest friends. At the destruction of the many barons whom he sacrificed, no public cry of indignation was heard, no insurrection occurred; he obviated resistance by his presence in every transaction, and in important matters he confided little in others.¹ Enough in these sterling qualities to account for Alexander's prosperity. He was remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, and indulged but a short time

Alexander VI.
a man of the
sixteenth cen-
tury.

satisfactorily. See *Rosc. Leo X.* i. 460, for the authorities; and Ranke for a very interesting extract from Sanuto, touching the fatal supper. *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 339, App.; Sannazarius, a contemporary, wrote us follows:

“Mirum, si vomuit nigrum post fata cruorem
Borgia? quem liberat, coquere haud potuit.”

Epigram. ii. 30.

¹ *Panv. Alex. VI.*

in bed. He admired and cherished the arts ; he punctually paid the pensions of learned men, the stipend of his soldiers, and the wages of his workmen.¹ Such a line of conduct was decidedly calculated to make and insure many friends ; vice is commonly winked at when it is not accompanied by meanness and insolvency. Alexander's brain was certainly one of extraordinary vigour and texture : it remained unimpaired to the last.² Nor was this "infamous Borgia" (to borrow the Jesuit's epithet) devoid of *professional* instinct. He issued "a pompous Bull" to authorise the kings of Spain and Portugal, at their request, exclusively to hold their contingent possessions in the New World, "with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages by the ministry of the Gospel."³ If this was really Borgia's motive, it proves, apparently, that although horrid vice was his nature as a man, clerical zeal was his instinct as a pope, and that the things are not incompatible. It is sometimes difficult to account for certain facts without assuming this probability. In effect, Alexander the Sixth blended spirituals with temporals—the spirit and the flesh—to an uncommon degree ; in a picture, painted for him by Pinturicchio,

¹ Panv. Alex. VI.

² Rosc. Leo X. i. Combe, the phrenologist, has pictured and spread Alexander's skull all over the world, to "illustrate" the horrid "animal propensities," but decidedly it had other "bumps" not to be sneered at. His *position and profession* were his spiritual ruin. No "developments" are to be despaired of if we only learn to manage them. Nature can never be contrary to the Christian's duty. It is curious to note similar "developments" in Leo X. ; certainly by phrenology, *sweepingly applied*, Leo and Alexander should rank together.

³ Reeve, Jesuit, *ubi supra*, p. 428. This was considered a *bonâ fide* grant, or at all events acted upon as such, by the Spanish king subsequently, when he instanced the Bull in his complaint against Drake for plundering his ships in his papal seas. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 112, Camden, an. 1580. See also Pereira, Pol. Ind., l. i. c. x.

the beautiful *Julia Farnese*, his mistress, is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin Mary, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of adoration!¹ This fact is strikingly characteristic of the man whose conduct must necessarily have had immense influence on the Christendom of those days.

Two other facts are not much less remarkable. Alexander made many cardinals for "a consideration" in money; and he actually gave a refuge at Rome to the *Marranos*, or "converted Jews," expelled from Spain—thereby mortally offending the Catholic king. What a noble instance of primitive toleration, perhaps you exclaim: but the fact is, Alexander took advantage of Ferdinand's tyrannical bigotry to increase his own revenue: he derived a large revenue from a capitation-tax which he imposed on the unfortunate children of Israel! Money paid for everything in the Holy City.² Panvinius, a Catholic historian, who wrote about sixty years after Alexander's exit, thus sums up the pope's character. His political talents were thrown in the shade by his more than Punic perfidy, his dismal

¹ Roscoe, *ubi supra*, i. 196. This Julia Farnese was sister to Alexander Farnese, afterwards *Paul III.*, pope of Rome. Amongst the credited rumours of those times, it was said that Farnese, her brother, bargained for his cardinal's gown from the pope, with his sister's honour—*Alexander Sexto ad usum pro rubro galero dedit.* Sleidan and Vergerius evidently fished in the muddy pools of scandal. However, rumours are historical influences, and they tend to account for events, or at least the opinions of men touching events. It was the same *Paul III.* who established the *Jesuits*. It had been better for the *Jesuits* had their origin been sanctioned by the good Pope Adrian VI., whose character none but bad *Catholics* impugned.

² "Omnia venditarentur, nihilque pecunie negaretur . . . Magnum quoque vectigal ex his quos vulgus Maranos vocabat, à rege Catholico ex Hispaniâ pulsos, et ab se Romæ, magnâ cum ejus regis indignatione, susceptos, colligebat." —*Pann. Alex. VI.*

cruelty, boundless avarice and rapacity, and his ever-craving desire of acquiring power for his son, *per fas et nefas*, without a scruple at the means employed. When not engaged in business he gave himself to every kind of pleasure, without exception. He was particularly addicted to women, and had four sons and two daughters. Vannocia, a Roman lady, was the chief of his mistresses. His favourite entertainments were comedies and other pastimes; and he would often take his stand on the Mole of Adrian, on festive days, to see the masks as they passed.¹ He gave a magnificent equestrian display, and a hunting party on the Vatican, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. Never before had cut-throats and assassins enjoyed more licence: never did the people of Rome possess less freedom. The number of informers was immense: for the slightest murmurs or malediction the penalty of death was awarded.² Footpads swarmed in every street: bandits in every highway: it was unsafe to walk the city by night, or the suburbs by day. Rome was become a general place of execution and slaughter,—which the pope permitted to gratify his children and relatives, whom in all things he indulged.³

It is generally admitted that this pontificate is the darkest in the annals of Papal Rome. Details abundant and disgusting, of the general demoralisation of those times, may be found elsewhere:⁴ but that depravity of morals did not *begin*

State of
morals in
the church.

¹ The expression is mysterious—"si quid elegantius in *hominum genere* per viam præteriret."

² This state of things accounts for a fact advanced in favour of this pope—that "during his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered this pope's authority or disturbed his repose." Roscoe, Leo X. i. 195.

³ Panv. Alex. VI. See Roscoe, *ubi supra*.

⁴ Burchard, "Diarium" — Fabre, "Contin. of Fleury's Hist. Eccl.," and

with Alexander's pontificate. Platina, a contemporary, a pious Catholic, befriended and honoured by pope Sixtus IV., adverts with lamentation to the growing evil—the multiplied iniquity. He glances back to times anterior, when immorality, as he believed, deserved and brought down Pagan persecution on the Christian church:—when the ministers of the gospel, pale with envy, puffed up with pride, distracted with feuds, agitated by mutual hatred, seemed better versed in the principles of tyranny than the duties of the priesthood, utterly forgetful of Christian piety, profaned rather than celebrated the sacred mysteries.¹ This vivid contemplation of the *third* century of the Church—when a *saint*² was the bishop of Rome—inspires the historian with prophetic fire, which bursts forth as follows. “But what do we think will happen in these our times, when our vices have increased to such an extent that they scarcely leave us any place for mercy with God? How great is the avarice of our priests, especially of those who possess supreme power! How great is their lust seeking its objects in every quarter; how great their ambition and display; how much pride and sloth; how great their ignorance of themselves and of Christian doctrine; how little religion, and that rather counterfeit than true; how corrupt their morals,

many others give details on the subject; it is sufficient here to call attention to the fact—

“Hoc sat viator: reliqua non sinit pudor.

Tu suspicare, et ambula.”

See his Epitaph in *Sannazar. Epig.* ii. 29.

¹ “Hi enim livore, superbiâ, inimicitii, odiis inter se certantes, tyrannidem potius quam sacerdotium sapere videbantur, Christianæ pietatis omnino oblit, ac divina mysteria profanantes potius quam celebrantes.”—*In vita S. Marcellini.*

² *Marcellinus*, considered a *saint* because he suffered martyrdom, although he was before induced by fear to *worship the strange gods*,—“*deos alienos adoravit.*” *Ibid.*

(even such as were to be detested in profane men or seculars) I need not declare, since they sin openly and publicly, as though they were seeking praise for their enormities! Believe me; and Heaven grant that I prove a false prophet!—the Turk, that foe of the Christian name, will come upon us; a more violent enemy than Diocletian or Maximian. He strikes at the gates of Italy. Slothful and steeped in sleep—more intent upon our private pleasures than the common welfare—we await our universal downfall.”¹

Pius III., Alexander’s successor, reigned six-and-twenty days: his was a nominal pontificate, amidst strife and commotion, resulting from the feuds of the former. Then Julius II. assumed Julius II. with the tiara the sword of Mars, which he wielded like a warrior. His heart was ferocious and wrathful, says the Jesuit Pallavicino:² he retained only the garb and name of pope—inveterate in simony and

¹ In the Italian translation of Platina, published in 1703, *con licenza de’ Superiori*, the whole of this most striking and remarkable passage is suppressed. It was perhaps too honest a testimony against the patrons of abuses, to stand upon record. Here is the original. “Sed quid futurum nostrâ ætate arbitramur? quâ vitia nostra eò crevère, ut vix apud Deum misericordiæ locum nobis reliquerint. Quanta sit avaritia *Sacerdotum*, et eorum maximè *qui rerum potiuntur*,—quanta libido undique conquisita,—quanta ambitio et pompa,—quanta superbia et desidia,—quanta ignoratio, tum sui-ipsius, tum doctrinæ Christianæ,—quàm parva religio, et simulata potius quam vera,—quàm corrupti mores, vel in profanis etiam hominibus (quos seculares vocant) detestandi, non attinet dicere, cum ipsa ita apertè et palam peccent, ac si inde laudem quærerent. Veniet (mihi credite, utinàm falsus sim vates), veniet Turcus hostis Christiani nominis, Diocletiano et Maximiano violentior. Italiæ claustra jam pulsat. Nos desides et somnulosi, interitum communem expectamus, voluptati private potius quam communi utilitati consulentes.”—*Plat. in vitâ Marcellini, in fine.*

“It is certain,” says Muratori, “that the cardinals in those days, instead of electing the best man, as they ought to have done, elected the worst, in favour of human cupidity: the fault of bad example, and of the corruption then prevailing, through which some popes even went so far as to boast of having children.”—*Annali*, t. ix. p. 366.

² “Era Giulio di cuor feroce ed iracondo.”—*Lib. i. c. 1.*

infamous immorality, says Guicciardini.¹ For a certainty by many proofs there was in Julius the greatest ferocity of mind, which neither his age nor his dignity could correct or moderate; he knew no bounds in any of his measures, but was blindly driven headlong by his passions, says Paruta.² He stormed in person, and carried the town of La Mirandola against the French, whom he expelled from Italy. Julius triumphed for a time over his enemies: but it was a significant fact, a prognostic of coming events, when a body of cardinals and bishops cited their pope to appear before a council to answer the charges levelled at his exorbitant pretensions; and, finally, at his refusal to appear, pronouncing a sentence of suspension against the Father of the Faithful. Nor is it less remarkable that these "schismatics" actually "went through all the forms of a legal council, invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, chose a president, and called themselves the legal representative of the whole Church, whom all are bound to obey."³ This event took place in 1512. Of course these presumptuous mortals were severely punished: all were duly excommunicated—deprived of their benefices and dignities. The kingdom of France, whose king, Lewis XII., was their abettor, was laid under an interdict, with direst anathema, by the vindictive pontiff, who forthwith summoned the fifth council of Lateran, "to regulate with great care whatever concerned the state and welfare of the church, the

¹ "Non riteneva di Pontefice altro che l'habito ed il nome—inveturato nella simonia e ne' costumi infami."—*Lib. ii.*

² "Per certo da' molti indicii si pote conoscer in Giulio essere stata grandissima ferocità d'ingegno, la quale, nè l'età, nè la dignità fu bastante di correggere, ò di temperare. Non sapeva in alcuna sua operatione servare misura, ò temperamento; ma quasi cieco era le più volte da gli appetiti suoi portato à precipitare."—*Hist. Vinct. lib. i.* See also Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 83. ³ Reeve, p. 430.

reformation of manners, the extinction of schism, and the restoration of peace amongst Christian princes.”¹
A mere bank-order without proceeds.

All these cardinals were, in the next pontificate, restored to their dignities. It is admitted that their object and hope were to place a good and holy pope over the Christian church ; though we are also told that each of them secretly aspired to the dignity.²

In his difficulties the pope craved succour from Henry VIII. of England, which was granted by the future Defender of the Faith and destroyer of the Church in the “Island of Saints.” In defence of the popedom or its interests, Henry sent an army into France ; but, pressed on all sides, in the midst of his tumultuous designs, Julius died of a fever, produced by mental exacerbation at the failure of one of his political schemes : “for he was greatly ruled by his passions, and continually agitated by his desire of glory, and could not long endure the grief of seeing his designs severely disapproved by all.”³

Like his predecessor, Julius was a character of the age. He knew not what it was to entertain fear or irresolution ; even in his advanced years he possessed that grand quality of manhood, indomitable courage. He made but small account of the princes of his time, thinking he could overlook them all. To the very tumult of a general war did he look with most hopes of gains ; his only care was to be always in command of money, so as to seize the favourable opportunity with all his might :

His qualities
and achieve-
ments.

¹ Reeve, p. 430 ; Dupin, iv ; Hard. Concil. ix ; Mosh. ii. ² Panvin. Julius II.

³ Panv., *ubi supra* ; Paruta, *ubi supra*. It is said that his last words were,—
“*Fuori d’Italia Francèzi—Fuori Alfonso d’Este !*” “Out with the French from Italy—Out with Alfonso d’Este.” Muratori, *Annali*, t. ix. 33.

he desired, as was happily said by a Venetian, to be lord and master of the game of the world. He waited the fulfilment of his desires with impatience, but he kept them confined to his own breast. If we inquire what was the circumstance that enabled him to assume his peculiar attitude, we find it was, above all things, that he was free to avow his natural tendencies, nay, openly to profess them and make them his boast. The re-establishment of the state of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprize: it even considered it a religious one: all the pope's steps were directed towards this one end,—this was the idea that animated all his thoughts; they were, if I may so express myself, steeped in it.¹ Julius succeeded for a time: he made France tremble, drove her armies out of Italy, and overwhelmed the Venetians, though before his time the princes of Italy, and even the poorest barons and most insignificant nobles, regarded the bishop of Rome with indifference in relation to his temporal power.² No man can blame the pope for this ambition, considering him a king elected to defend “St. Peter's patrimony,” particularly as it appears that Julius laboured more for the good of the Church than his own private interest.³ Alexander added to the dominions of Popedom; Julius followed his example: both were politicians adapted to the age when all who had power were striving to secure or enhance it, without a scruple as to the means applied.

If politicians of the Machiavellian school may find much to imitate in the method of Alexander VI. the admirers of art may look with complacency on Julius II.; for he “patronised”

His patronage
of the arts.

¹ Ranke, p. 18.

² Machiav. II Princ. xi.

³ Id. *ibid.*

Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Bramante, if such men be not disgraced by the application of the term "patronised." "A warrior-pontiff as he was," says the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi, ci-devant Jesuit*,¹ "a warrior pontiff, and totally intent on retrieving and extending the states of the Church, it seemed that he cared not much for literature and men of letters; but, man as he was, of a mighty soul and vastest ideas, he could with the same hand wield the sword and foster the arts and sciences. Julius began the erection of St. Peter's, opened a new library, favoured the professors of the fine arts, and the cultivators of polite literature."²

A new era dawned with Leo X., the successor of the warlike Julius. Characteristic was the beginning. On the day of his coronation he gave an earnest of what might be expected from him, by distributing a hundred thousand crowns of gold to the populace. Bembo and Sadolet, the best Latin scholars of the day, he made his secretaries. To the University of Rome he united the most celebrated professors of all countries. Whoever was, or fancied himself a fine poet, an eloquent orator, a polished and elegant writer, hurried to Rome, and found in Leo a friendly reception and liberal rewards. On a triumphal arch at the *Ponte S. Angelo*, a glorious inscription proclaimed to gods and men that all was accomplished:—

"Venus anon was queen—then Mars held sway—
But now *Minerva* rules the better day."³

¹ "After the suppression of the Society, Tiraboschi was knighted by the Duke of Modena. He died in 1794. He will be noticed when I have to portray the *Literature of the Jesuits*.

² *Storia*, tom. vii.

³ "Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora,—tempora Mavors
Olim habuit; sua nunc tempora Pallas habet."

Tirab. ubi supra: *Jov. Vita*, iii.

In these presiding divinities, pointed allusion was made to the very peculiar characteristics of Leo's predecessors—Alexander's licentious court with its Lucretia Borgia, and the warlike reign of Julius. There is, therefore, *history* in that inscription: it was "tolcrated" by the pope, which makes it authentic.

To enlarge on the magnificent pontificate of Leo X. would be here out of place. It kept pace with the revival of the sciences then universal, if the pope's patronage was not rather too exclusive in its predilections. Men there were who saw with regret that the pope took delight in listening to light poetry and jests not always decent, and frequented comedies in which good morals were not much respected. The consequence was, that he brought discredit on the pontifical dignity, and gave rise to suspicions reflecting on his personal integrity. But a greater disadvantage was the fact that the decided preference of the pope for poetry and other light pursuits caused the grave sciences to lie neglected at a time when defenders of the Faith were becoming necessary to the Church, heresy in arms being at the gates of Rome.¹ The Jesuit Andrès is still more explicit on the subject. "The intimate familiarity," says he, "with which Leo honoured the Quernos, the Britonios, Gazaldos, and other poetasters, rather than poets, and the ardour with which he sought the gross pleasure of listening to the most vulgar companies of comedians whom he imported with vast expense from Sienna, greatly diminished the honours which he liberally

¹ Tirab. *ubi supra*. But see Jovius, *Vita*, lib. iv., for a curious disquisition on the score of the pope's morality; and Roscoe, *Life*, ii. 389, for a vindication. Tiraboschi, also, gives a defence in a note to the passage above given.

bestowed upon meritorious men of letters, and the glory that might have resulted to good poets in being invited to his court.¹ A Horace or a Virgil could little value those distinctions which brought them to the level of a Bavius and a Mævius.”²

The political events of Leo's pontificate were in the line chalked out by his immediate predecessors : but they are insignificant in comparison with the moral demonstrations of his times. It is impossible not to identify this pope with the age to which he gave so striking an example.

The man's
nature, the
pope's weak-
ness.

It seems to have been his intention to pass his time cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety by all means in his power. He sought all opportunities of pleasure and merriment, and indulged his leisure in amusement, jests, and singing ;—either induced by a natural propensity, or from an idea that the avoiding of vexation and care might contribute to lengthen his days.³

He was fond of music : he conferred the archbishopric of Bari on Gabriel Merino, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice.

The lowest species of buffoonery gave him delight :—his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favour than by introducing to him such persons as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to excite his mirth.⁴

Such pursuits in a king you would not think criminal : you would only wish he had possessed a better taste—

¹ Roscoe, ii. 179, gives an account of the poetasters alluded to by Andrès. Leo's taste, in this matter at least, was sadly at fault.

² Dell' Orig. t. i. c. xiii.

³ Roscoe, ii.

⁴ Ibid. ii.

more ennobling inclinations: but in "a man of God," as the pope ought to be, you behold them in a very different light. You look within them: you are forced to penetrate beyond their surface, into the heart's deep gulf; and you fear you perceive a dim eclipse of piety: you cannot reconcile outward dissipation with inward "recollection," or communion with God. You turn to the ascetic writers of Rome's church, and every man of them is of your opinion, from Thomas à Kempis, with his "Imitation of Christ," to the Jesuit Rodriguez, with his "Christian Perfection." You dread to seek the facts that will attest, as effects, the moral cause which you clearly perceive. You pause, and ask what was the *state* of that Church whose ruler was such as described by his panegyrists—if such was the head, you ask what were the members?

"What a spectacle," exclaimed right-minded prelates of the Roman court, "what a spectacle does this desolation of the churches present to the eyes of a Christian who travels over the Christian world! All the shepherds have abandoned their flocks, and have left them to the care of hirelings."¹ The incumbents of benefices selected the *cheapest* substitutes to perform their sacred duties: mendicant monks were eager to "suit" and serve. These monks occupied the bishoprics under the title of "suffragans," and held the cures as vicars. To these mendicant monks extraordinary privileges were conceded; they were permitted to perform the functions of the secular clergy—all under the prominent patronage

Ascetic view
of Leo's
habits.

The desolation
of the
Church.

¹ Concil. dilect. Cardinalium. Apud Ranke, p. 18.

of the pontiff. And yet the mendicant orders of monks were completely sunk into a state of total worldliness—that state so vividly described by Platina, as we have already seen—to which we have but to add that “murder by poison, the dagger, the sword, and fire-arms,” was the climax of their depravities.¹ “Woe, woe!” exclaims one of the prelates before alluded to, “Who gives my eyes their fountain of tears? Even those set apart are fallen off; the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Did they perish alone, it were an evil, yet it might be endured; but since they pervade all Christendom, like the veins of the body, their decay must needs bring with it the ruin of the world.”

Did Leo look with indifference on the growing—the *full-grown* evil? Speaking of the Holy Father, men would say “*è ben religioso—ma vuol river*”—“he is religious enough, but *he has a mind to live;*” a poor testimonial for the Father of the Faithful. It is the “but” which gives the *character*. Jovially indeed he passed his days:—at Viterbo hawking, at Corneto hunting, and on the lake of Bolsena fishing. To his favourite resort at Maliana, improvisatori and men of nimble wit thronged to enliven every hour of his joyful days.² And when winter returned, Rome eagerly received the complacent Father,

How Leo
passed his
time.

¹ “Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno, ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schioppetti.” Apud Ranke, p. 19.

² Let the reader reconcile, if he can, with this jovial existence the account debited by the Jesuit Pallavicino, ever eager to defend and flatter the popedom. According to this bold asserter, Leo fasted twice a week, and abstained from meat once a-week, in honour of the Virgin, and every Friday fed on herbs in honour of Christ’s passion; and the Jesuit has the conscience to say,—“Such frequent *maceration* of the senses in a young prince, and in a mind eager for delights, united as it was to the *danger of shortening life*, which is cherished and

to whom she was grateful for her seeming prosperity. The number of her inhabitants was greatly increased ; there was profit for the artisan, honour for the artist, security for all, since Leo had exterminated the bandits and footpads of Alexander's pontificate. All was gladness, animation, intellectual display. The luxurious genius of the pontiff beamed in every department. No cost was too great for spiritual or secular festivals, plays and theatrical entertainments, presents and favours :— nothing was spared—yet something was, apparently, wanting. Giuliano Medici proposed to reside at Rome, with his young wife. “ God be praised,” said Cardinal Bibbiena, in a letter to him, “ for here we lack nothing but a court of *ladies* !”¹ Alluding to one of the pope's houses of pleasure, Bembo thus describes it, in the name of Leo. “ It is exquisitely adapted to gladden and rejoice the soul, owing to its admirable piazza, its many and most beautiful prospects—very commodious and roomy, with large hall and spacious chambers, beautifully adorned with a costly ceiling of gold, and tessellated pavement.”²

Nevertheless, Pope Leo was a “ diligent observer of divine things, and a lover of the sacred ceremonies,” though he did not always maintain pontifical decorum. To the sore distress of his master of the ceremonies he sometimes left Rome, not only without the proper dress, but, as his officer has noted in his journal, “ what is worst of all, with boots on his feet,” —just like any sporting gentleman not at all particular.

His zeal,
luxury, and
venality.

fostered as a sort of divinity by kings, could not have been long protracted, except by the efficacy of the *strongest piety*.”—*Hist. Concil. Trid.* l. i. c. ii. 5.

¹ Apud Ranke, p. 22, and Roscoe, *ubi supra*.

² Pet. Bembo, Epist. l. xiii. 10.

“Desperately fond of pleasure, hunting and fowling, he gave whole days to luxurious enjoyments, the most splendid banquets, and musical entertainments. To raise money, (of which he had spent largely in his buildings, his profuse donations, and war-expenses) he made cardinals for a price, and devised certain offices of state, which he sold.”¹

It is difficult to reconcile this pope’s indulged propensities with that severe religion which befits the Head of the Church : but that was the age of sensual enjoyment ; and far from there being any one among the priesthood to stem the rushing evil, the very court of Rome joined to its sensualism the wildest notions in the matter of doctrine or belief. Men of intellectual tendencies easily frame a conscience to palliate the moral guilt of their passions : at the period in question, the Schools of philosophy endeavoured to discover that the soul of man is *mortal*. Erasmus declares his astonishment at the blasphemies that met his ears : they sought to prove to him out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of men and those of brutes.² Certainly the morals of the age corresponded with no other theory.

The Church
is made a
scandal.

No sudden transformation from good to bad was that state of Christendom. Open Boccaccio’s *Decameron* and behold the mirror held up to the nature of those times—man’s good nature most horribly

¹ Roscoe, ü. ; Ranke, p. 22. “Voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupis effusè deditus, luxui et splendidissimis conviviiis, musicæque magis quàm tantum pontificem deceret totos dies impenderet. Pecuniæ quærendæ causâ (quùm multum ædificiis, tum effusis largitionibus et bellorum usibus, absumpsisset), pretio cardinales aliquot legit, et officia quædam venalia excogitavit, ut cubicularios,” &c.—*Panv. Leo X.*

² Burigny, Life of Erasmus, i. 139 ; Ranke, 22.

perverted. All ranks of society lend their infamy to spice his pages—whose burthen is “the duped husband, depraved and depraving monks,” in an endless round of “laughter holding both her sides.” He anatomises the fourteenth century—and saps the foundations of papal power. For, “what we violently abhor, we may still justly dread : but that which we have learnt to despise ceases to be an object of terror.” His works were subsequently prohibited—but this only drove home the quivering shaft. Men’s minds were alive to the truth of his pictures—and their prohibition was their last attestation. Other writers followed in his track. The Church was made a scandal on the house tops ; her light, if she had any, was decidedly put under a bushel.

Time rolled on :—no amendment. How could the people amend when their teachers and preachers, bishops, popes, monks—all that were “anointed,” rolled in their godless Dead Sea of guilt ? In the council of the Lateran, Pico, nephew of the famous Mirandola, held forth under the sanction of that assembly, inveighing with great bitterness against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition, and misconduct of these ecclesiastics, who ought to have supported the dignity of the Church, not only by their intrinsic merit and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment.¹ If you

The fact attested in the Council of Lateran.

¹ *Fasc. Rer. Expet.* i. 417 ; *Roscoe, Leo X.* ii. 86. Viterbo, General of the Augustinians, made a long speech on the awful state of Christianity : “Can we see,” said he, “without shedding tears of blood, the disorders and corruption of the perverse age in which we live ; the monstrous disorders which reign in morals, the ignorance, ambition, debauchery, libertinism, impiety triumphing in the Holy Place, whence these shameful vices should be for ever banished,” &c.—*Labb. Collcc. Conc. Gen.*, xiv. p. 4 ; *Diet. des Conc.* 275.

doubt the fact, turn to the decree of the eleventh session of the same Council, attesting that the ministers of religion were accustomed not only to live in a state of public concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from *permitting to others* a conduct similar to that in which they themselves indulged.¹

A reformation of morals was needed—but what did the guilty parties to counteract the scandal of their enormities? Why they—the cardinals and pontiffs of the church—resolved to silence reproach by severe denunciations, and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sextus IV., regulations were established for preventing the printing of any work, excepting such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose. Even the penalty of excommunication was held forth against all who should infringe that regulation.²

How they tried to avert the consequences.

The vitality of religion was no more: without even pagan morality, the churchmen of those days engrafted the mythology of Paganism on the Christian faith—such, at least, as they possessed: the abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or enveloped, in the language of Cicero, or of Virgil; and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the Holy Virgin were identified with the divinities of ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was denominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*; the Son, Apollo, or Æsculapius, and the Virgin, Diana.³ The poets of the

Catholico-paganism.

¹ Roscoe, *ib.*

² *Id. ibid.*

³ Roscoe. The same writer gives, from the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus, the specimen of a sermon, preached before Pope Julius II., the cardinals and prelates of his Court. Erasmus was himself present, and his account of the

day naturally imbibed the same spirit, or conformed, with the usual literary cleverness, to the taste of their readers ; for, perhaps, writers are more influenced by the taste of the age, than instrumental in its creation, as is commonly believed. Sanazzaro, the poet, and other writers of the age, constantly refer to the mythology or fable of the pagan world. On all subjects, sacred or profane, the pagan providence of gods innumerable, assumes in their sensual minds the place of that adorable Godhead, which only a simple but enlightened faith finds adequate to bestow every blessing we enjoy. Marullus wrote a series of hymns addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome. Bembo styled Christ a *hero*, and the Virgin Mary, the goddess of Lauretto. Nay, the pope himself, Leo X., tells the kings and princes of

matter will show the extent to which this extraordinary Catholicico-paganism was carried. " The subject of the discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ. The orator commenced with an eulogium on the pope, whom he designated as Jove, and represented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand the inevitable lightning, and regulating the concerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to the death of Christ, he reminded the audience of the examples of the *Decii* and of *Curtius* [from the history of pagan Rome], who, for the safety of their country, devoted themselves to the infernal gods ; nor did he omit to mention, with due honour, Cærops, Menæcius, Iphigenia [pagan worthies of classic story], and others who preferred the welfare of their country to their own existence. In moving his audience to compassionate the fate of the great author of their religion, he reminded them that the ancients had immortalised their heroes and benefactors by erecting statues to their memory, or decreeing to them divine honours ; whilst the ingratitude of the Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him to the cross. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other excellent and innocent men, who had suffered for the public benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and of Phocion, who, without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught ; of Epaminondas, who, after all his glorious deeds, was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal ; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile ; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country, because he had been dignified with the title of the Just."— *Leo X.* ii. p. 88.

Christendom, by Bembo's classic pen, that he was made pope "by the favour of the immortal gods—*deorum immortalium beneficiis*;" and reproaching the *people* of Recanati for the bad quality of the wood they had sent for building the temple of Loretto, he commands them to send better, "lest they should seem to mock with their donation of useless wood, both himself and the *Goddess*."¹

In the prevalence of doctrinal, as well as practical, extremes, there is always a middle course followed by the thinkers of every age. Intellect is more readily disgusted than sentiment: hence the mass of men are constantly the tools of influence, which enslaves them by the feelings. But the intellectual proudly shake off the specious charm—and in breaking the spell, rush to that extreme which sets the usual appeals to conventional *religionism* entirely at defiance. Hence there arose the *Platonists* of those days—so called from the pagan philosopher, whose doctrines seem to approach the ethics of Christianity. The theory of these intellectuals is thus clearly expressed by an ingenious author: "Besides the various systems of ethics, physics, and metaphysics, which may be traced in the writings of Plato, and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many

¹ "Ne tum nos, tum etiam *Deam ipsam* inani lignorum inutilium donatione luisse videamini."—*Bemb. Epist.* lib. viii. cp. 17. See Roscoe, 88; Feller, *Bembo*; Bayle, *ibid.* Sannazarius calls the Virgin, "the certain hope of men—the certain hope of the gods:"

"Tuque adeo spes fida hominum, spes fida deorum."

De Partu Virgin., i. 19.

A Greek, but Christian poetess of old, patched up a Life of Christ from detached verses culled out of Homer: Sannazarius makes Virgil and the Sybils do the office of the prophet Isaiah in a gallant strain.

important points from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the *Platonists* assert the notion of pure Theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the Divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven, and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendour.”¹ The great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect, was no other than Lorenzo de’ Medici, the *father of Pope Leo the Tenth*. His writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists; and his pieces on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the Church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate, the principles of this theology. It was, therefore, natural that the pope himself should be favourable to the *Platonists*, as was generally supposed. Men of talent and learning became the avowed teachers of those opinions, and the inculcation of them was established as a branch of education, in almost every university of Italy. Scepticism and indifference followed as a matter of course; and church-discipline was relaxed. The cause was apparent: but the remedy aggravated the evil. The Church spoke: it was declared by a solemn decree that the soul was immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself.² How could enactments stem the tendencies of an age—the strong

¹ Roscoe, *ib.*

² *Id.* 90. Vth. Lat. Sess. 6.

impulse of society? The greatest sensualism was combined with high intellectual development.

Not alone to the classical enthusiasm of the times is this perversion of sacred things to be attributed. We must not forget the famous "Mysteries," and "Moralities," or religious comedies of preceding centuries. These were under the management of the clergy—and performed by the *people*. Their subjects were all the most solemn mysteries of the Christian faith, tangibly represented, and outrageously familiarised to the "meanest capacities." It was—*religion for the million*. A scaffold was erected with the three stages, one above the other. The highest was Heaven—the lowest was Hell—and the middle was Purgatory. To represent divine anger or displeasure, an organ was placed in "Paradise;" which also served to accompany the choirs of the "angels" in their song. Beneath the scaffold a monstrous dragon was constructed, whose mouth opened and shut as it belched forth the "devils" upon the stage, or received them at their exit. This was to represent the gulf of hell. To enhance the effect, culverins and cannons were introduced, *pour faire noise et tempête*—to make an infernal clatter and roar.¹ God the Father and God the Son, and the Holy Ghost were among the "personages" enacted. The divine persons delivered speeches in octosyllabics. In one of these Mysteries, entitled, *The Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Creation of Man is represented; and we find the following directions:—"Here God takes some mud, and pretends to make Adam; and let Adam and Eve

The "Mysteries," "Miracle-plays," and "Moralities."

¹ *Mystères inédits du XVème Siècle. Preface. Paris, 1837.*

be covered up with a covering, and let God say : Adam, get up," &c.¹

Such exhibitions were universal. They furnished *amusement* to the Christians of these days. All were invited to join in the celebration, which *materialised* spirituals.

In the sixteenth century, however, if the great, the learned, and the priesthood, had paganised their Christianity, as we have seen, what must have been the moral notions of the lower orders? In effect we are assured, whilst the higher classes adopted notions of an anti-religious tendency, the common people were sunk into almost heathenish superstition, seeking salvation in mechanical devotion. What was young Luther's amazement when he visited Italy! At the moment when the sacrifice of the mass was accomplished, the priests blurted out blasphemies in which they denied it! In Rome it was a characteristic of good society to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity. "One passes no longer," says Bandino, "for an accomplished man, unless he entertain some erroneous and heretical opinion of the doctrines of the church."² At court they spoke of the institutions of the Catholic church, of passages of the Holy Scriptures, only in a tone of jesting: the mysteries of faith were held in derision.³ Strange it is that it was at Rome where the mine was sprung, ready

¹ "Cy preingne Dieu du limon et face semblant de faire Adam ; et Adam et Eve soient couvert d' un couvertour, et Dieu die : Adam, va sus, que je le vuoil," &c.—*Mystères*, ii. 5. This curious work should be studied for the sake of its *Church History*. Rome is painted in her sport as much as in her sober sadness and fury. See Sismondi, i. 231 ; Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 416, *et seq.*

² "In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo o buon cortegiano colui cho de' dogmi della Chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ed heretica."—*MS. Life of Paul V.* apud Ranke, p. 22.

³ Ranke, p. 22.

to engulf Church authority in ruin. It was *there* that religious doubt began—or at Florence, or at Venice: it was in these mighty strongholds of Catholicism that the human mind was shaking off all doctrinal subjection—disdaining every mental yoke—“caring for no man.” Catholics admit the fact. “Gay, licentious, incredulous, the mind of these cities made a jest of all things—Christianity, morality, the clergy, and the popes themselves. Its organs were Dante, who hurls popes into hell—Petrarch, who calls Rome a prostitute—and even the monk Baptista of Mantua, who sang the *Loves of the Priests*.¹ Their books, though forbidden by censure, circulated at Rome under Julius II. and Leo X., and were in the libraries of most of the cardinals: Sadolet and Bembo² knew long passages ‘by heart,’ which they amused themselves by reciting.”³ The infamous Pietro Aretino was Leo’s acknowledged friend.⁴

Other important elements of change arrest attention. Nobles and the “Church” had hitherto been leagued together in mastering the people. The latter were now to mount a step in the social creation—*middle ranks* were forming—that ever-powerful “interest” in every kingdom—the very bank

The spirit of transition.

¹ Baptista wrote these verses:

“Vivere qui sanctè cupitis, discedite;—Romæ
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.”

“You who desire to lead a holy life, depart: at Rome, though all things may be done, it is not permitted to be virtuous” But see *Ægl. V.*, ed. 1503. Baptista died in 1516. He had been general of the Carmelite monks, whom he tried in vain to reform; and resigned his hopeless charge to devote himself to literature. Feller, *Biog. Univ.*

² Bembo had been the lover of La Morosina, and *Lucretia Borgia*, Alexander the Sixth’s licentious daughter. It is not quite clear that Bembo perfected his morality as much as his latinity (for which he was famous), when he became a cardinal. The contrary is more probable.

³ Audin, *Luther, Introd.*

⁴ Sismondi, i. 433.

of power, and the nation's heart. Meanwhile, recall the events that had just befallen in the history of man. The Spirit of Transition was walking the earth, apparently wild and reckless, but still guided by that adorable Providence which never permits man to do all the evil he would, and turns his very evil deeds into blessings, or, rather, mitigates evil, and expands good far beyond the intention of its instruments. At the epoch to which we are hastening, Heaven was nearer to earth: enlightenment was about to come down unto men. A momentous strife was about to commence. Man's destinies being suspended—dependant on his will. All might choose; but how many would choose aright? For themselves, selfishly, men seemed to work: but Providence beheld them in their labours—suffered them to work as they listed, but guided results for the universal good. In the strife of selfishness—that is, in the strife of the world—we see nothing but evil whilst we are present at the conflict, and are, perchance, sufferers: but a generation has no sooner passed away, than we perceive how a merciful good God can modify, nay, totally change the effects of evil with regard to nations as with individuals. Abuses grow, fester, and rot in the heart of society. Society, like nature, strives to shake off the slough of disease. In the effort there is suffering; but hope mitigates every human pang.

How to convey in a few words an adequate idea of this period in the sixteenth century—that century of novelties, or revivals of antiquities! Wonderful inventions or improvements in the implements of mind—startling discoveries of unknown regions, peopled with strange brothers of the human family! The discovery of a new planet, in its dim

The sixteenth century characterised.

and distant orbit, produces even in this comparatively enlightened age, considerable excitement; but what must have been the effect of the discovery of a "new world" in the minds and hearts of men, then just announced, in those days of ignorance in the masses, and avarice and ambition in the great? What a subject for speculation! How it absorbed attention—exaggerated hope—multiplied schemes—expanded desire!

On the other hand, the chain of human events from the fourth or fifth century had passed onwards with its links of iron, brass, and silver, and had reached the point whence it must continue its course in gold, or something like it. The revival of knowledge. The revival of knowledge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was only the result of a series: but events which thronged fast and vast in effects, expanded the movement. Any movement in society, when once begun, is sure to find a thousand motives in the hearts of men for its continuance, until another usurps its place in the restless mind of humanity. Expelled from the East by the conquests of the Turks in possession of Constantinople, the learned men of Greece had sought refuge in Italy. Once more did Italy receive the arts from Greece. Pagan Italy had been enlightened by pagan Greece, and now again, Christian Italy was regenerated by Christian Greece.¹ If this fact proves the innate tendency of Rome to degenerate, it also attests the bounty of Providence, which never tires in lavishing blessings on ungrateful and perverse humanity. Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici rose at Florence, the noble, generous, and enlightened lovers

¹ See Roseoe, *Lorenzo*; Spalding's *Italy*, &c. ii.; Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i.; André, *Dell' Origine—d'ogni Letterat.* l. c. xii.; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vols. V. VI.

and benefactors of science. Popes and kings were dazzled by the light suddenly blazing around, and rejoiced in its manifestation, for they did not foresee consequences about to ensue in the misty future.¹ More than five-and-twenty universities in the various capitals of Europe were founded in the fifteenth century; beginning with that of Turin in 1405, to that of Copenhagen in 1497.² The art of printing, rapidly advancing from its rough beginning, soon multiplied the learned pages of antiquity, and students feasted thereon like bees after their winter-sleep. Their minds hitherto had scarcely felt hunger: there had been nothing to sharpen or tempt its appetite; but now, it was an honour to be learned, ignorance had lost its fascination. Men dug up the Herculaneum of antiquity, and feasted on the musty relics. Not like the school-boy at his task, nor the fireless modern commentator at his plodding, were the students of the Revival. *They* drank in the spirit of antiquity as they found it in the perfect page—free, noble, generous, gushing—and they strove to transform themselves into the minds which they so ardently

¹ There was a curious exception. Paul II, pope of Rome, in the middle of the XVth century, became alarmed at the spirit of research and inquiry which characterised the new philosophers. He felt how greatly the rapid progress of knowledge might contribute to shake the authority of the Church; and he considered the devotion of these scholars to antiquity, as a general conspiracy against the state and the holy faith. The academy of which Pomponius Lætus was the head, and *Platina* a member, seemed particularly to merit his attention. All the members were arrested, imprisoned, and *tortured*. One of them expired under his sufferings. The pope declared that any person who should even *name* the academy, either seriously or in jest, should be considered a heretic. The academicians were kept in prison a year, and when released their innocence was not acknowledged. Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i. 405

² The rapid succession of their dates shows the intellectual movement of the age: University of Turin, 1405; Leipzig, 1409; Aix, 1409; St. Andrews, 1411; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Poitiers, 1431, &c.

admired. To them antiquity was unveiled in all its elevated characters, its severe laws, its energetic virtues, its beautiful and engaging mythology ; its subtle and profound philosophy, its overpowering eloquence, delightful poetry.¹

Unquestionably the growing pursuit of knowledge was unfavourable to the spirit of the religion then established : simply because it generated the Spirit of Inquiry. Now it was impossible that the numberless abuses to which I have directed your attention, in the Church establishment of these times, could stand the test of inquiry. Paul II., therefore, who persecuted knowledge in its votaries, was wise in his generation—was consistent. The popes who favoured its pursuit were springing a mine under Rome : they knew not what they were doing.

The spirit of inquiry.

That intellectual extravagance in the matter of religious opinion attended the development of mind is also certain, but it did not result from knowledge in itself. It was the result of a comparison. When the mind was trained to see and judge for itself, it made that dreadful discovery which proves that we have been miserably fooled by our self-appointed teachers and preachers : when we see no correspondence of practice with theory ; when we see even in their theory nothing but flat absurdity, because irrational. Knowledge can never be unfavourable to true religion. To the abuses of religion it is always a death-blow. Privileges and prerogatives advance against it, and strive to extirpate it as the germ of “heresy” and “infidelity.” At the period in question what found the student to feed his intellectual cravings, in the libraries of the monks ?

¹ Sismondi, Hist. View, i. 316.

Absolutely nothing besides the works of ancient Greece and ancient Rome. The legends of the middle ages, amusing, or rather edifying, as they are to our modern sentimentalists, had no attractions for men who were completely sick of fooleries. Action, real action, was the stirring watchword of the times ; good or bad, action was the aim of all. Models were preferred from Plutarch ; “ legends ” were left for the moderns.¹ Existing abuses and inconsistencies disgusted the student with “ spirituality ; ” the concerns of society and nature became his refuge. It was a reaction produced by the system that was doomed most to suffer from the result.

Another cause of this disgust was religious persecution, directed against those who ventured to attack the abuses of the Church. In the beginning of the century John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt at Constance ; Savonarola and his two companions experienced the same fate at Florence, towards the end of the century. The followers of Huss were guilty of great excesses in striving to enforce liberty of conscience at the point of the sword ; but the lot that awaited every “ heretic,” not a courtier at Rome, was certainly calculated to make men desperate. Ferdinand the Catholic introduced the Inquisition into Spain in 1478, to put down all manner of heresy, and scarcely was it established, when two thousand persons, chiefly Jews, were burnt by order of the grand inquisitor, John de Torquemada.²

¹ To wit, Alban Butler (“ *Lives of the Saints* ”), and Kenelm Digby (“ *Ages of Faith* ” and “ *Broad Stone of Honour* ”), works that may be called the *romance* of the popedom, compiled to veil its *history* at the present day, when it would be glad if men would all forget what it has been, and what it has done in the game of the world.

² Zopf. ii. 623. “ The great number of persons condemned to be burnt,

This was very inconsistent conduct for "Christians." They ought to have remembered what their forefathers suffered under the Pagan persecutions. They should have also remembered the *result* of these persecutions—the futility of the attempt to enforce belief. But scarcely had the Pagans ceased to persecute the Christians, than the latter began to persecute each other for "heresy," or differences in matters of religious belief. From age to age similar manifestations called forth similar methods for ensuring orthodoxy ; and although the human mind was destined ever to react against oligarchical authority in the matter of conscience, ever impelled to reject at the hands of man what it can receive from God,—still Rome continued to persecute, continued to defend her system in all its rigid exclusiveness, giving a hideous example to all ages, which we shall see too eagerly followed by those who should have shrunk with horror from the Pagan model.¹

Thus, then, we see something like indifference to the tenets of the Church, combined with a rigid maintenance of "the letter of the law," amidst universal depravity in the pastors of the people ; or, if that term be too severe, a pretty general falling off in the matter of morality amongst the

The political attitude of the popedom.

obliged the prefect of Seville to construct a scaffold of stone in a field near the town, named Tablada. This scaffold was called Quemadero, and still exists. Four statues of plaster were erected on it, and bore the name of the *Four Prophets*. The condemned persons were either fastened to these statues, or enclosed alive in them, and perished by a slow and horrible death."—*Llorente, c. v.*

¹ See Chandler's "History of Persecution, in Four Parts, viz. : I. Amongst Heathens ; II. Under the Christian Emperors ; III. Under the Papacy and Inquisition ; IV. Amongst Protestants." A right good book it is, were it only for its last section, viz., "The Christian religion absolutely condemns persecution for conscience-sake ;" and Chandler proves the proposition most triumphantly. I need not say that his argument is founded on the words of Christ himself.

clergy. This was not all. Of late years, it might be fifty, the popedom had been striving to assume a prominent attitude in the politics of Europe. This was evident to all the princes of the time. It was perhaps fortunate for the popedom, when Leo X. was elected, since he managed to create a sort of diversion to the game of politics, by favouring the intellectual tendencies of the age. Still the memory of the past was not obliterated. The political exertions of Alexander VI., the mad efforts of Julius II., were warning facts to the sovereign states of Europe, which had trembled anon at the sight of the papal sword—France, Venice, and Germany. Whatever movement might arise, likely to curb the pretensions of the Roman court, was sure to meet encouragement from the crafty politicians of the time—and all who hoped to profit by change—always eager to turn the tide of popular opinion,—that mighty Moloch,—against their encroaching, exclusive, and absorbing enemy. For,—

How stood the interesting matter of temporalities—
 “the loaves and the fishes”—in the time of Leo’s
 greatest magnificence? Beautiful to see, and
 highly tempting to taste. Divinely liberal,
 or desperately prodigal in his stewardship,
 no man more than Leo X. ever made so many
 friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness. He
 aggrandised his friends; he lavished wealth upon
 his favourites. It seemed as though the Church
 was honoured—was made beautiful by the tinsel
 of magnificence which the Supreme Pontiff threw
 around her shoulders, and hung upon her members.
 It may have been so; but how defend the human
 heart in such boundless opportunities of enjoyment,—in

The “tempo-
 ralities.”

the midst of such temptations? Consider the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon the cardinals and the great dignitaries of the church. They frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. On the death of Sixtus della Rovere,¹ the nephew of Sixtus IV., in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin, Giulio de Medici, vice-chancellor of the holy see; this office alone brought him annually twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church derived their wealth and dignities. *All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see.* Many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation *by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom.* The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which, though abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome. The example of the pontiff was the criterion of all, in magnificent display. The chiefs and princes of the church vied with each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their

¹ The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to more than 40,000 ducats, although he was so ignorant as not to be able to write or read; to which it is added, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured, that "ab umbilico ad plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere posset."—*Fabron, Leo X.*, p. 287; *Roxcoe, Leo X.*, ii. 440.

apparel, the elegance of their entertainments, the number and respectability of their attendants.¹ Such were the golden days of Leo's pontificate. Splendid indeed in the eyes of the world—admirable beyond expression—enviable without parallel—but the handwriting was on the wall—all might read who had eyes to see, that a judgment was impending on the abuse of the “sacred vessels ;” the utter worldliness of those to whom they were intrusted. And the fatal hour was come—the dread hour of universal retribution, as far as the church was concerned.

The man who could squander away a hundred thousand ducats amongst the populace at his coronation, plainly told the world by that wretched piece of prodigality, that the time would come when his pocket would be empty. Leo never deviated from that first example. Following up that beginning, he had lavished profusely enormous sums on public buildings, on his relatives, his courtiers, and the professors of learning, to say nothing of his buffoons and other minions. About the year 1516, Leo was in want of money. There was a deficit in his treasury.² In a very urgent letter to the king of England, he wrote, saying : “ Since money is the sinew of war, to collect some, I have adopted that plan suggested by Maximilian in his letter, a copy of which I send with certain additions, which appear proper to

Leo is in
want of
money.

¹ Roscoe, ii. 81.

² This is universally admitted. Maimbourg, the Jesuit, adds a reflection : “ His treasury was exhausted by the excessive expenses which he incurred by all sorts of display, which much more suited a powerful monarch of the earth than the vicar of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. ”—“ Qui étaient beaucoup plus d'un puissant monarque de la terre que du vicaire de Celui dont le royaume n'est pas de ce monde. ”—*Hist. du Lutheran.* p. 18.

expedite and facilitate the measure ; so that you may give it your approbation, if you can ; or give me your reasons if you dissent, and suggest a better plan. But I think you will easily acquiesce ; for I know your disposition and liberality.”¹ This letter proves the want of money for political purposes, at least ; so far it is conclusive, if it has no reference to the expedient adopted by Leo to collect money. From all that we have read in the foregoing pages, it must be evident that the pope needed money for other purposes as well. According to Catholic writers, the building of St. Peter’s church was the pontiff’s object in the expedient which we are about to consider. If so, it was an ominous fact that the honour intended for the supposed founder of the Roman see should give occasion to its greatest loss and utter predicament. Without entering upon the controversy, we will confine ourselves to the fact, for that alone is, in this history, of importance. The expedient adopted by Leo was to preach “Indulgences” to the Christian world, which would be “gained” by the faithful by their paying a certain sum of money. To the generality of readers an explanation is required.

“Many of you,” says a distinguished dignitary of the Roman church, “many of you have probably heard, that this word signifies a license to sin, given even beforehand for sins to be perpetrated : at any rate a free pardon for past sins. This is, in fact, the most lenient form in which our doctrine is popularly represented. And yet, mitigated as it is, it is far from correct. For, I fear, many here present will

Catholic
view of
indulgences.

¹ “Deinde, quoniam nummi quasi nervi bellorum sunt, ad eos cogendos eam propè rationem inire nobis placuit, de quà,” &c.—*Bembi Epist.* xiv. 31.

be inclined to incredulity, when I tell them that it is no pardon for sin of any sort, past, present, or future.¹ What, then, is an Indulgence ? ”² The compact and nimble answer of the Jesuit, Maimbourg, shall have the preference to the doctor’s long lecture. “The belief of Catholics,” says the Jesuit, “has ever been that the Son of God has given to his church the power of absolving the penitent sinner, not only from the bonds of his *sins*, by the merits of the passion of Jesus Christ, applied to him in the sacrament of penance ;³ but also from the bonds of the *penalty* which he ought to endure in this world or the next, in order to satisfy divine justice for the sins which he has committed after baptism. This is called an *Indulgence*, and it is never given except in making full satisfaction to God, by the infinite price of the sufferings of his Son, which are offered to him for the payment of that debt. Thus, St. Paul,⁴ at the prayer of the Corinthians, set aside, in the case of the incestuous sinner whom he had excommunicated, the remainder of the penalty which he ought to have suffered for so great a crime ;—and thus the bishops of the first ages⁵ gave peace to apostates, and reconciled them to the church, by shortening the duration of the regular penances, through the intercession of the martyrs, and in consideration of their sufferings, united to those of the Saviour of the world, which made

¹ And yet we find that one of the charges brought by the Council of Constance against Pope John XXIII., was “that he had empowered his legates to establish confessors who might give absolution from all sins and penalties (*absolvere possent à peccat et culpâ*) on payment of a certain sum of money.”—*Conc. Const.* Sess. 11, art. 22 ; *Maimb.* p. 20. Thus do polemics invariably fling plausible theory in the face of stubborn facts

² Dr. Wiseman’s Lect. on the Princip. Doct. ii. p. 71.

³ Matt. xvi., xviii.

⁴ 2 Cor. ii.

⁵ Tertull. and Cypr. *passim*.

them precious before God . . . Clement VI., in his Decretal, or Constitution, generally received by the whole church, declares, in explanation of this dogma of faith, that Jesus Christ has left us an infinite treasury of merits and superabundant satisfaction of his passions, of those of the Holy Virgin, who was innocence itself, and of the saints, who have made satisfaction by their voluntary penances, or by their martyrdom, much beyond what they had deserved in penalties for their sins, remitted in the sacrament of penance. Moreover, the pastors of the church, and particularly the popes, who are the sovereign distributors of that treasure, can apply it to the living, by the power of the keys, and to the dead, by the way of intercession, to deliver them from the penalty due to their sins, by draining and offering to God, from that treasury, as much as is sufficient to pay that debt.”¹ Thus, we are assured, Christ and St. Paul were the original inventors of indulgences ; we are now to be told, on the same authority, who were the abusers of that most curious prerogative. “ We must admit,” continues the Jesuit Maimbourg, “ that as the holiest things may be abused, considerably serious abuses have, from all times, crept into the distribution of these graces of the church, or these indulgences. In effect, St. Cyprian often complains of these abuses ;—sometimes that the martyrs gave their letters [of grace] to all sorts of sinners ;—sometimes, that the bishops gave these indulgences too soon, and too easily ;—and sometimes, that martyrs and simple priests had the presumption to give the indulgence, which only bishops had the power to concede.” Tertullian and Novatian, and

¹ Maimb. Hist. du Luthéran. p. 15, *et seq.*

others of the early church, had lifted up their voices against this abuse, which seemed to them, very naturally, too closely allied to the use to be effectually forefended, and they attacked the doctrine itself of indulgences, wisely, as we believe, but "brutally," according to the Jesuit.¹ As often as money was required for any object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the people. As men give with less reluctance when they are left to their own option than when compelled by force, the expedient generally succeeded. But the money was frequently diverted from its original destination, and found its way into the private coffers of the pontiff, or into the treasuries of the secular princes. The office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents, called questors, whose interest it was—as they received a percentage on the amount—to exaggerate the advantages of the indulgence, and to impose on the simplicity and credulity of the people. "It is indeed true," adds Dr. Lingard, "that, to prevent such abuses, severe constitutions, or mandates, had been enacted by several popes; but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse. Those who bewailed the evil saw little hope of a remedy from pontiffs, who seemed to have forgotten their spiritual character in their ardour to free Italy from the dominion of strangers, and to aggrandise, at the same time, their respective families."²

Pope Leo X. was, perhaps, a great prince, without, however, possessing those venerable qualities which we

¹ "Comme ils ont fait brutalement."—*Maimb. Hist. du Lutheran.* p. 18.

² Ling. *Hist. of Eng.* vi. 89.

should admire in a great, or rather, a good pope.¹ It is difficult to resist temptation when public opinion makes fruition easy. After the example of Pope Julius II., in a similar dilemma—Leo's tempting offers, and the grant to his sister. want of money—he resorted to the inexhaustible treasury of which we have been reading, and announced its opening, for a “consideration.” Besides the graces *spiritual*, he offered permission to eat eggs and cheese during Lent, which were then prohibited—a *sensual* “indulgence” rather more tempting than the meat spiritual. Again, owing to certain delicate feelings, it was sometimes, and is still, perhaps, rather inconvenient for penitents to repeat the same sinful tale over and over to the parish priest. Leo craftily appealed to this delicacy: he would give permission to the generous faithful to choose any father-confessor they pleased; all provided they contributed to “the building of St. Peter’s,” which, by a very slight equivocation, might mean anything or any purpose selected by him who sat on the throne of St. Peter. In effect, it is positively asserted that Leo apportioned to his sister, Maddalena Cybo,² the products of the indulgence-sale in Saxony, and the surrounding country as far as the Baltic. His motive was respectable, though the means were scandalous; he wished to reward the Cybos for the great succours which they

¹ “Il fit éclater toutes les perfections d’un grand Prince, sans avoir toutes celles d’un grand Pape,” says the Jesuit Maimbourg: but another Jesuit, Father Isla, in his very amusing novel *Fray Gerundio*, makes one of his characters call Leo “that crafty pope,” *aquel conchudo papa*: but he adds in a parenthesis, “God forgive me!” (*Dios me lo perdone*). T. i. lib. i. p. 191. However, see Roscoe’s estimate of Leo’s character, ii. 307, *et seq.*

² Her husband was the natural son of Pope Innocent VIII., who, in compliment or complement of that marriage, had made Leo a cardinal in his *fourteenth* year.—*Savvi*, lib. i.

had granted him in his early adversity, when compelled to leave Florence and take refuge at Genoa.¹ It is painful to behold gratitude, if that was the pope's only motive, inducing the prostitution of a sacred thing to suit political purposes; but the practice is still inveterate; nor can we wonder at Leo's conduct, if the highest dignities of the English church may, by prerogative, be conferred with motives similar, if not identical. The Jesuit Pallavicino treats the grant to Maddalena as a calumny sent forth by Guicciardini and echoed by Sarpi; but, as though conscious of its truth, he labours at a justification, or at least an extenuation, if the fact be granted.² According to the usual practice, decidedly it was "justifiable," for amongst the prodigal benefactions lavished by Leo on the occasion of Lorenzo de' Medici's marriage with Madelaine de la Tour, he conceded to the king of France, in addition to the tenths of the French *benefices*, all the contributions that should be obtained in France towards the projected crusade against the Turks, the king promising to repay the amount when that expedition should be actually commenced:³ a mere formal condition, which, however, gave the simony something like a right of being made the matter of a document, worthy to be placed in the archives and papal registers. But the grant to Maddalena could scarcely be made on any plausible conditions;

¹ Dipl. Leon. lib. iii.; Dipl. Secret. lib. i., ii.; Sadolet. lib. i. ep. i.; Guicciard. lib. xiii.; Maimb. p. 19; Sarpi, *ubi supra*.

² "Quod ipsum, si verum foret, fuisset vituperatione dignum ob speciem quandam potius fœditatis, non tamen quod ea incesset enormitas reipsâ, quam species præ se ferret, ac supponit Suavis."—Lib. i. c. iii. 2.

³ Roscoe, Leo X. ii. 194. Precisely similar is Pallavicino's special pleading on the present occasion: "Itâ, si vere affirmetur ea largitio, Leoni contigisset, aduidenti rependere sorori, quidquid familia Cibo cui nupta fuerat, sibi jam impenderat in privatâ atque infortunatâ ipsius conditione."—*Ubi supra*.

consequently, no document existed to attest the fact. On the absence of this proof, Pallavicino, following Contelori, founds his denial; but the Jesuit, more than all other men, must have known right well that there was such a thing as a *vivæ vocis oraculum* among the pope's prerogatives—a “verbal oracle” by which the pope often conferred peculiar grants and privileges. This method is always a secret confined to the giver and receiver. The grant in question was doubtless of the kind; and, as Henke observes, “archives are not likely to give any information respecting the fact,” which could not be excused by any one, except a partisan and a Jesuit.¹

Whatever was to be done with the sacred proceeds of the indulgences, certain it is that they were duly published in Germany. Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was appointed to proclaim the boon. Shameful proceedings. His brethren rapidly spread over Saxony. Some, not content with their sermons from the pulpit, offered indulgences in the streets and markets, in taverns and private houses.² Tetzel executed his trust with the most shameless contempt of all decency. There was no sin, however monstrous, which an indulgence could not remit; “and even if any one, which is doubtless impossible, had offered violence to the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God,” cried Tetzel, “let him pay, only let him pay well, and all will be forgiven him.”³ Erasmus declared that the monks spoke of

¹ Sarpi, lib. i.; Pallav. lib. i.; Rosc. ii.; Ling. vi. 90. Lingard says that the grant “is shown to be false by Pallavicino:” but the Jesuit only *denies* it, and on the grounds above given. Maddalena certainly appointed the avaricious Arembaldo to collect her monies; and the bishop (for such he was) performed his duty with miserly extortion. Guicc. lib. xvi. ² Ling. vi. 91.

³ See large extracts from his sermons in D'Aubigné's *Reform.* i. 241.

indulgences in a manner that even idiots could not endure.¹ The indulgences were farmed; they were sold in the gross to the best bidders, and were by them dispersed amongst retail pedlars of pardons, who resorted to public houses, exhibited their wares, picked the pockets of the credulous, and spent the money at the gaming-table, or in more scandalous objects which need not be mentioned. "These abuses are related by so many celebrated authors," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "who have written on the subject in terms much stronger than mine, in all manner of languages, in Latin, French, Italian and German, that an historian who would undertake to suppress them would find it difficult to succeed in the attempt."²

Tetzel and his indulgences roused Luther and his reformation. Luther was a monk, and would probably have died a monk, but for these same indulgences. Intellectual and religious freedom gleamed from amidst these abuses like the beams of the morning sun athwart the mist of the valley. We should forget the disgraceful abuses, thankful indeed for their issue. They brought to life a Martin Luther. A man, he was, laid up for a great occasion: a hard, indefatigable, *German* student, working and waiting for he knew not what—but working and waiting still—for he felt his destiny. And who was this famous Martin Luther? "Not the son of an *incubus*—a foul demon,"—says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "as some assert, to make him more odious, without the least appearance of truth; and it had never been

¹ Epist. ad Alb. Mag. p. 422. See Ling. ii. 91; Maimb. 21.

² Hist. du Luther. p. 22. See Guicc. lib. xiii.; Thuan. lib. i.; Sarpi, lib. i.; Blunt, Reform. in Engl. 98; Honke, ii.; Chais, Lettres Hist. iii.

doubted until he became a leader of heresy, which he might well become, without its being necessary, for that purpose, to substitute a devil in the place of his father, John Luder, and to dishonour his mother, Margaret Lindermann, by a birth so infamous.”¹ And yet such a monstrosity was actually believed possible. Yes, it was believed, and inculcated by the learned casuists, that a devil could be the veritable father of a man. The case is specified in the code of the Jesuit-casuists.² Luther’s parents were poor : but he received a good education. At the age of twenty he surpassed all his companions in intellect and learning. He became a monk, scared, it is said, by a thunderbolt, or rendered thoughtful of the future by the sudden death of a friend. He proved to be a valuable acquisition to the monks, and honoured the Order, which was that of St. Augustin. He preached with applause—taught philosophy with approbation—and transacted important business for his Order, at Rome, with so much skill and integrity, that, on his return, they made him a doctor. He was then in his thirtieth year—ready with his wits, subtle, naturally eloquent, elegant and polished in his diction, indefatigably laborious, and such a veteran in study that he passed whole days without sparing a moment to swallow a morsel. What did he study so intensely ? The languages, the “Fathers,” particularly St. Augustin. Nothing in these, certainly, to lead him whither he was destined to go : but, with such a heart, and will, and mind, as he possessed, they served the effectual purpose of intellectual training capable of being fruitful on any

¹ Hist. du Luther. p. 24.

² Sa, verb. *Luxuria*, num. 6. The passages are totally unfit for quotation even in Latin.

and every occasion, which was all that was wanted for Martin Luther. Look at the man—strong, robust, adequate to any amount of labour—a bilious and sanguine temperament, whereof all heroes have been compounded—an eye piercing and all on fire—a voice sweet in the calm, but terrible in the storm, of the soul. Would you hear an enemy's description of this mighty man? You will smile, and through the mist of rancorous detestation, catch a glimpse of the vital rays which a jaundiced eye for itself bedaubed. "His look was haughty, intrepid, bold; but he could soften it down when he wished, to counterfeit humility and austerity, which was very seldom. There was, above all, in his soul, a great fund of pride and presumption, which inspired him with contempt for everything that did not coincide with his sentiments, and that spirit of brutal insolence with which he outrageously treated all those who opposed his heresy, without respecting either king, emperor, pope, or all that is most sacred and inviolable on earth. He was incapable of retracting what he once asserted. He was irritable, vindictive, imperious, always wishing to be the master, and eager to distinguish himself by the novelties of his doctrine, which he wished to establish in his school on the ruins of those of the greatest geniuses—to wit, Aristotle, St. Thomas, Scotus, St. Bonaventure, and the other scholastics, who, he said, had corrupted true philosophy, and the solid truths of Christian theology. Such is the veritable character of Martin Luther, in which we may say there was a great mixture of some good qualities and many bad ones, and that he was still more debauched in mind than in morals and his manner of life, which always passed for regular enough whilst he lived in the cloister before his heresy,

which gave the finish to the corruption of his mind and heart.”¹ I confess that this Jesuit-portraiture of Luther seems to me far more creditable to the man of history than all the panegyrics of his party. It is an original character: harshly, savagely expressed “brutally,” if I may borrow from the Jesuit,—but the elements thus distorted were splendidly adapted to the sphere from which he was destined to uproot

Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abominable, unutterable, and worse
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceived,
 Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.²

There is no evidence to show that Luther had any intention, at first, to push matters to extremities; but his was not a nature to shrink from the flashing blade of defiance at any moment, in any place, at any disadvantage. *Fractus illabatur orbis—impavidum ferient ruinæ*: the pagan impiety of Ajax defying the gods was Luther's heroic unconquerableness—that neither men nor devils could disprove. Having once begun—and gently enough, in all conscience—the patrons of abuses, by their violent and haughty indignation, made it impossible for him to stop short with mild animadversions and thin elucidations. First, he traced the outline, and then he dug into the stubborn metal with his delving burin. His motives for this “interference” have been impugned by his subsequent opponents. Some think it the result of mere monkish envy, because his Order was not employed to preach the lucrative speculation! It was to be expected that his character would be fiercely assailed for his boldness in meddling

¹ Maimb. p. 26.

² Paradise Lost, b. ii.

with the beard of the mighty lion. He has not lacked defenders ;¹ and, with all his faults, I would rather give Luther my hearty hand, than a smile of approval to his antagonists.

Luther stopped not at indulgences, as all the world knows. Right onwards he went, or was driven, by per-
 His career. secution, to the consummation. In 1520 he published his "Tract against the Popedom," in which he drew the sword : and then his "Babylonish Captivity," in which he flung away the scabbard. Measures were no longer kept by either party. Fierce passion dashed fuel into the general conflagration. In 1520, Leo issued his damnatory bull, excommunicating Luther, delivering him over to the devil, requiring the secular princes to seize him, and condemning his books to be burned. Luther, nothing dismayed, returned measure for measure ; and, raising a huge pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, hurled the decretals, canon law, and bull, to the flames together, over against the flashing flame as he stood, the genius of reformation to the world.²

This "heresy" was destined to be a lasting blow to the popedom and all its prerogatives. Princes, nobles,
 Concomitants. and people favoured the movement. Papal downfall was a providential decree, since every circumstance of the age hailed the event with exultation. The popes had few friends in Germany, nor did they deserve any. Catholic writers admit the fact. "The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times," says Dr. Lingard, "had left a

¹ Read Maclaine's note (*et*) to page 15 of Mosheim, for some enlightenment on the subject. Vol. ii. ed. 1836.

² Blunt, 100 ; Milner, iv. ; Ling. vi. 100 ; D'Aubigné, ii. 150.

germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility ; and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives." The same writer attests the worldliness, ignorance, and immorality, of the German bishops and clergy in general.¹ What wonder, then, that the people exulted at the hope of that destruction which would avenge their grievances at the hands of extortionate churchmen, or that princes and nobles should favour a movement which was likely to turn to their advantage ? All had specific objects to gain from a common enemy ; all, therefore, heartily joined in the onslaught. Then came the *new men* of the age—the literary men, looking forward to something more solid than mere intellectual triumphs over their monastic rivals. Their writings, winged by the art of printing, "enlightened" the people, and "popular rights" roused an echo in the nation's heart. Besides, consider the novelty of the thing—that stirring principle of human encouragement. Over above these motives towered the spirit of religion, as it were, a muffled angel, trembling for the result, but still hopeful of the time when, dating from Luther's movement, religious freedom, in its widest extent, would bless humanity. Only in the *present* age we begin to enjoy that blessed result ; and even Rome herself, despite her own intolerance, finds that the descendants of Luther are amongst her most generous opponents, willing to grant her the boon which she *never* yielded without compulsion.² Dreadful

¹ Hist. of Eng. vi. 97, which see for a very fair summary of the state of Germany at that period.

² In an encyclic letter of the late Pope, dated August 15, 1832, and addressed

contests, horrible crimes were in store, ere the fair face of Christianity would beam upon mankind ; but Providence slept not : hope dried her tears and smiled through her anguish.

Leo X. died in 1521, by poison, as is very probable.¹ His predecessor was thought to have been taken off in like manner. That age scrupled at few or no atrocities. Money could buy every heart and hand in the Roman court. Who was to succeed the magnificent Leo ? What an element of durability is that *electorate* of the popedom ! A king—an absolute monarch elected by an oligarchy of churchmen. There was hope for each : the elect was the creature of faction. The reign of each pope was the ascendancy of a political system. For a time, opponents were silenced ; but they did not despair, for their turn might be the next. To this principle of the popedom is to be largely attributed its duration. Soon would the kings of Europe be able to influence the electing conclave, and insure a creature of their own in the pontiff, “St. Peter’s successor,” “Father of the Faithful,” and “Vicar of Jesus Christ.”

to all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, the principle of allowing liberty of conscience to the people is censured as “absurd, croneous, and delirious, derived from the corrupt source of indifferentism. For the liberty of error,” says the Pope, “is death to the soul.” There’s the rub. Who is to define “error ?” It was in compliance with this declaration that La Mennais, in the following September, dissolved the society which he had established for “advocating religious liberty.”—*Affaires de Rome*, par M. F. de la Mennais, with copy of the “letter.”—*Penny Cycl.* “Popery.”

¹ Fauvin, Leo X.; Roscoe, *ubi supra*. Saunazarius gives him an epigram :

“Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, horâ
Cur Leo non potuit sumere : vendiderat.”

“If you ask why Leo did not receive the *sacred things* [sacraments] at his last hour, the answer is, he had *sold them*.”—*Epig.* l. iii. 8.

Who was to succeed, and govern the church in her dread predicament? Luther's movement was rapidly advancing; the enemies of Leo were rising from their humiliation. The Popedom was at war with the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino. The latter had been spoiled of his state by Leo, who coveted that of the former as well. The cardinals were divided into factions; the whole State of the Church was exhausted and in disorder, by the anarchy, of eight months' duration. Add to this, the war which had broken out between the Emperor and the King of France; the island of Rhodes besieged by the Turks, the constant terror of Christendom.¹

Predicament
of the
Popedom.

In the conclave for the election of the new pope, the various factions could come to no choice; Cardinal Medici, an aspirant, flattered the rising star of Europe, Charles V., by dexterously proposing to the cardinals, Adrian of Utrecht, *ci-devant* co-regent of Spain, after having been the preceptor of Charles. It was made to appear that Adrian's election was a matter of chance. The excuse was probably the self-defence of the factions, when they experienced the man of their choice. But mere "chance" will account for nothing in these times; all was cool calculation and oily craft. It was by the influence of Charles V. that Adrian of Utrecht (as the honest man called himself) was called to ascend the papal throne. Doubtless some of the cardinals were taken by surprise in the matter, and when the thing was done, they scarcely knew how it came about. It

Adrian VI.

¹ Guic. lib. 15; Sarpi, i. c. 22.

is said that they were half dead with terror at Adrian's acceptance of the dignity; for they had persuaded themselves that he would not receive the appointment. Pasquin, the Roman *Punch*, derided them, representing the Pope-elect in the character of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as schoolboys, whom he was chastising.¹ If Adrian was not the "little log," nor exactly the devouring "stork," which Æsop tells us were conceded as kings, on a certain occasion, certainly the cardinals and the pandering menials of Leo became direful "Frogs" with a fearful clamour, when Adrian of Utrecht dropped upon them, scythe in hand instead of a pruning-knife, for *reform*—that terrible sound to the guilty men of Rome. In truth, a plough-share was needed. Adrian was a man of thoroughly unblemished reputation, upright, pious, active, serious. No more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips—but full of benevolence and pure intentions—a genuine clergyman.²

"I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause."³

It is gratifying, intensely so, at last to find a good pope, after struggling through the mire of his predecessors. Interesting it will be to see the proofs of every preceding page, in the results of Adrian's efforts to do good in evil times.

Adrian was born at Utrecht in 1459. His father was one of the people—a poor man. Whether he was a weaver, or a brewer of small beer, as was said,

Rankc, p. 26.

² Ibid. p. 27.

³ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

matters not at all—he was an honest man.¹ Educated by charity, Adrian lived in probity and application; and was advanced by his talents to the highest functions that mind and heart ^{His qualifications.} can deserve to fill and adorn. In philosophy, mathematics, and theology, he ranked among the foremost of the age. The Emperor Maximilian made him the unavailing tutor to his grandson, Charles, afterwards the famous Charles V. Ferdinand of Spain gave him the bishopric of Tortosa. After Ferdinand's death, he became co-regent with Cardinal Ximenes, and was made governor of Spain by Charles V.²

Adrian VI. (for he retained his original name) wept when informed of his elevation. No tears of joy were those. Too well he knew that evil times were around and before him. ^{Curious results.} Not for joy he wept, as many would—

“No : he was serious in a serious cause,
 And understood too well the weighty terms
 That he had ta'en in charge. *He* would not stoop
 To conquer those by jocular exploits,
 Whom truth and soberness assai'd in vain.”³

Adrian was to succeed *Leo the Tenth!* Let the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi, ci-devant* Jesuit, describe Adrian's advent to the *Corte di Roma*, the *Court of Rome* :—“This so brilliant a light which was spread over polite literature in the happy times of Leo X. was obscured by a passing but murky cloud, in the short

¹ “Vix ex ingenua plebe . . . et ut alii audiunt, aulæorum textor, quamquam plerisque placeat coctoris cerevisiæ ministrum eum fuisse—probus tamen et frugi.”—*Panv.*

² Panvin. Hadrian. VI.; Dupin, Cent. xvi.

³ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

pontificate of Adrian VI. Could a Flemish pope,—*un pontefice Fiamingo*,—one who had always lived amidst scholastic subtleties, could such a one enjoy the Epigrams of *Bembo*, or the elegant letters of Sadolet?" This significant introduction prepares us for a scene. It follows:—"Scarcely was he in Rome, when the whole tribe of poets seemed struck by a thunderbolt—scattered in every direction. Sadolet went first to his country-house, and then to his bishopric of Carpentras." Why was he not there before? . . . Why did he decamp? We have the reason: "Monsignor Sadolet," wrote Girolamo Negri to Micheli, "is well in the vineyard, sequestered from the vulgar herd, and cares not for favours; particularly as the pope the other day happening to cast his eyes over some elegant Latin letters, only observed: '*Sunt literæ unius poetæ*'—'these are some poet's letters'—as though he snubbed eloquence. And again, when he was shown the *Laocoon* as something excellent and wonderful, he said: '*Sunt idola antiquorum*'—'these are the idols of the ancients.' So that I very much doubt that he will not some day do what they say Saint Gregory did—and that out of all these statues, the living memorials of Rome's grandeur and glory, he'll make lime for building St. Peter's!"¹

¹ "Questa si chiara luce, che sull' amena letteratura si sparse ne' lieti tempi di Leon X. fu oscurata da una passeggera ma folta nube nel Ponteficato di Adriano VI. Uno Pontefice Fiammingo, e vissuto sempre fra le scolastiche sottigliezze, poteva egli godere o degli Epigrammi del Bembo, o dell'eleganti lettere del Sadoletto. Apena egli fu in Roma, che tutta la poetica turba sembro percossa dal folgore, e quà e là disperse; e il Sadoletto medesimo ritiratosi alla campagna, passò poscia al su Vescovado di Carpentras: *Monsignor Sadoletto*, scriveva Girolamo Negri a Marcantonio Micheli a' 17 di Marzo del 1523 (1); *sta bene alla vigna sequestrato dal volgo, e non si cura di favori; massimamente che il Pontefice l'altro dì leggendo certe lettere latine ed eleganti, ebbe a dire: Sunt litteræ unius Poetæ, quasi beffeggiando la eloquenza. Ed essendogli ancora mostrato*

We must now inquire who these unfortunate poets were, that crowd of poets, — *poetica turba*, — with their pleasant literature, — *amena letteratura*, whom the advent of honest Adrian unsettled The Poets. and put to flight in a manner, and with results, so feelingly lamented by the Cavalier-jesuit Tirabosch. These gentle shepherds, or rather these flaunting Rochesters, must interest us since they interest a Jesuit. Andrès, a sterner Jesuit, has expressed, as we have heard (p. 28), an opinion, founded on facts, not at all favourable to the intrinsic worth of the *Leonine* poets most in favour, with whom not to sympathise, only befits “a Flemish pope nursed in scholastic subtleties,” according to the cavalier Tirabosch.

Their chief was *Pietro Bembo*, a first-rate scholar and admirable correspondent, as appears by his numerous letters on all manner of subjects and to all manner of persons. As secretary to Leo X., he is unsurpassed in his official despatches, composed *Leonis Decimi nomine*, in the name of the pope; as an intellectual voluptuary in retirement, he was equalled by many in his *Ansolani* or Conversations on Love, composed in the name of Cupid, or Venus, or any other goddess spiritual or human, which last Pietro Bembo lacked not for adoration. For some reason dissatisfied with his patron, Bembo retired from Leo's Roman court and took up his residence at Padua, accompanied by his mistress *La Morosina*, who remained with him to the time of her death, in 1535. Being then in his sixty-fifth year,

in Belvidere il Laocoonte per una cosa eccellente e mirabile, disse: Sunt Idola Antiquorum. Di modo che dubito molto un di non faccia quel che si dice aver fatto già S. Gregorio, e che di tutte queste statue, viva memoria della grandezza e gloria Romana, non faccia calce per la fabrica di S. Pietro.”—Lettere di Principe, t. i.; Tirabosch. t. vii. P. i. 20, et seq.

it is possible that "for the residue of his life nothing of conduct or composition unfitting the sacred profession could be imputed to Bembo," as we are assured ;¹ but eleven of his sonnets remain, attesting and bewailing La Morosina, whom it is said he regarded as his legitimate wife. She has the merit of having inspired Bembo with more pathos by her death than by the influence of her charms during life ; these sonnets surpass all his other writings. La Morosina gave him a daughter and two sons, one of whom entered the church, and distinguished himself by his literary acquirements, for Bembo paid particular care to the education of his children. Devoted to his studies and pleasures, and enjoying, in the midst of his literary friends, the revenues derived from his church preferments, he seemed determined to avoid the temptations of the Roman court ; but in 1539, Pope Paul III. (the friend of Alexander VI., and patron of the Jesuits), made him a cardinal, and invited him to Rome, to be highly favoured by the pontiff (who "passed over" his former life), to be enriched with many wealthy benefices (two bishoprics among the rest), to meet once more many of his old associates, and finally, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, quietly to end his days in 1547.²

Bembo was perhaps the best moral specimen that the "poetic crowd" could boast. "All the poets, with scarcely an exception, all the literary men of that age resident in Rome, and even honoured with prelacies, with dignities, and offices in the church, were infected with the same vice, or, as may be said, *bismearcd with the*

¹ Dublin Review, xxxix. p. 40.

² Rose. ii. 144, 145 ; Bembo. Epist. Fam. L. Ep. vi. 66, 67 ; Lett. Vulg. ii. ; lib. ii. Ep. 14 ; Feller, Biog. Univ. ; Bayle, Bembo ; Sismond. i. 426, *et seq.*

same pitch,—tinti della pece medesima."¹ Dismissing his dissolute life, even dismissing that remarkable incredulity so inconsistent with his profession, and of which, like many of the day, he made no secret,² it will be only necessary to observe that the licentious poems of his youth were not likely to be "passed over" by *Adrian*, as they were by *Leo*, and subsequently by *Paul III.* of Jesuit memory.³

One more specimen of the poetic crowd dispersed

¹ "Tutti quasi i poeti, tutti i letterati di quella età, comechè residenti in Roma, et insigniti ancora di prelature, di dignità, e di ufficj nella chiesa, erano infetti dello stesso vizio, o come altri direbbe, tinti della pece medesima."—*Bossi, Ital.* v. vii. 268.

² Melchior Adam tells us (in *Vit. Theol.* p. 360) that Melancthon sent Sabinus to Bembo with a letter of introduction. During dinner, Bembo asked Sabinus what salary Melancthon had? what number of hearers? and what was his opinion concerning a *future state and the resurrection?* To the first, the reply was 300 florins a-year. The cardinal cried out—"Ungrateful Germany, to purchase at so low a price so many toils of so great a man!" The answer to the second question was, that Melancthon had usually 1500 hearers. "I cannot believe it," replied the cardinal. "I do not know of an university in Europe, except that at Paris, where one professor has so many scholars." Still Melancthon had frequently 2500 hearers. To the third question, Sabinus replied that Melancthon's works were a full proof of his belief in those two articles. "I should have a better opinion of him," replied the cardinal, "if he did not believe them at all"—*haberem virum prudentem, si hoc non crederet.* Apud Bayle, *Melancthon* [P.]. See also *Bembo* [F.] for other assertions of the like nature. On being informed that Sadolet was about to write an explanation of the Epistle to the Romans, Bembo said to him, "Leave off these fooleries; they ill become a man of gravity—*Omitte has nugas; non enim decent gravem virum tales ineptias.*"—*Greg. Michel. Not. in Curios. Guff.* p. 111.

³ Scaliger reproaches him sharply for his licentious poems, particularly the *Elegy* beginning—

"Ante alias omnes, meus hic quos educat hortus,
Una puellares allicit herba manus."

I dare not mention the *subject* of the *Elegy*. In Scaliger's opinion—and all must agree with him—the poem "may be justly called a most obscene piece of wit, or a most witty piece of obscenity." "There are many pieces of his (*Bembo*) extant, written in a very licentious way, agreeably to the corrupt taste of the times, and to the honours of the master he served." This is *De Thou's* verdict. See Bayle, *Bembo* (E.); Scalig. *Confut. Tab. Burdonum*, p. 323.

by Adrian may be mentioned : Pietro Aretino, whose name has acquired an infamous celebrity. Extreme licentiousness is the characteristic of this poet, if he be worthy of the name. He sold his pen to reigning sovereigns, and gave them for their gold the most base and degrading flatteries. And yet, it is well known he wrote several *devotional* pieces ; in the list of his works, among many abominations, appear the *Life of Saint Catherine of Sienna*, and a *Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*, which the author, an enemy to every religious faith and to all morals, wrote only because they brought him a larger sum of money. In spite of this profligacy of mind and heart, Aretino received from his contemporaries the epithet of *Il Divino*, the Divine ! He had the effrontery to affix the title to his name. His life was sullied by every species of vice. Utterly without a sense of honour, personal chastisement was the only expedient capable of repressing his satirical venom ; and that he frequently underwent at the hands of his enemies. On the other hand, in his dramatic pieces he paints undisguisedly the vices of the great as well as those of the people, and preserves, with singular truth and vivacity of colouring, the picture of the general dissoluteness of manners, and the loose principles of the age. “ From no other source,” says Sismondi, whose account of the man I have condensed, “ from no other source can we obtain a more correct insight into that abandonment of all morals, honour and virtue, which marked the sixteenth century.” This crowd-poet, Aretino, was the acknowledged friend of Leo X., and subsequently of Clement VII., and still later was recommended to Paul III. by his son, the Duke of Parma, *as deserving a cardinal’s hat*, and had nearly attained

that distinction, on the death of Paul, from his successor Julius III.¹ But it is evident that he could find no favour with *Adrian VI.*

The election of a man actually absent, and who was unknown to the cardinals and the Roman court, where he had never been,—a man who was thought hostile to the Roman maxims and the licentious lives of the cardinals,—so fixed attention, that Luther's movement was almost forgotten. He was even thought favourable to the Reformation;² but nothing was further from his intention than giving encouragement to the movement in its widest acceptance. A conscientious believer in the doctrines of the Roman church, his ardent desire was to uphold it in its greatest integrity, and utterly to eradicate the thousand abuses by which it was befouled. He was consistently hostile to Luther's movement. His purity of intention and integrity of life gave him the title to this praise, whilst so many others concerned in the struggle had nothing but their corrupt desires and open vices to prompt resistance to a movement which threatened them with penury and ruin. Adrian longed

Adrian's
efforts at
reform.

¹ Sismondi, i. p. 433; Feller, Biog. Univ. See also Tiraboschi, t. vii, p. 11, l. iii. c. 86, for a slashing account of Aretino; the Jesuit seeming to forget that this "poet" was a friend of Leo X. He says that Clement VII. expelled him from Rome for some obscene sonnets. He called himself the *Scourge of Princes*, and asserts that his income, arising from presents that they made him, and solid cash, amounted to 25,000 crowns in eighteen years. Even Charles V., and Francis I., purchased his *silence*! Imagine the force of *influence* in those days. Remember the fact: it will explain how eagerly the services of the *Jesuits* were desired. Popes and sovereigns knew their danger from literary and other enemies, if they made such, or failed to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Aretino would not have been paid to keep silence on the characters and deeds of potentates, if his writings did not influence the people—then the "tools" of the great, to fight their battles and fill their pockets.

² Sarpi, lib. i.

to correct the abuses of the Church. In his instructions for the Nuncio whom he sent to the Diet, he exclaims,—“ We know that for a long time many abominable things have found a place near the Holy Chair, abuses in spiritual things, exorbitant straining of prerogatives—everything turned to evil. The disease has spread from the head to the limbs—from the pope to the prelates : we are all gone astray ; there is none that has done rightly—no, not one.”¹ He charged his Nuncio to state, that in order to satisfy his inclination as well as the duties of his office, he was resolved to direct his whole mind, and to employ all means to reform, in the first place, *the court of Rome*, whence perhaps all the evil sprang ; and that he would apply to this matter the more readily, because he saw that all the world desired it with ardour. The whole of this document attests at least the sincerity of Adrian’s heart, and must deserve our admiration. But the Jesuit Pallavicino brings to bear upon it the dexterous *political* craft of his society, and says that it leaves us to desiderate in Adrian more prudence and circumspection ; and he plainly expresses his opinion that government is better administered by a man of mediocre virtue, accompanied by great sense, than by great sanctity furnished with little sense.² The Jesuit, in effect condemns almost every part of this instruction ; but Panvinius, who judged more soundly than the cardinal Jesuit, and who was nearer the scene of affairs, does not hesitate to say, that by his integrity and kindness,

¹ Instructio pro to Franc. Chierog., apud Ranke ; Sarpi., lib. i.

² “Una tale Istruzione ha fatto desiderare in lui maggior prudenza et circospezione . . Il governo . . meglio si amministra da una bontà mediocre accompagnata da senno grande, che da una santità fornita di picciol senno.”—Lib. ii. c. 7.

Adrian rendered himself so agreeable to the Germans, that had he not been surprised by death, there is reason to believe he would have remedied the evils of the Church.¹ This was a futile hope, however: the evils were too deep—the circumstances were too much involved to give the least chance of success, either to the greatest integrity or the greatest skill. Too many stirring and important interests of humanity depended upon that movement which was originated by the abuses of religion; and it must be added, too many human motives were rushing to the contest, all destined to make it perpetual. Rome preferred her abuses: she hugged them closely as a miser his gold. At every step Adrian saw himself surrounded by a thousand difficulties. In a strange element at Rome, he could only suffer: action was out of his power. On the other hand, his inflexible integrity scorned to make friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness; and he stood alone, whilst his unpopularity increased daily round about the papal throne, at length, and too late, filled by an honest man. It passed from mouth to mouth that he had about 5000 vacant benefices to bestow; the hopes of twice as many hungry aspirants were on the alert; but never did pope show himself more chary and reserved in that important matter. Adrian would know *who* it was for whom he provided a salary: he would investigate the character of the man whom he appointed to preach morality. He set to the work with unscrupulous conscientiousness, and consequently disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the reverendary rights formerly annexed to church dignities;

¹ Hadrianus VI.

he even recalled those already conceded.¹ All the venal offices invented, established, and sold by Leo, he revoked without mercy, to the utter discomfiture of the beasts and birds of prey who fattened on the spoil. It was a severe measure, doubtless; but Adrian shrunk with horror from the thought of perpetuating those infamous abuses. General dissatisfaction was the result; for, observe, many had embarked all their fortunes in a speculation which filled for a time the hungry coffers of the prodigal Leo. They had risked all with the hope of large profit. Compelled by his exhausted treasury, to enforce the strictest economy, Adrian was accused of avarice. He bore the calumny as it deserved, and frequently observed that “it mattered much for his success what times a man of the greatest virtue fell on—*multum referre ad feliciorum fortunam in quæ tempora alicujus vel præclara virtus incidisset.*” How striking was the comparison when the people glanced back to the times of Leo. Luxury, peace, and festivities, rejoiced the sensual applauders of a corrupt administration—without a thought of the future—without a suspicion that the very state of affairs, which was their glory and their exultation, was rapidly preparing the most certain and inevitable reaction or retribution. It came during

¹ Some idea of papal prerogatives and abuses is conveyed by the following extract from Condillac: “They (the popes) kept up all the abuses which enriched the Apostolic Chamber; that is, the appeal on all affairs to the Holy See, the collation of all incumbents, reserves, expectative graces, annates, indulgences, dispensations, the tithes, and the spoils of dying incumbents. For the popes had established themselves the heirs of all incumbents; and not only did they seize the remaining proceeds of the benefice, but even the ornaments of the churches, or even the goods which an incumbent held from his family. If the family made any resistance, they were excommunicated. Giannoni observes, that these abuses reigned all over Italy, and even greater at Naples.”—*Hist. Moderne, Œuvres*, t. xxiii. 242.

the interregnum—with war, famine, and pestilence. The innocent pope bore the blame: they hated him for the penalties of their own recklessness, and his predecessor's voluptuous prodigality.¹

It was the fatality of the Church to aggravate her calamities by the perversity with which she resisted the conscientious efforts at reform at the hands of the good Adrian. But he felt that inward impulse whose motives, if they come not from heaven, cannot be traced to evil. Adrian applied his religious mind to the purification of the Church, corrupted by foul abuses,—*ſœdis abusiſibus corruptam*. To aid in his efforts, he invited to Rome and the Vatican, Marcellus Cajetan, and Peter Caraffa, two eminent exceptions to the general rule of clerical profligacy—men of the strictest integrity, and not without knowledge—the stern and flinty products of a corrupt age, when the indignant hearts of “ten just men” burn with a holy fire to rescue a doomed world from imminent destruction. Sodom and Gomorrhah lacked them—and sank for ever. Adrian, with Caraffa and Cajetan, declared war against all immorality. We are presented with the catalogue of the various delinquents:—they were the Marrani or hypocritical Jews, who might have been let alone; the blasphemers; simoniacs; usurers; and sodomites.² But he was doomed to die without reaping the smallest fruit from his efforts and good intentions. Innumerable enemies were the only result. He was reproached with hardness of heart sordid economy, and grovelling sentiments; which

Adrian is
thwarted:
his death.

¹ Ranke, *ubi supra*; Panvin. *ut antea*.

² Maranos, blasphemos, simoniacos, feneratoros, et adverse venci deditos.—*Panvinus, ubi supra*.

charges only had in view Adrian's integrity, frugality, and purity.¹ His death was eagerly desired. On one occasion the upper part of the door leading to the papal chapel, fell in, as the pope was about to enter. Several soldiers were killed: the pope escaped. The prelates witnessed his good fortune with undisguised regret: nor was an unfeeling prelate in the least blamed for his impious wish, that death had rid them of the hated pope!² One would almost believe that the catastrophe was no accident. Results strengthen the surmise. Colonna gave a splendid feast to the cardinals, and other eminent persons: the pope retired to a neighbouring church to avoid the heat, which was oppressive. "There he took," it is said, "a slight disease, which being neglected by the physicians, became mortal, increasing fever being the result."³ He died soon after. An inscription was seen on the door of his physician—"To the Liberator of his Country." The usual phrase, "not without suspicion of poison," is omitted by the historian: but assuredly there never was reason better supported by circumstances for believing that Adrian was helped out of a world unworthy of his virtues. He had reigned only twenty months. The following epitaph on his tomb chronicles his good intentions, and their result—"Here lies Pope Adrian VI., who deemed nothing in his life more unfortunate than the possession of supreme power."⁴

¹ Ber. Bercast., Hist. Eccles. ² Conclavi de' Pontefici Romani, p. 151.

³ "Ibi levem ab initio, mox à medicis neglectum, letalem contraxit morbum, ita ut sensim invaleretur febris."—*Panvinius*. Again, still more strikingly, he says: "*Levi, sed tabifica febre quàm decubisset, adulatione medicorum, eò perductus est, ut pœnè priùs quàm venæ tangerentur, improvisâ morte perierit.*"—*Clem. VII.*

⁴ "Hadrianus Papa VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vitâ duxit quam quòd imperaret."—*Panr.*

It is pleasant to dwell on the character of this good pope. There is a letter of his extant in which he says, that he would rather serve God in his priory in Louvain than be pope. He continued in the Vatican the life he had led as a professor.

His pleasing character.

It was characteristic of him, observes Ranke, that he even brought with him the old woman, his attendant, who continued to provide for his domestic wants as before. He made no alteration either in his personal habits : he rose with the dawn, read his mass, and then proceeded in the usual order to his business and his studies, which he interrupted only with the most frugal dinner. It cannot be said of him that he was a stranger to the general culture and acquirements of the age : he loved Flemish art, and prized that learning which was adorned with a tinge of elegance. Erasmus testifies that he was especially protected by him from the attacks of the bigots of the Schools ; and that although he favoured scholastic pursuits, he was, nevertheless, well enough disposed towards polite learning. Even the cavalier Tirabosch, despite his evident prepossession against the sternness of Adrian, flings him the following admission : —“ Moreover,” says he, “ Leo’s prodigality had so exhausted the treasury, that Adrian not only had nothing to give to the learned, but was even in want of money for the most pressing necessities.”¹ But he disapproved of the almost heathenish tendency to which they gave themselves up in Rome, says Ranke, and he would not so much as hear of the Sect of the Poets—the poetic crowd whom he routed. His conduct was a constant antithesis to that of his predecessor, the luxurious Leo.

¹ Storia, tom. vii. part i. p. 22.

The Jesuit Feller observes, that Adrian was as simple in his manners, and as economical, as Leo was prodigal and extravagant. When the cardinals urged him to increase the number of his domestics, he replied, that he desired before all things, to pay the debts of the Church. Leo's grooms asked him for employment. "How many grooms had the late pope?" asked Adrian. "A hundred," was the reply—whereupon the pope made the sign of the cross, and said, "Four will be enough for me—but I'll keep twelve, so as to have a few more than the cardinals."¹ Nepotism, or the advancement of his relatives, was at a discount during his pontificate. One of his relatives came to Rome from his college in Tuscany: Adrian sent him back forthwith, telling him to take from his own conduct an example of modesty and self-denial. Others, in like manner, who had travelled on foot to Rome from Germany, with the hope of promotion, he very severely rebuked, and dismissed back to their country with the gift of woollen garments, and a frugal viaticum, but on foot, as they came a fortune-hunting. Evident proofs are these of his disapprobation of the contrary practice which was followed by his predecessors—so serious and pernicious to the state: but to his friends and domestics, whom he selected with the greatest care, he very liberally conceded what he had to give, and desired to enrich the good and studious with a moderate and lasting liberality.² He invariably said, that he would give men to benefices; not benefices to men. Adrian's example is a model. It may be useful to all who hold power in any church, and in any country. One curious remark will conclude this pleasant subject. In a work

¹ Feller.

² Panvinius.

which he published when professor at Louvain, occurs the proposition, "that the pope may err even in matters of *faith*." ¹ There is little doubt that in spite of the severity with which he would resist Luther's movement, Adrian had right views of Christianity, and would have purged the Church of many abuses the most important.

A sharp contest in the conclave occupied the factions of the Roman Court ere a successor could be given to Adrian VI. and "St. Peter." The leading candidates were Giulio de' Medici, and Cardinal Colonna. A simoniacal compromise between them settled the matter, and the former was elected, and assumed the name of Clement VII.² A natural relative of Leo X., who legitimatised him by a public decree, his talents, and aptitude for business, procured him a large share in Leo's administration. His name was a talisman to the frivolous, who vainly imagined a return to the "glorious" days of the Medicæan pope: his prudence and abilities gave hope to the wise, who trembled at the prospects of the Church and Popedom. It seemed to be the pope's resolve to avoid the extremes of the last pontificates—Leo's instability, profuseness, and objectionable habits—and Adrian's discordance with the temperament of his Court. Every department was controlled by sound discretion; at least in himself nothing was apparent but blameless rectitude

Sharp contest
in the con-
clave: Cle-
ment VII.

¹ Comment on the IVth Book of the Sentences—quoted by Feller, with a bungling explanation and distinction; he actually insinuates that Adrian *must* have changed his opinion on the matter when he became pope, by stating that the book containing the proposition was republished subsequently, during his pontificate, without the pope's permission. *Ubi supra*.

² Mendoz. Lett., Guicciard. lib. 15. Pallavicino quotes anonymous memoirs in proof that the pope's *modesty* was the motive of his election. "Charity," observes Courayer, "may induce us to believe it: pity that we have no other proofs." Modesty in the Conclave would certainly then seem a phenomenon.

and moderation. But he was a politician of the age, driving, as he thought, most cleverly to his objects, which, however, he was not destined to attain. Clement VII. was a man of extensive information, great acuteness and sagacity, and a skilful debater :¹ but action would be the watchword of his reign—and there his schemes recoiled upon himself, the Church, and the Popedom, with terrible disaster.

The increasing success of Luther's movement surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. It was a torrent to which a thousand rills from every hill-top and mountain-side, gave length and breadth, as it swept along—not without destruction. We shall soon compute its results. Turn we to the anxieties of the Church in her predicament. The remedies applied to her disease were like plasters and lotions, and unguents, to a critical skin-disorder. Her malady was internal ; her doctors would treat only the outward eruption, Adrian would have gone to the inmost source of the disease ; it would not be listened to ; wealth, and power, and domination were too sweet to be resigned, even for the sake of Mother Church, which all theoretically defended, though practically few would adorn with her best ornament—the virtues of her children. The method devised to stem the Reformation was the creation of swarms of monks—a feature as remarkable as any of the sixteenth century. The object in view was ostensibly the reformation of manners, but effectually the aim was by influence to counteract the furious tide of papal unpopularity. Luther had shorn papal power of its terrible beard, and all the world was growing bold enough to stroke its chin.

The anxieties of the Church.

¹ Ranke, p. 28.

Those who govern men, however profligate themselves—and some of the popes were bad enough—love to see virtue cherished and practised by their subjects, simply because it is easier to govern when men obey from principle, than when compelled by force of arms or the fear of penalties. Hitherto ignorance or indifference had been the basis of a wide-spread papal domination—very pleasant to behold by those who enjoyed its solid results. Luther's sledge hammer had done, and was doing, fearful work on the battlements of tithes, privileges, and prerogatives. Then came the idea of Mother Church succumbing to the "heretic!" It was frightful. Thousands rushed to the rescue—as well as they could. Although the sword was at work—and would soon be more desperately engaged—still "argument" was in requisition. Who were to supply it—by their *lives* as well as their wits, which are not always as man and wife united? Swarms of teachers and leaders there were: Franciscans, Benedictines, and Dominicans—time-honoured monks, all of them: but their day was passed. The world had got *used* to them—and *they* to the world, which was worse still. "Scandals grave and manifold, and known to the world, were found among them," says the Jesuit Bellarmine, in his *Groan of the Dove*.¹ Now, in the morn of the Reformation, if it was desirable that the "heretics" should not be able to point the finger at such and such a monk, priest, or friar, leading a sorry life; it was also much to be wished that the same jealous opponents should not, with justice, reproach the orthodox on the score of ignorance at a time when the

¹ De Gemitu Columbæ. See also the Jesuit Keller's *Cavea Turturis*, the Cage of the Turtle. There never was a Jesuit's book without a catching title. 'Tis half the battle, say the publishers.

epithet of "learned" was something like "sainted" in appearance, and much more in reality. Concerning "Grammar," "Art," "Physics," and "Dialectics," there was, and had been, wrangling enough; and Aristotle's shade was in higher estimation with the infants of the Church, than his mind had ever been with his royal pupil;—but the Thomists, Scotists, Realists, and Nominalists (the professional theorists of these days), taught without informing, and crammed the brain of their pupils without satisfying its wants.

The spirit of the times required a new order of things. The Reformation called forth virtue and talent from the drowsy Church. The human mind, somehow and somewhere, if not everywhere, had broken from her fastness, and like a giant was prepared to run her course. It was necessary that the "orthodox" should "keep pace" with the runaway. Thus the religious and intellectual wants of the Church arrested attention—two exigencies of immense importance in the state of affairs. The first was the first attempted. The *Franciscans* were among the first candidates in the difficult struggle of self-reformation—difficult indeed, since one may reform a thousand without being much the better for his success.¹ One of these monks felt himself called to restore the degenerate Order of St. Francis to its primitive austerity. Bassi, that was his name, and his reformed *capuchins*, would fall back on the terrible old custom of midnight worship,

¹ Cardinal de Retz, for instance, who describes his moral conduct so philosophically, concluding with the resolve "to be as virtuous for the salvation of others, as he might be wicked for himself."—*Memoires*. He converted a Protestant, and preached with vast applause, though at the time one of the most profligate dignitaries of the church. Balzac actually called him a *Saint Chrysostom!*

the scourge, silence, and all the bristling horrors of hair-shirt and skin-and-bone fasting.¹ All this was very good in its way : for *consistency* is no insignificant virtue in all professions : but a moment's consideration will suggest that neither midnight worship, self-scourging, hair-shirt, nor fasting, was exactly the thing to insure or restore papal ascendancy. Moses on the mountain praying, was necessary : but Joshua in the sinewy tug below, was no less requisite—some will say more so—in the plain, doing desperate battle with Amalek. In fact, the great want was an efficient secular clergy. Other candidates appeared. These were Gaetano da Thiene and Caraffa, who are remembered with Adrian VI. They were the founders of a new order, called the *Theatines*. The former was afterwards made a *saint*—as every founder of a religious order is sure to be, and has a right to be—and the latter became a pope, by name Paul IV.—a man of nine-and-seventy years, with deep sunken eyes, very tall and thin—all sinew and orthodoxy, except what was bone and austerity. The object proposed by the Theatines was chiefly to inspire the priesthood with the spirit of their profession, to battle with heresy springing up on all sides, and apply themselves to the corporal works of mercy. One regulation of their Institute was, neither to beg alms nor demand payment for their services. How then were they to be fed and housed and clothed ? They passed a resolution that the new members should be of noble descent, and consequently rich. But the experience of

¹ Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Mon. vii. ; Mosheim ii. 88. These Capuchins, so called from their *capuche* or cowl—were sadly persecuted by their sinful brethren, and compelled to fly from place to place, until the pope took them under his wings.

the Church, doubtless suggested to them that "virtue" was never suffered to be entirely its own and only reward: the charities of the pious always rained upon monks until they were "found out." It is well to know some of their peculiarities. The Theatines would have no particular colour and form of garb—leaving the fashion to be regulated by the local custom of the clergy; and the forms of service should correspond with national usage. Thus were they freed from the external obstacles which blocked the way of the monks, at a time when the cowl and girdle inspired anything but veneration.¹ These were *innovations*—a step in advance—progress, as the French would call it. The order was something new, and found the usual favour of novelty when it appeals to a prominent sentiment, failing, or passion of the times. The Theatines became in vogue. By their street-preaching and other public functions they won applause—not a little enhanced in the estimation of human nature by the fact that these holy and zealous men were mostly of noble birth, and had resigned the pleasures of the world for the good of religion, the service of the poor, the sick, the condemned of men in prisons, or on the scaffold of death. They made their vows in St. Peter's or the Vatican on the 14th of September, 1524. Clement VII. had given them a Bull of ratification. But troublous times were coming on: the pope was a politician as well as a patron of religious reformation.

There was a "Young Italy" in these times as at the present day; and if she had no Austrians encumbering her mighty patriotism, she had Spaniards as detestable:

¹ Ranke, p. 46; Feller, Biog. Univ.; Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV.

and if she had no *Pio Nono* of the print-shops, she had a Clement VII. as belligerent as the same paper-hero. And they *talked* as loudly then as in these degenerate days. “Regeneration” was, as now, the pouting war-cry—just as if it were as easy to “regenerate” a nation as it is to manufacture Bulls and Archbishops. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1526, the Young Italy of these days went to work with their own strength. The Milanese are already in the field against the Imperialists—the warriors of Charles V. A Venetian and a papal army advance to their support. Swiss aid is promised, and the alliance of France and England has been secured. “This time,” said Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII., “the matter concerns not a petty revenge, a point of honour, or a single town. This war decides the liberation or the perpetual thralldom of Italy.” There was no doubt of the successful issue. “Posterity will envy us that their lot had not been cast on our days, that they might have witnessed so high a fortune, and have shared it. He scorns the hope of foreign aid.” “*Ours* alone will be the glory, and so much the sweeter the fruit.”¹ Big words indeed, but pregnant with nothing. The vast enterprise was far from being universally popular in Italy; and as now, there was nothing like perfect unity among those who actually took part in the senseless scheme. Clement hesitated, wavered, thought of his money. His allies failed in their engagements. The Imperials were in Lombardy. Freundsberg crossed the Alps with an imposing army to bring the contest to an end. Both

The
“Young
Italy” of
those days.

¹ *Lectere di Principi*, i. p. 192; Ranke, p. 29.

general and men were full of Lutheran sentiments. They came to revenge the emperor upon the pope. The latter's breach of the alliance had been represented to them as the cause of all the mischief then felt, the protracted wars of Christendom, and the success of the Turks, who were at that moment ravaging Hungary. "If I make my way to Rome," said Freundsberg, "I'll hang the pope."

"Painful it is," exclaims Ranke, "to witness the storm gathering, and rolling onwards from the narrow-
The sack of Rome. ing horizon. That Rome, so full it may be of vices, but not less full of noble efforts, intellect, mental accomplishments, creative, adorned with matchless works of art (such as the world had never before produced),—a wealth ennobled by the stamp of genius, and of living and imperishable efficacy,—that Rome is now threatened with destruction!" Down on the doomed city poured the hostile army, forty thousand strong; a motley and ferocious band of Germans, Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, rushing over the bridge, panting for slaughter, hungry for food and gold. The pope fled; and bitter was the night that darkened over Rome. Men were butchered, noblemen tortured, women and nuns violated. None were spared without surrendering all they possessed. Churches were pillaged; the priests killed or tortured; and the very citadel in which the pope had taken refuge, was besieged.¹ Old Freundsberg was no longer at the head of the army: he had been struck by apoplexy, in a disturbance with his troops; and Bourbon, who led them to the gate, fell at the first

¹ Panv. Clem. VII.

attack. "The splendour of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it distinguishes a wonderful period in the intellectual development of mankind. That day it came to an end; and thus did the pope, who had sought the liberation of Italy, see himself beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, as it were a prisoner. We may assert, that by this great blow, the preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established."¹

No greater blow could have been given to the Catholic cause, and from that astounding event—independent though it was of religious impulse—unquestionably the Protestant movement was impelled with tenfold impulse in Germany.

Success of
the Reforma-
tion.

A year before, at the Diet of Spire, the cause was at least ratified—granted a legal existence; and soon, under the auspices of Philip of Hesse, preponderance was given to the Protestant cause of Germany. Clement, the pope, with his tortuous and selfish policy, aided the development and establishment of that ascendancy, by uniting with the Protestant princes against their common foe, the emperor. And triumphantly did Protestantism advance with the impulse. Würtemberg, which had been taken, was reformed forthwith; the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, the second branch of Saxony, the branch of Brunswick, and the Palatinate following soon after. Within a few years the Reformation was spread over the whole of the lower Germany, and obtained a permanent footing in the upper. "And Pope Clement," says Ranke, "had been privy to an

¹ Ranke, p. 31.

enterprise which led to this result—which so immeasurably augmented the desertion from the ranks of the Church—nay, he had perhaps approved of it,"¹ because it seemed to suit his interests in his contest with the emperor, to make him *enemies!* Such is *policy!*

In this position of affairs—flowing as the river from its source—what prospects had the Popedom? Where was the Roman Catholic religion *established?* I ask not where it was professed, but established in the minds and hearts of mankind.

Reflections
and sugges-
tions.

Half-a-dozen years sufficed to rout it from the greater part of Germany; and the influence of its rival was tinging every mind that thought—in every kingdom of Europe, even in Italy.² How easy was the downfall! As it then existed, Roman Catholicism was based on popular opinion, social and political interests. And by the same popular opinion, social and political interests, it was driven from the kingdoms, whence it was expelled for ever. No violent sudden result was that in theory, though such it was in practice. A thousand causes had preceded, eventuating the result. I have touched on many. I believe that Providence watched that result, and mitigated the evil to man, by which it was accompanied. Let those, therefore, who pant for change, for reform, in existing religious and social and political abuses, be at rest. They will eventuate their own correction in the time appointed. Meanwhile let the minds of men be enlightened, and their hearts made hopeful of good. Teach unto men their exalted destiny. Point to that divine example, and His doctrines, so perfectly designed to insure that bond of human

¹ Ranke, p. 35.

² See Ranke, p. 40, *et seq.*, for a most interesting section on the subject.

brotherhood which is knit together by man's best social, political, and eternal interests. It was the absence of such and similar sentiments that made the religious struggles of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries the darkest epoch of man's eventful history.

Popular opinion everywhere prepared the way for the Reformation. Had events continued in the same direction for a few years longer, it is probable that Protestantism would have been preponderant in every kingdom of Europe at the present day, not even excepting Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Changing his policy, Pope Clement, when his allies the French were defeated, threw himself in the arms of the hated Spaniards, and gave his hand to the emperor, whose troops had ruined his capital. With the activity of a restless mind, he stipulated in the treaty of peace for the re-establishment of his authority in Germany. Yet what seas of blood must be passed ere that result could gratify his cruelly ambitious and selfish heart. But alas! how painful it is for human nature to resign what it loves or covets. Clement VII. pledged his friendship to the Catholic emperor, and the latter, a devout son of the Church, promised all things to the Holy Father.¹ The result of this alliance was another fatal blow to the Popedom. It follows.

Home to the shores of Britain my theme advances. Early was the year of Grace when papal power and papal doctrine shaped the Christianity of Britons. Simple then were the habits of men—semi-barbarous—or those of children, that fear

Clement's
policy.

The Anglo-
Saxon Church.

¹ See Ranke, p. 31, *et seq.*, for a precious document presented by Cardinal Campeggi, of the Roman court, to Charles V., suggesting the means for exterminating Protestantism. Nothing can exceed its cold-blooded atrocity.

the rod, which is laid on when deserved, and that in right good earnest. There was a king, and there was a Church—but there was not a people. Slaves or children blocked up its place, or were welded to the powers that were, as a mass of useful metal. Times of social mist and “miracles”—times of “saints” and savageness. Venerable Bede! How fortunate was thy pen in selecting thy interesting theme—the *Anglo-Saxon Church*; whose history *modernised*, comes not up to thine as a faithful picture—telling us *all* with blessed credulity. What a time of miracles was that, when Heaven even showed by a shining light where the bodies of holy nuns should be buried;—when a little boy dying called upon a virgin that was to follow him:—and how another nun on the point of leaving her sad body, saw some small part of future glory;—how a sign from Heaven was vouchsafed when Ethelberga, the pious mother of an holy congregation, took her flight to the realms of bliss: it was nothing less than the body of a man wrapped in a sheet and drawn up to Heaven by shining cords;—and how the blind saw by intercession—pestilence dispelled by prayer—an earl’s wife cured by holy-water;—how the palsied walked from the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and how a bishop delivered from the jaws of death, one of his clerks “with his skull cracked, lying as dead.”¹ If Brahminism, Buddhism, Fetishism, or any other primitive superstition supplied the place of a better, then was the superstition of these times a tolerable substitute for the Christianity of Christ.

Down to the memorable Norman Conquest, or rather,

¹ See Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, of which Mr. Bohn has given an excellent and cheap translation.

successful invasion—and, after a bloody battle, reckless possession, what crimes, what baseness, what brutality in the pages of history that follow—and what grinding oppression round about a fattened Early English history. Church—proud and sensual! How restless we feel as our children read to us the horrid examples of royal and noble crime and cruelty and reckless profligacy! And if they ask us, “Were they *Christians* then?” What can we answer? How can we reply without a homily that would make them yawn? The Church existed in these days triumphant; though ever and anon checked in her prerogatives, still she triumphed, and ruled the British Catholic hierarchy with the iron rod of the Roman Court: so that the most hampered branch of Roman hierarchy was, and ever has been, the Catholic hierarchy of England. Such was, “through the ages of ignorance, the absorbing vortex of the Roman Sec.” These are the words of a Roman Catholic.¹

How fared the masses, emerging slowly from the bondage of serfdom, but still the menials of power and superstition? Their religion was inculcated by “miracle plays:” they were instructed to The state of the masses. salvation by religion in sport. The clergy were not only the authors of the pieces exhibited within the churches, but were also, without any liability to ecclesiastical censure, the actors in or managers of the representations. But they did not long confine the exercise of their histrionic powers either to consecrated subjects or within the consecrated walls. They soon partook of the dramatic passion which they had indirectly awakened, and at last liked both plays and

¹ Berrington, *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 292 (*note*). See also Supplement, p. 459, and the Mem., *passim*.

playing for their own sake. In Burnet's *History of the Reformation* we find that so late as 1542, Bishop Bonner had occasion to issue a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or delivered, within their churches and chapels.¹ And we have a specimen of the clergy in the following description: the author is describing how the clergy neglect their duties: "He againe posteth it (the service) over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon, as lying for the whetstone, heathenish dauncing for the ring, a beare or a bull to be bayted, or else jack-an-apes to ride on horseback, or an enterlude to be played; and if no place else can be gotten, it must be doone in the church." In proof also, that in the early part of the sixteenth century ecclesiastics still exhibited themselves as *common players*, we see, among many other evidences, that in 1519, Cardinal Wolsey found it necessary to insert an express injunction against the practice in the regulations of the Canons Regular of St. Austin.²

And luscious was the life of monkhood in generous Britain. Think not that the ruins of their snug retreats which you see here and there mantled with
The monks. the ivy-green, were simply the abodes whilom of modest prayer and holiness, midnight study, and daily industry. That time soon passed away,—and the "men of God" naturally resolved, like many others since, to enjoy the fruits of their labour and reputation. Old Chaucer, like Boccaccio, made them a jolly

¹ See Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 427.

² *Ibid.*

theme in the fourteenth century. Imagine the time when

“ A Monk there was, a fayre for the maistre
 An out-rider that loved venerie [hunting],
 A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
 Full many a deinte horse hadde he in stable ;
 And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
 Gingling, in a whistling wind, as clear
 And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell.”

Here, in these few verses, are the state and pomp of monkhood vividly presented from the life in the days of its glory in England. Power, influence, enormous wealth, and the enforced veneration of the masses fill the picture. And Mother Church from the papal court was busy with her little matters—but lucrative catch-pennies. Chaucer describes a Pardoner—“ a gentil Pardonere of Rouncevall.”

“ A vernicle¹ hadde he sewed upon his cap—
 His wallet lay before him, in his lap,
 Bretful of *pardon come from Rome all hot* :
 A voice he had as small as hath a gote :
 No beard had he—he never none should have,
 As smooth it was as it were never shave.”

We must see what he has to sell, this gentil Pardonere.

“ But of his craft, fro Berwicke unto Ware,
 Ne was there such an other Pardonere :
 For in his male [trunk] he had a pilvebere,
 Which, as he said, was *Our Lady's veil* :
 He said he had a gobbet of the *sail*
That St. Peter had when that he went
Upon the sea, till Jesus Christ him hent.
 He had a crois of laton full of stones ;
 And in a glass he had pigs' bones.
 But with these relicks, when he found
 A poor person dwelling upon land,

¹ A copy of the miraculous handkerchief, impressed with the bloody face of the Redeemer—kept at Rome, I believe.

Upon a day he got him more money
 Than that the person got in monethes twie.
 And thus with fained flattering and japes
 He made the person, and the people apee.¹

Doubtless some cast-a-way monk, getting his bread as well as he could, and living by his wits—perhaps you exclaim. Not the least in the world :—

“ But truly to tellen at the last
 He was in church a noble ecclesiast :
 Well could he read a lesson or a storie ;
 But best of all, he sang an offertorie :
 For well he knew when that song was sung
 He must preach and well afite his tongue—
 To win silver, as he right well could—
 Therefore he sang the merrier and loud.”¹

And, finally, in his description of a Good Parson we glance at existing abuses :—

“ He never set his benefice to hire,
 Leaving his flock acomber'd in the mire,
 And ran to London cogging at St. Poul's
 To seek himself a chauntery for souls,
 Or with a brotherhood to be enroll'd :
 But dwelt at home, and guarded well his fold
 So that it should not by the wolf miscarry—
 He was a shepherd, and no mercenary,
 He waited not on pomp or reverence ;
 Nor made himself a spiced conscience.
 The love of Christ and his apostles twelve
 He taught : but, first, he followed it *himselfe*.”²

Luxury was attended with many other evils and abuses : the monks envied and hated others of rival congregations. In a manuscript which once
 Their dissen- belonged to a learned Benedictine, and is now
 tions. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,

¹ Canterbury Pilgrimage.

² Compare Cowper's Task, Book ii., “ But loose in morals,” &c. &c.

is a drawing of four devils hugging as many mendicant friars, one of each Order, with great familiarity and affection. They propagated schism. They split among themselves. Mutual abuse was their maxim. The poor ploughman seeking instruction in his creed at the hands of the Friars Minors, was told, as he valued his soul, to beware of the Carmelites; the Carmelites promoted his edification by denouncing the Dominicans; the Dominicans, in their turn, by condemning the Augustinians. The frailty of human nature soon found out the weak points of the mendicant system. Soon had the primitive zeal of its founders burnt itself out; and then its centre was no longer lighted with fire from the altar;—a living was to be made. The vows of voluntary poverty only led to jesuitical expedients for evading it—a straining at gnats and swallowing of camels. The populace were to be alarmed, or caressed, or cajoled out of a subsistence. A death-bed was a friar's harvest; then were suggested the foundation of charities, and the provision of masses and wax-lights. The confessional was his exchequer: there hints were dropped that the convent needed a new window, or that it owed "fortie pound for stones." Was the good man of the house refractory? The friar had the art of leading the women captive, and reaching the family purse by means of the wife. Was the piety of the public to be stimulated? Rival relics were set up, and impostures of all kinds multiplied without shame, to the impoverishment of the people, the disgrace of the church, and the scandal of Christianity.¹

Then ensued the final preparation for the grand result

¹ Blunt's Reform. in Eng. p. 42; Erasm. Colloq. *Francisc.*; Chaucer.

to which I have alluded in a previous page. The final preparation of ruin to papal power in England was *popular opinion*. Against *that* no tyrant, even Henry VIII., could advance with impunity ; but in accordance with popular opinion, or with its indifference, any measure may be carried as easily as the subversion of papal power in England.

Soon those friars and other monks of whom we have read became as rottenness to the bones of the Roman Church. By the time of Erasmus and Luther, they were the butt at which every dissolute idler, on every tavern-bench, discharged his shaft, hitting the establishment and religion itself through their sides. They were exhibited in pot-house pictures as foxes preaching, with the neck of a stolen goose peeping out of the hood behind ; as wolves giving absolution, with a sheep muffled up in their cloaks ; as apes sitting by a sick man's bed, with a crucifix in one hand and with the other in the sufferer's fob.¹ Add to all this the usual effects of papal encroachments, privileges and prerogatives, interference, and legal abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, emanating directly from the Roman "custom" in its grasping selfishness.²

Against this state of matters men had risen heretofore, with the boldness of conscience impelled by religion. The Waldenses, Wickliffe, and the Lollards, had left more than a memory behind them—rendered still more vivid by the successful achievement of Martin Luther.

To the learned of England, pointed suggestions of reformation were made by no other than Sir Thomas

¹ Erasm. Colloq. *Francisc.* ; Blunt, p. 44.

² See Blunt's *Reform.* in Eng. (Family Library) for an excellent account of these matters, chap. iii. It is a most interesting little book.

More. If he knew not what he did, pity it was that he did it at all—for the sake of his church. I refer to his famed *Utopia*. It was written about the year 1513, when he was yet young, and is the work of a man alive to the corruptions of a church of which he lived to be the champion, the inquisitor, and martyr. Through the medium of his ideal republic, *Utopia*, and by the mouth of an imaginary speaker, he censures the monks as the drones of society; reduces the number of priests to the number of churches; removes images; advocates the right of private judgment; exhorts that the work of conversion should be done by persuasion, but not by coercion; holding the faith of a man to be not always an affair of volition, he banishes as bigots, from his imaginary republic, those who condemned all heretics to eternal torments, and extends his principles of concession even far beyond those afterwards adopted by the author of the *Liberty of Prophesying*—Jeremy Taylor.¹ More, very consistently, styles these hints at reformation, visionary; but if he did not believe them right and justifiable, the inference is, that they were opinions mooted at the time, and somewhere in the minds of men. However, More was one of the first to attack Luther's inculcations, and that with considerable acrimony. In fact, he proved himself sternly orthodox—chung to the old faith—was an admirable man—and perished cruelly by command of the ruthless tyrant, Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas
More's
Utopia.

Meanwhile the doctrines and deeds of the German reformers circulated throughout England. The press

¹ *Utopia*, ed. 12mo, pp. 117, 246, 233, 237, 243, 253, 224, 234, 237, 262 Blunt, p. 105.

was active. Its wonderful influence was first made known upon this great question. It seems to have been given to men to aid in the development of these results, the security and permanence of which depended upon their rapidity. Luther was on every lip. Ballads sang of him. His writings, with those of Huss, Zwingle, and many anonymous authors whom the time evoked, were clandestinely dispersed. Tracts with popular titles, such as "A Booke of the Olde God and New ;"—"The burying of the Masse ;"—"A, B, C, against the Clergy,"—made their appeals to the people. The confessions of some of the more eminent Lollards, and expositions of particular chapters of Scripture, which were thought to militate against the errors of Rome, were industriously scattered abroad. Above all, Tindall's translation of the New Testament was now in the hands of many—and a "cheap edition."¹ In all these measures all was not justifiable to a right mind and a right conscience. Partyism was running high : human passions were swelling with the tide of triumph in expectation. Then followed the usual and best aid of every and any movement connected with religion—I mean *persecution*. Tonstall, the Bishop of London, bought up all the copies of Tindall's Translation, according to Fox, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. But already had the industrious Hollanders began to trade in books for all parties, and Antwerp supplied the English market with a new edition, corrected and amended. A contraband was laid upon the foreign wares. Demand consequently increased, and they were smuggled into the country.

Luther's fame
in England ;
religious
tracts, and
martyrdom.

been given to men to aid in the develop-
ment of these results, the security and
permanence of which depended upon their
rapidity. Luther was on every lip. Ballads

such as "A Booke of the Olde God and New ;"—
"The burying of the Masse ;"—"A, B, C, against the
Clergy,"—made their appeals to the people. The con-

confessions of some of the more eminent Lollards, and
expositions of particular chapters of Scripture, which
were thought to militate against the errors of Rome,
were industriously scattered abroad. Above all, Tindall's
translation of the New Testament was now in the hands
of many—and a "cheap edition."¹ In all these mea-

asures all was not justifiable to a right mind and a
right conscience. Partyism was running high : human
passions were swelling with the tide of triumph in
expectation. Then followed the usual and best aid of
every and any movement connected with religion—I mean

persecution. Tonstall, the Bishop of London, bought up
all the copies of Tindall's Translation, according to Fox,
and burnt them at Paul's Cross. But already had the
industrious Hollanders began to trade in books for all
parties, and Antwerp supplied the English market with
a new edition, corrected and amended. A contraband
was laid upon the foreign wares. Demand consequently
increased, and they were smuggled into the country.

increased, and they were smuggled into the country.

¹ Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.* i. 286 ; Blunt, p. 109.

Proclamations followed against the possessors of all heretical writings. Of course they were set at nought. Spies were encouraged; the husband was tempted to betray the wife, the parent the child, and a man's foes were literally those of his own household.¹ And many were burnt for their faith, as we are assured by Fox, whose ponderous and venerable volumes present us with awful engravings in illustration of the horrible and useless expedient. Thus was public *feeling* added to public opinion rising infallibly with persecution. One martyr will any day make a thousand. The sight of blood continually is a specific to harden the nerves and fortify the heart. The burning of a brother intoxicates the soul with unearthly fumes, and during the paroxysm of that heroic exaltation, death, in any shape, will be braved unflinchingly. All will be well with any movement as soon as it has achieved a martyr. We shall soon see how martyrdom operated on the Catholics of England with the Jesuits to "stir" them. That men were found to suffer martyrdom at the period here in question, is a matter of surprise, or speaks strongly for the intensity of the convictions infused by the under-current of the Reformation in England. Without a leader, books impelled them to die in defence of their convictions. It is difficult to conceive the fact asserted, particularly when we know that the morals of the nation at large were of a piece with those of their superiors in church and state, as in all parts of Europe—and very abominable. That men had ample reason to be disgusted with the machinery of Romanism is evident: but that this disgust should at once inspire

¹ Fox; Wordsworth; Blunt, p. 110; Burnet, Ref. i. 48, *et seq.*

sublime virtue in the feelers of that disgust, is not quite so evident. The most natural result of the stand against "Papistry," and of the severe measures applied in its vindication, would be the formation of *partyism*—which seems to be evident from the flood of tracts that deluged the country with "the Word of God" and rancour. More important events followed from a quarter least expected to favour the German movement.

King Henry VIII. had received the title of "Defender of the Faith" for a book to which he lent his name, written against Luther.¹ Leo X. conferred the distinction, which has ever since been retained by the sovereigns of England, as a glance at a shilling-piece shows by the Latin initials, F. D., contracted like its present import among the titles of the Protestant sovereign. The book was a defence of the seven sacraments ; but Henry was a very gay liver,² and, therefore, nothing but partyism could exult at its appearance. For *him* there were no sacraments. He was a man of licentious passions, which subsequently became ferocious—a horrible character without one redeeming feature. Henry was married to the virtuous Catherine, aunt of Charles V., whose troops devastated Rome, and whom, by the turn of events, the political pope, Clement VII., was compelled to propitiate in his sad predicament. The pope's fate was in the hands of the emperor.

¹ "After it was finished by his grace's appointment," says Sir Thomas More, "and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter of it, and placer of the principal matters therein contained." It was ascribed to Erasmus. See note to Burnet's Ref. i. 51.

² He had many mistresses, one after the other. It was but a matter of satiety and selection among great "ladies," in that licentious age. See Lingard, vi. 110, for a list of the same, with notes by no means honourable to the Defender of the Faith.

Imperialism was dominant in Italy. These facts must be borne in mind.

Henry's prime minister was the Cardinal Wolsey, as licentious as himself, but somewhat of a politician, said to have "certainly had a vast mind." His vices were notorious and scandalous : his pride ^{Wolsey.} and love of pompous display extravagant. His state was equal to that of kings. Only bishops and abbots attended him at mass : dukes and earls, during the ceremony, handed him the water and the towel. This man resolved to reform the clergy. He was scandalised at their corruptions. Their ignorance gave him offence. Such were the motives alleged, and Rome gave him the power of visitation by a bull. Rome entered into the measure to his perfect satisfaction. The bull abused the English clergy, "who were said in it to have been delivered over to a reprobate mind ;" and yet their "faults were neither so great nor so eminent as the cardinal's." But "the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome, as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained." In 1524, Clement gave him a bull, empowering him to suppress a monastery or two, and there followed other bulls, with the same import and effect.¹ Certainly, if the pope obliged the cardinal by this complacent swing of his prerogative, he disobliged the clergy and the monks, and must have made a very unsatisfactory impression on the mind of clerical orthodoxy. Call a man a rogue, and it may be borne with a shrug ; but tear off his shirt in a frost, and you make a sensation. In truth, the Roman court should have kept in with the clergy and the monks, as its motive for

¹ Burnet, Ref. i.

gratifying Wolsey was not a whit more respectable than would have been its winking at corruption and ignorance. However, such are the facts. A college at *Oxford* emerged out of the proceeds, and that was a consolation to science and morality. But what fierce displeasure against the source of their calamity must have rankled in the hearts of the clergy and monks—a feeling which they would be sure to communicate to thousands who are always ready to sympathise with anything and anybody “oppressed.” No nation exceeds or equals the English in this noble propensity. The inference from all this is, that amongst the orthodox themselves a strong party was created against papal authority.

Henry “fixed his eyes” on Anne Boleyn. She was a “maid of honour.” A French-English woman, with a prominent, pointed, and massive nose, a round and fleshy chin, full lips, the upper curling with gentle craft, and a receding forehead, over a slight fringe of eyebrows and prominent eyes, which last remind us that her tongue was not the least of her charms.¹ Henry had played false to her sister Mary, whom, however, he “provided with a husband,”²—a practice royal which was much in vogue subsequently among the orthodox kings of Europe, with Jesuit and other confessors beside them, sighing and winking. Now, Anne Boleyn was not to be “served that way.” But—“she would be happy to be his wife.”³ Henry urged and protested; Anne smiled, but resisted. “She was cunning in her chastity,” says Fuller. A pitiable state

¹ See her portrait by Holbein, or an engraving from it in Burnet, i. 68.

² Lingard, vi. 110, and note.

³ Id. ib. p. 112, with authorities.

for a man ; but, for a king, intolerable—I mean, for Henry VIII. ;—for Henry IV. of France, in similar circumstances, exclaimed, “I find you a woman of honour : you shall remain such, and a ‘maid of honour ;’” to which post he appointed the lady, and treated her ever after with becoming deference and respect. But Henry VIII. burned with inextinguishable lust. Prayers could not avail. Violence was impossible—with a woman strong with a bright idea. “She might be happy to be his wife.” But he *had* a wife, and polygamy was out of the question, even in the Roman court. But he *must* have Anne Boleyn, and so he resolved to divorce his queen, to marry her maid.

Catherine had been espoused to Henry’s brother, Arthur, who died prematurely—a mere child. There was a law made to forbid such a marriage, but there was also a power existing to “dispense” with that law, and almost every other. Henry’s marriage by dispensation. Certain conditions were required—a disgusting inquiry was satisfactorily effected—the lady herself gave evidence—and the pope granted a “dispensation” for Henry to marry his brother’s wife, which was duly done, Catherine being “dressed in white, and wearing her hair loose,” and with the ceremonials appropriated to the nuptials of maidens.¹

Seventeen long years rolled away ; the queen bore him three sons and two daughters. Only one daughter survived, afterwards Queen Mary. For several years, says Lingard, the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort ;

¹ Sanford, p. 480 ; Lingard, vi. 3, note.

but Catherine was older than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities. The ardour of his attachment gradually evaporated; and at last his Queen Catherine. inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children, and her subsequent miscarriages. Yet even while she suffered from his bad usage, he was compelled to admire the meekness with which she bore her afflictions, and the constancy with which she maintained her rights. The queen had lost his heart; she never forfeited his esteem.¹

Seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union;² but now, furious to Henry's tender conscience. have the Lady Boleyn in marriage, since she would not be served any other way, Henry found out that "he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother." Furious, as I have said, and reckless of the consequences to his daughter, the lascivious tyrant resolved to put away his wife. A divorce must be had. Wolsey, the pope of another world, offered his aid, and promised success. Political motives have been ascribed to Wolsey for his concurrence; they are unworthy of notice, and nothing to the purpose. A treatise was written, at the suggestion of the Hebrew professor of Oxford, in favour of the divorce; the king laboured at the clap-trap assiduously; resting his "cause" on the prohibition of Leviticus; and fortifying his "case" with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.³

¹ Lingard, vi. 109.

² See Hallam, i. 60, for some curious facts relating to Henry's marriage with Catherine.

³ Lingard, vi. 123. Lingard gives a note. "Henry, in one of his letters to

The pope had to decide the matter. Pope Clement VII., as Dr. Lingard would say, “found himself placed in a most delicate situation.” The terrible emperor, Charles V., the arbiter of his fate, had professed a determination to support the honour of his aunt, Queen Catherine; the imperial troops were in possession of St. Angelo, and kept the pope prisoner; he escaped to Oviato, only to meet the English envoys craving for their master the detestable divorce. On the other hand, when Clement was besieged and abandoned by all, Henry furnished him with aid; and the pope was “most deeply obliged to that serene king, and there was nothing of such magnitude that he would not willingly do to gratify him; but still there was reason that his holiness, seeing that the emperor was victorious, and having reason, therefore, to expect to find him not averse to peace, should not rashly give the emperor cause for a rupture, which would for ever obliterate all hope of peace; besides, that his holiness would undoubtedly bring down ruin and destruction upon his whole house.”²

Pope Clement
in a delicate
situation.

It is needless to state that with the *people* of England, the fate of the unfortunate queen found sympathy. The defenders of the royal cause—the titled and patronised panderers to his guilty appetite—were drenched with merited opprobrium—and were in danger of being stoned to death, in the popular indignation at tyrannical oppression.³ Never

The pope's
advice to an
injured wife.

Anne Boleyn, writes, that his book maketh substantively for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day:” and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.—*Hearne's Avesbury*, p. 360.

¹ Lingard, vi. 127.

² Letter of the pope's secretary to Campeggio. Apud Ranke, p. 35, note.

³ Pole, fol. lxxvii.; Knight's *Erasm.* App. xxviii.; Le Grand, iii.; Lingard, vi. 127.

was pope in greater difficulties and harassments than Clement VII. ; although we shall find a successor of his, and with the same name, in a similar condition—Pope Clement XIV., in the matter of suppressing the Jesuits. Besieged with arguments and entreaties by the English envoys, Clement sent over to England Campeggio, a cardinal, “an eminent canonist, and experienced statesman.” He advised the poor queen, in the name of the pontiff, *to enter a convent!*¹ A precious piece of advice to an injured woman. It was intended, however, as a dexterous attempt to get out of the difficulty ;—for, by complying with that advice, Henry would be made free to gratify his passion, and the emperor would not be justly offended. The pope’s advice was declined by the unfortunate queen ; Campeggio’s dexterity failed in the issue.² Time rolled on ; nothing was done—so much might be said on both sides of the question. At length the king made his last attempt on the pontiff—consisting of the offer of a considerable present—warnings against the emperor—the proposal of a general confederacy against the Turks. Charles was with the pope at Bologna. Henry’s ambassador had a word for him likewise—stating the arguments for the divorce, with a hint of the great power of the English king, who would follow his own judgment, and not submit to the arbitration of the pope,

¹ Lingard, vi. 143.

² A curious instance of this Italian’s dexterity is apparent in the fact that by some means unknown, he actually got possession of Henry’s letters to Anne Boleyn, and sent them to Rome, where they are still in the Vatican Library, seventeen in number. Lingard, vi. 157, note. The object of this theft was probably to discover how matters really stood between Henry and Anne—so as to shape the papal course accordingly. According to Burnet, Cardinal Campeggio “led a very dissolute life in England—hunting and gaming all day long, and following — all the night,” &c. Ref. i. 111.

against whose authority he had many good grounds of exception.¹ At home, and to his confidants, Henry was more explicit. He avowed that if his last attempt failed, he would withdraw from the obedience of Clement as a pontiff unfit for his station through *ignorance*, and incapable of holding it through *simony*. Further, that he might have no occasion to recur to the papal see in beneficiary matters, he would establish a bishop with patriarchal powers within his own dominions—an example which he had no doubt would be eagerly followed by every sovereign in Europe.²

The pope was compelled to hold out for political reasons, and talk of his “conscience.” For the man who could, as he did, express the wish “that the king would have proceeded to a second marriage without asking papal consent,”³ wished for the accomplishment of evil, and showed that fear only withheld him from permitting the expedient measure. Charles V., his master, wrung from him a Breve, forbidding Henry to marry before the publication of his sentence.⁴

Why the
Pope resisted
Henry.

Then was English gold sent forth on a mission of splendid bribery. Then was the morality in the high places of the age exhibited to admiration. Charles himself was tempted! Three hundred thousand crowns were offered him—with the restoration of the queen’s marriage portion—and a suitable maintenance. The

¹ Lingard, vi. 169, with authorities. ² Le Grand, iii. 409, 418; Ling. *ibid*.

³ Ling. vi. 169; Le Grand, iii. 400. Burnet asserts that Campeggio had actually brought over a Bull, by which he was empowered to grant the king all that he desired, if he could not bring him to a more friendly conclusion; but that Campana was despatched after him to order Campeggio to destroy the document. Ref. i. 93, 99. “Of this instrument no copy is now extant; but of its existence and purport, though apparently questioned by Dodd, and certainly denied by Le Grand, there can be no doubt,” says Mr. Tierney in one of his excellent notes to Dodd, i. 185.

⁴ *Idem*.

German told them that he was not a merchant, to sell the honour of his aunt. All the learned morality of the age was asked its opinion, with bags of gold before it—like a footpad demanding your money with his dagger at your throat. In England, the queen's popularity, if nothing else, made it requisite to employ commands, promises, threats, secret intrigue, and open violence, to extort a favourable answer from either of the Universities. It was obtained, however, though coupled with a qualification. The king's agents spread over Italy, begging subscription to the measure, and gingling the ruddy tempter. The Universities of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, supplied some hundreds of subscriptions. The University of Paris yielded to the "dexterous management" or *hard impeachment*.¹ Orleans, Toulouse, and Bourges and Angers, by their theologians or civilians, responded to the voice of Henry's lascivious nature.

And then he tried Germany and its reformers. "Not one public body," says Lingard, "could be induced to espouse his cause." "*Even* the reformed divines," adds the Doctor meaningly, "even the reformed divines, with few exceptions, loudly condemned the divorce; and Luther himself wrote to Barnes, the royal agent, that he would rather allow the king to have two wives or queens at the same time, after the example of the patriarchs and kings, than approve of the divorce²—a permission which he subsequently granted to the Landgrave of Hesse, with pri-

¹ "Et Parisienses, quidom, videbantur approbare, non sine largitionis suspitione, sicut alii plerique."—*Sleidan*, L. ix.

² "Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius regi permitterem alteram reginam quoque ducere, et exemplo patrum et regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere."—*Lutheri Epist. Halce.* 1717, p. 290. Apud Lingard, vi. 171.

Henry and
Mammon
appeal to the
Universities.

How he fared
with the
Reformers.

mitive notions or pitiable expediency. Melancthon was of the same opinion.¹ Crooke, in his letter to the king, complains "that all Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted (hindered) as much with their wretched power as they could and might, as well here (Venice) as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them."² But the same gentleman also wrote: "I doubt not but all Christian universities, *if they be well handled*, will earnestly conclude with your highness." On the other hand, he says: "Cæsar, by threats, prayers, *money*, and sacerdotal influences, terrifies our friends and confirms his own."³ Finally, the royal cause triumphed in England—a letter of remonstrance was sent to the pope—not without reproachfulness and a decisive menace, prospective of a coming event—*ut aliunde remedia conquiramus*—and signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, twenty-five barons, twenty-two abbots, eight doctors of divinity, and several knights. These were "the lords spiritual and temporal, and certain commons in parliament."⁴ It was a demonstration evident and prophetic of papal downfall in England. And the Houses of Convocation—those precious things of nothingness—gave the king whelming majorities—such as two hundred and sixty-three

¹ Lingard, vi. 170—173; Burnet, i. 137, *et seq.* See Hallam, i. 68, note: "Clement VII.," says this writer, "recommended the king to marry immediately, and then prosecute his suit for a divorce, which it would be easy to obtain in such circumstances." But at a much later period he expressly suggested the expedient of allowing the king to retain two wives. It is altogether denied by Mr. Tierney, who says that Clement proposed the matter "for the purpose of amusing Henry, or raising an argument against him!" This is certainly putting the matter in a very amusing light. In general, Mr. Tierney's judgment is, however, admirable.

² Apud Dodd, i. 202.

³ Apud Burnet, i. 145, note.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 203.

against nineteen, and forty-seven against six !¹ Peterpence, annates or first fruits, and other papal revenues in England, were not worth a year's purchase.

But the mighty emperor of Germany was the pope's conscience—remonstrances and even threats were vain

The pope in
a dilemma. in the hearing of his Doom, whose voice, grating harsh thunder, boomed from the imperial mountains. "The cardinal elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the king's divorce ; for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect, that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome, that the emperor would have a general council called, and whatsoever he did in this process should be examined there, and be proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his birth—that he was a bastard, and so by the canon incapable of that dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him."² Truly, this pope had more reason than Adrian, his predecessor, to deem nothing more unfortunate in his life than the possession of power.

In the midst of these humiliating, disgraceful negotiations, the pope sickened, but died not. He relapsed

¹ The question in this last was most extraordinary ; the convocationers were actually to declare "whether the consummation of marriage between Arthur and Catherine was sufficiently proved." Here was a question ! See Dodd, *ubi supra*, p. 205. See in Burnet, i. 158—171., "An abstract of those things which were written for the divorce." It will suggest strange thoughts on the utter prostitution of religion to serve the basest of purposes.

² Burnet, i. 97. This threat of summoning a council of the Christian Church to which Luther had appealed, was the great bugbear of Clement. To him it was always a cause of alarm. Papal prerogatives would be endangered in the present aspect of affairs, and lucrative abuses would sink in the ravenous gulf of reforming energy, bent on papal humiliation. See Guicciardini, l. xx.; and even Pallavicino, l. ii. c. 10. Of course Sarpi, i. c. 46.

“insomuch, that the physicians did suspect he was poisoned.” The factions were stirring; secret caballings and intrigues set about making a head for the dismembered Church. Wolsey was the man whom the king honoured. Wolsey was the man of hope. Proud, sensual, unscrupulous Wolsey aspired to guide the “Church of God.” And the kings of England and France, who sided with Henry, immediately united their efforts to place him in the chair of St. Peter; and their respective ambassadors were commanded to employ all their influence and authority to procure in his favour the requisite number of votes.¹ But Clement baffled the hope of simony, and rose to live for fresh humiliation—and more disasters. They besieged the sick man’s bed—they cajoled—they threatened—they actually told him that “his soul was endangered if he died without doing *justice* to Henry!”² What think you of that in the matter of an adulterous marriage? And if such were the *Christian* sentiments round about the very chair of St. Peter, where are we to look for Christianity?

And now five years of this divorce-agitation have tempested all Christendom, disgraced the Catholic Church, humbled its head, endangered the popedom, and brought its English branch to the verge of separation. Preliminary measures had passed, suggested by Cromwell, who had succeeded to “the pope of another world,” the fallen Wolsey, now disgraced, and lower than the lowest of men, for his self-respect was gone for ever.³ A precious

¹ Lingard, vi.; Burnet, i.

² Lingard, *ubi supra*.

³ “Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; for I assure you in his time, he was the haughtiest man, in all his proceedings, alive, having more respect

convocation had acknowledged his majesty to be “the chief protector, the only and supreme lord of the church and clergy, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the supreme head.” The *annates*, or yearly offerings to the pope, were abolished; “they had insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation,” and amounted to 4000*l.* per annum—about four times as much of present money. And further, it was ordained that the very constitutions agreed upon by the precious convocations should be under control of royal authority. Of course this measure was intended to establish Henry’s papacy—the manufacture of a faith for the million.¹ It was Cromwell’s invention, and evidently prospective—“prelusive drops” of the coming shower, or rather cataract.

Then, did “gospel-light first beam from Boleyn’s eyes”? as the poet Gray declares. It were an humili-

Reflections. liating thing to think of—a stinging thought for humanity. Yet, to that base passion all the disgraces of Christianity which we have witnessed owe their origin. Not *Christianity*, indeed, but the Christendom of those days, professing to hold the religion of Christ. It was not Christianity then, but a time-serving, political, sensual, lascivious, avaricious system, formed by the passions and intellect of man. It is instructive to mark the progress of events. The tantalised appetite of Henry first impelled him to the divorce. Absurd, criminal, as the scheme appears to our present sentiments, there can be little doubt that in other circumstances of the popedom, in more prosperous

to the honour of his person, than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be showed all meekness and charity.”—From his *Life*, quoted by Burnet, i. 132.

¹ See Ling, vi.; Hallam, i. These antagonist historians should be read together.

times of the church, the divorce would have been granted by the pope, and the wishes of the guilty couple would have been gratified "for a consideration." Nothing could be more stringent than the law which prohibited a man from marrying his brother's wife. Yet a "dispensation" was granted by a predecessor of Clement VII., to enable Henry to marry Catherine, his brother's wife. The same power and prerogatives existed in Clement, and "considerations" would not have failed to make him undo what his predecessor had done in like manner. On the first notification of the matter, the pope held out a prospect of compliance; but he was not his own master: the emperor dashed his gauntlet at his face: the pope trembled for his power, his reputation, perhaps his life; and Henry, the sensual and proud tyrant, was baffled by Italian trickery. Opposition only called forth his bad energies; every step he took aggravated the matter, until, with the stimulating approval and aid of interested and aspiring churchmen, a "system" grew up around him, prospects of greater power glimmered to his ambition, and he clung to the scheme as fixedly and violently as he had hungered for the maiden. But he never ceased to talk of his "conscience" notwithstanding.

In 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn in the west turret of Whitehall. She had been induced to relax in her cruelty, and it is quite natural. She had cohabited with Henry for the last three years; but now being "in a condition to promise him an heir," he expedited the ceremony to legitimatise the child:¹ it is said that he deceived the

Henry mar-
ries Anne
Boleyn, and
follows up
the defiance.

¹ Lingard, vi. 188. This is the version of the Catholic party. I have adopted it, because it seems to me the more probable. There could be very little moral sentiment in a woman who so recklessly promoted the misfortune of another;

priest who married him, by affirming that Clement had pronounced in his favour, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.¹ But Rowland Lee, the priest on the occasion, was afterwards made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,² and this fact by no means attests the deception. Who will believe that Henry could not find a priest to marry him? Particularly when we know that he found an *archbishop* to pronounce his divorce from Catherine, which came on immediately after, as it were. "the cart before the horse." Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury for the express purpose, and boldly pronounced the sentence already given in by the precious convocations, declaring the marriage with Catherine to have been only *de facto*—a matter of fact, but not *de jure*, a matter of right,

and though she may have resisted, at first, to stimulate desire, and achieve her prime object, these motives no longer defended, when so many *other* impulses drove Henry onwards in prosecuting the divorce. In *that* stage of the affair, Henry's guilty passion gained an advantage, and could "turn the table" on the woman so "cunning in her chastity." For it was evident that he *must* be freed from Catherine, and then a *rival* might, and doubtless would, step into her place. Henry was not the man to refrain from acting on that vantage-ground: besides, it is absurd to suppose that such a man would have waited five years for the accomplishment of his desires; and to talk about his being "stimulated by impatient love" in his marriage, is tantamount to translating five years into as many *days*. Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 62, note) is very severe on Dr. Lingard for his "prurient curiosity" and "obsolete scandal" as he expresses his objection: but it is necessary to know all, if we are to form a right judgment in the matter of history. Dr. Lingard's reply to Mr. Hallam is worth transcribing: he says, "This charge of cohabitation has given offence. Yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman of one-and-twenty listens to declarations of love from a married man who has already seduced her sister; and, on his promise to abstain from his wife and to marry her, she quits her parental home, and consents to live with him under the same roof, where, for three years, she is constantly in his company at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candour to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers?" Vol. vi. p. 188, note.

¹ Ling. vi. 189; Le Grand, ii. 110.

² Burnet, i. 205; Ling. *ubi supra*, note.

pronouncing it null from the beginning.¹ All that had been so long contended for was now effected, and all that subsequent events and their suggestions had matured in the minds of politicians followed with the greatest ease and whelming energy. Act after act derogatory from the papal claims was debated and passed in parliament; and the kingdom of England was severed by legislative authority from the communion of Rome. An act of parliament gave a new head to the English Church; Peter-pence, annates, papal rights, and prerogatives, all were abolished with inexpressible facility; the Popedom found no defenders, no sympathy, except in a few crafty fanatics who, with the aid of a poor creature, "the Maid of Kent," frightened Henry with visions and prophecies, and were gibbeted at Tyburn.² The first measure of Parliament, in 1534, enacted that the king, his heirs and successors, should be taken and reputed the only supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, without the saving clause before added,—“as far as the law of God will allow.” I need not state that severe penal statutes were framed to carry out that measure and its endless consequences—as to the deeds and thoughts of men and Englishmen.³ Heretics were to be burnt.

All who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy were visited with the severest penalties. They were hanged, cut down alive, embowelled, and dismembered. Sir Thomas More and the venerable Bishop Fisher were tried, condemned, and executed by command of the ruthless tyrant, pampered by the time-serving spirit of

¹ Burnet, i. ; Lingard, vi.

² Ling. vi. ; Burnet, i. 249, gives the maid's speech ; she throws all the blame of the imposture on "the learned men."

³ Lingard, vi. 214.

obsequious churchmen and selfish politicians, into the development of all the hideous passions that festered in his bad nature. But the *religion* of England, be it remembered, was still Catholic, excepting of course the points relating to papal supremacy and its adjuncts.

These events filled up the last year of Clement's life : they were the more bitter to him, inasmuch as he was not wholly blameless with regard to them, and his mischances stood in a painful relationship with his personal qualities.¹ Unfortunate in all his enterprises, his abilities

Pope Clement dies—Catholicism languishes unto death.

seem to have cursed him with invention, whilst his own desires and his circumstances were such as never to permit success. He was praised for his natural gravity and admirable economy ; blamed for his great dissimulation, and hated for his avarice, hardness of heart, and cruelty, still more remarkable since his illness.² Incessantly harassed by the emperor, who urged a General Council of the Church, to reform abuses and settle faith—the pope exhausted all his art to put off the measure, against which, as I have said, he had, for many reasons, the greatest objection. But now the emperor would no longer be put off with pretences, and urged the summoning of a council more pressingly than ever. Family discords swelled the catalogue of his troubles. His two nephews fell at variance with each other, and broke out into the most savage hostility. His reflections on this catastrophe—his dread of coming events—“sorrow and secret anguish brought him to the grave.”³ Clement VII. died in 1534. He was, says Ranke, the most ill-fated man that had ever filled the Papal chair. He met the superiority of the hostile forces that

¹ Ranke, p. 35.

² Sarpi, i.

³ Soriano,—Ranke, 35.

surrounded him on all sides, with an uncertain policy, dependent on the probability of the moment—and this was his utter ruin. His predecessors had devoted themselves to found an independent temporal power: it was *his* fate to see the opposite result—the subservience of the popedom—its utter dependence on the will of a potentate, one of whose predecessors had been humbled to the dust, chastised, insulted by a pope of Rome. In the pride of his heart, it seemed to Clement that he could wrest Italy from the grasp of the hated barbarian foreigners:¹ his plans and his schemes, his boasts and his measures only served to consolidate their dominion in Italy for ever. Frozen fast by the winter of calamity, he could neither evince his gratitude to his friend, nor indignation to his enemy. Henry he would have fondled, Charles he would have shattered: for his fate (which was his own making) compelled him, through life, to truckle to the latter, and exasperate the former.

Triumphantly and unremittingly before his eyes, the Protestant secession proceeded to its certain consummation. His curses against it came “to roost on his own head:” his adverse measures helped it along: Luther was in a more enviable position than himself, for kings gave power to the Reformer, whilst they wrenched it from the pope.

He left the Papal See infinitely sunk in reputation—shorn of its thunders—poor, shivering, cold in a wintry night—its spiritual authority questioned and contemptible—its temporal power crushed, annihilated.

Germany, its fortress of old, land of simple faith and home-affections, land of intellect with sentiment

¹ It was actually expected that his reign would prove another like Leo X.'s, *altre tanto felice come fu quello di Leone!* Conclavi de' Pontef. p. 160.

combined, land of severe thought with gay imaginings, land of the heartfullest men—Germany had resigned, scornfully expelled that religion which for ages seemed inextricably rooted in the minds and hearts of her men. Its feasts and festivals, so dear with many recollections in the chronicle of every poor man's heart ; its fasts and penances, so meritorious in this world and the next ; its guardian saints, so prodigal of miracles ; its priests, so able and eager to wipe away every foulest stain from the guilty conscience, and give it rest and certain hope ; its influence over all—the thrilling charm of the words, “son of the church”—all is gone ! As a dream of the night, it lingered a moment : men rubbed their eyes—and it was forgotten. And shall it be so ? Shall Germany be resigned without an effort to reclaim the sons of the church ? Shall Scandinavia, England, Switzerland, France, nay, even Italy and Spain—all tainted with heresy—shall all be resigned without a struggle ? The man is born who will answer the question by his deeds—Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. We shall meet him anon.

There was no difficulty in the Conclave to elect a successor to Clement VII. By unanimous consent Alexander Farnese was named pope ; he took the name of Paul III. His name has been mentioned before in connection with *Alexander VI.* His age was sixty-seven : he had been a cardinal forty years ; and only just missed the pontificate after Leo and Adrian. Clement kept him waiting twelve years ; and then he grasped the object of his ambition.¹ Born in the preceding century, he pursued his studies under Pomponius Lætus, at Rome ;

Paul III.
succeeds to
the popedom.

¹ Ranke, p. 63 ; Panvin. Paul. III. Conclavi de' Pontef. p. 161.

and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici, at Florence, he imbibed a taste for the liberal arts, refined luxury, and magnificence. His earlier private character has been represented in very dark colours—probably exaggerated: for we must always remember that the champions on either side of the religious strife, are generally painted as monsters by antagonist historians.¹ Like Bembo, he had indulged in the licence of the age, had tasted the pleasures of life, incurring by disgraceful wounds some of its retributive pains, if he was not slandered; and lived to exalt the witnesses of his early misdoings to the highest rank. His execrable son, Pier Luigi, came to a violent end in punishment of his misdeeds;² and the conduct of his grandson, militating with his private interests, was, it is admitted on all sides, the cause of that anguish which consigned the pope to the grave; for, “pierced with anguish,” says the Jesuit Feller, “for having tarnished his soul in behalf of his ungrateful relatives, his dying exclamation was *Si mei non fuissent dominati tunc immaculatus essem, &c.*”³

He had been an intimate friend of Leo X. The reader remembers the lake Bolsena, where Leo angled: he was then the guest of the no less magnificent Farnese, whose hereditary estates were in the vicinity, where superb villas and palaces, and extensive plantations of fruit and forest trees had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country,

Paul's qualifications.

¹ Compare Sleidan, Quirinus, Keisling, “Ochin,” Du Chêne, Ranke.

² Botta (Storia d' Italia, i. p. 236, *et seq.*) expatiates on the horrible life of this wretch, and describes the dreadful crime he committed on a young bishop, who died in consequence, of mental anguish. It was sarcastically called a *new way of making martyrs*. But Pier Luigi's father, Paul III., only called the unspeakable crime *youthful frivolity—leggerezza giovanile*, and made light of the matter. For his death, see Botta, iii. 46.

³ Biog. Univ.; Paruta, Hist. Venet.; Ranke, p. 70.; Eggs, Pontif.

planned by the taste of the sumptuous cardinal,¹ who in these pleasant retreats, and amid these brilliant habits of life, bided his time, which came at last. There was much in Farnese to recommend him to the great and the little of Rome, and all the world besides. Deeply conversant with human nature, consummate in the management of affairs, living in royal splendour, a liberal friend and protector of the learned, whose services he patronised, he inspired the highest hopes of his pontificate.² He was a man of easy, magnificent, liberal habits; and was compared to Leo as a pope, and placed above him as a man of learning, by no other than Cardinal Bembo in a dedication—"for the truth should be honestly spoken," adds the gentle flatterer.³ The cavalier Jesuit, Tirabosch, is exuberant in his laudation of Paul III. (who ratified his society), and the roseate hues of the memory of Paul III., and Ignatius of Loyola, console the suppressed Jesuit in the day of humiliation.⁴ Arisoto, also, lauds Farnese and his "learned company."⁵

Among the liberal arts which Paul III. patronised was astrology, the art of prognosticating the issue of events by the configuration of the stars and planets at birth, or any given moment of a man's life. You smile at the fact; it is nevertheless certain. "We meet with the most unquestionable particulars respecting the pope himself," says Ranke; and nothing is more certain than the great repute and

¹ Roscoe, ii. 393.

² Botta, i. 2; Conclav. 167.

³ "Qui et pontifex maximus es ut Leo Decimus fuit; et in optimarum artium disciplinis multò quam ille habitus doctior. Vera enim fateri omnes non solùm honeste possumus, sed etiam debemus."—*Pet. Bembo. Epist. Leon. 4.*

⁴ Storia, vii. P. 1. 23.

⁵ Orland. xlvi. 13.

Ecco Alessandro, il mio signor, Farnese.
O dotta compagnia, che seco mena, &c.

practice of this wonderful art in the sixteenth and following centuries, not excepting the present age of enlightenment. "The matter has come to such a pitch," says a respectable authority, "that there are very few cardinals who transact any business, though it be only to buy a load of wood, except through the medium of some astrologer or wizard."¹ Panvinius, a Catholic historian of the popes, attests the fact reproachfully in the case of Paul III.² In effect, Paul held no important sitting of the consistory, nor even made a journey, without having first consulted the stars on the choice of the fitting days. An alliance with France was broken off, because there was no conformity between the nati- vities of the king and the pope.³ To those who are utterly unacquainted with the pretensions of astrology, who have not given it a quiet thought, it seems absurd to believe that a man of sense and learning should place faith in so vain a prophet: but a good dip into the thing will show that it is much like Romish contro- versy—a very entangling and fascinating matter. The more vanity you have, the more likely you are to be entrapped. Learning is no antidote or specific against either infection. Who more learned than the Jesuits? And yet they favoured the pretensions of astrology. They favoured it in the seventeenth century—they favoured it in the eighteenth. With the Jesuits it was only a matter of distinction as to the *form* of prediction. They would have these predictions only as *conjectures*—not as downright certainties. The reason is obvious—

¹ Mendoza. "Es venido la causa á que ay muy pocos cardenales que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es ó por medio de algun astrologo ó hechizero."

² "Eorum tamen studiorum, quod occulta et exitu plerumque vana sint, et alioqui sacratís viris parúm digna, culpam sustinuit."—*Paul.* III. ³ Ranke, p. 64.

the Jesuits were staunch sticklers for *Free Will*—and were the very antipodes of Calvin. “You incur a grave sin,” says Arsdekin, “if from the configuration of the stars at birth, or the lines of the hand or face, you profess *with certainty* to predict future events, which depend on the free will of men—such as a happy or unhappy marriage, a violent death, hanging, and the like :—*but*, nevertheless, if from the influence of the stars, together with the disposition of men, their mind, and morals, you affirm by conjecture only that such a one will be a soldier, a clergyman, or a bishop, such divination may be devoid of all sin—because the stars and the disposition of the man, may have the power of inclining the human will to a certain lot or rank, but not of constraining it.”¹ This philosophical view of the matter is in accordance with the theory of the most respectable astrologers : nay, more, they even let in a fortunate outlet, by God’s mercy, for the direst nativity, or birth-prediction. They make the human will dominant to choose or reject, and fail not to warn and advise. Pope Sixtus V. summarily condemned astrology : but the above view of the “art,” is still inculcated by the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church with St. Thomas Aquinas at their head.

The Jesuit doctrine still prevails. “All men,” says Salmeron, “follow their passions, with which the heavenly bodies may co-operate ; but few men are wise enough to resist these passions, and, therefore, astrologers, *as in many cases*, can predict the truth, and particularly in general events, [wars, seditions, &c.], but

¹ “Quia astra et indoles hominis potest habere vim inclinandi voluntatem humanam ad certum statum, aut eventum ; non tamen illi necessitatem inferendi.” —*Theol. Trip.* ii. P. 2, T. 5, v. i. n. 4.

not in particulars.”¹ “The question, then, says Ligorio, the Catholic theologian, (in the latest edition, 1845,) “the question is, whether astrology, which predicts the disposition of a man from the horoscope [star-configuration at birth], and the moment of birth, be allowable? Distinguish—if it predicts as *certain*, it is certainly not allowable, since all things are uncertain. This is the opinion of Salmeron, Sanchez, Trullenchus, Suarez, and others generally; but they think it only a slight sin. But if it predicts as only probable and conjectural, it is allowable.”² No wonder, then, that, in the sixteenth century, men ate, drank, slept, bought and sold, made journeys and treaties, by the hints of astrology. It became in fashion, and fashions are social epidemics. Events the most astounding bewildered the minds of men; they yearned for guidance; where could they find it? Religion, politics, morals, all was chaos—bleak, black—or the fumes of burning pitch. And yet they yearned for guidance. Their wants were supplied by those who, in every age, turn to their own account the ignorance and passions of the times. But the art of fortune-telling has misled mankind in all ages and countries, and of all ranks: but never the truly wise. Its credit arises from want of analysis. Any future event, and

¹ “Plures homines sequuntur passiones, ad quas cooperari possunt corpora cœlestia. Pauci autem sapientes qui hujusmodi passionibus resistant; et ideo, astrologi, ut in pluribus, vera possunt prædicere, et maximè in communi, non autem in speciali.” Apud Ligorio, ii. p. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

² “Quæritur inde, an licita sit astrologia quæ prædicat ex horoscopo, et puncto nativitatis inclinationes, temperamenta alicujus? Distingue, si prædicat ut certa, certo illicita est, cum omnia sint incerta. Ita *Salm. ibid.*, § 3, n. 50, cum *Sanchez, Trullench. Suarez et alii communiter*; putant tamen esse tantum peccatum leve ut *num.* 52, cum *Laymann, Suarez, Sanchez, etc.* Contra, *Fill. et Trull.* Si verò prædicat ut tantum probabiliter seu conjecturaliter, licita est, ut *Salm. ibid. num.* 53, cum *S. Th. Suar. Pal. Bon.*—*Liquor. Theol. Mor.* i. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

every event, says Sir Richard Phillips, is within a certain range of probability, as 2 to 1, 3 to 1, or 50, or 500 to 1. If, then, 100 events are foretold by any conventional signs, and these events are not improbable, it is 2, 3, or 4 to 1, that they come true. If 2 to 1, 33 may come true; if 3 to 1, 25; and if 4 to 1, 20 may come true, and so on. Herein, then, lies the whole mystery. The astrologer, or fortune-teller, does not invent, but is governed by certain signs, as cards, planets, tea-grounds, &c., &c.; but these only guide him in announcing probability, and because they afford the key, according to certain rules of his art, and are not his invention, the announcements, nevertheless, come equally within the range of mere arithmetical probabilities. The events are not controlled by the cards, the stars, or tea-grounds; and, in truth, they are merely the passive machinery which blind both the fortune-teller and his dupe. At the same time, clever fortune-tellers never foretell *improbabilities*. They do not tell a boor that he will be a king, nor an old woman that she will have five or six children. They shape their prognostics to the sphere, age, and circumstances of the parties; and hence, if clever, raise the probabilities to the highest, as equal 1 to 2, or 1 to 3, and seldom mention circumstances 5, 10, 20 to 1 against happening.¹ Still, in spite of all reasoning against the practice, in spite of all ridicule and denunciations, astrologers, like Jesuits, will ever exist. They supply a want in human nature; they appeal to feelings and sentiments which will always exist, to whatever point of "enlightenment" men are destined to arrive. Besides, some of their best guesses having become astonishingly

¹ Walk to Kew, Arts of Life, p. 727.

true, they can always dazzle the vulgar, and sometimes the "learned" too, with the seeming infallibility. In the fifteenth and following centuries events were so striking and stirring, that the mind was kept constantly on the alert, calculating, fearing, hoping, despairing. That was the time for astrologers, and they swarmed accordingly.¹ Almanacs were their great vehicle of prophecy. Weather, disease, social and political commotions were boldly announced by the month, as at the present time, and if the predictions did not come true, the clever astrologer had always his outlet, before alluded to, to explain how fate was changed, opposed, or modified benignly. But it was scarcely possible for a political astrologer in those times not to hit on something like the truth in the matter of wars, seditions, factions, conspiracies, revolt, treason, circumventions; the most fearful dissensions in schools and churches, and

¹ In the century before, Cardinal d'Ailly actually calculated the horoscope of Jesus Christ! By the English law, astrologers are ranked among "rogues and vagabonds," and are punishable by any magistrate with three months' imprisonment and hard labour. See *Penny Cyclopædia*, for an excellent article on Astrology. It is a curious fact that a book, even now in great repute, on the "art," was written by a Spanish monk, *Placidus de Titus*, about the middle of the 17th century, and entitled the *Primum Mobile* or *First Movement*, founded on Ptolemy's mathematical calculations. The "art" will be long in considerable repute with a certain class of humanity. I have been told by one of its artists that his door is besieged from morning to night. He told me some strange "facts" of his experience, evidently with the view of influencing my "credulity." Lawyers consult him. Even a murderer in intention, he said, had stood before him! . . . On the old book-stalls of London—those gulfs in which the student swims delighted—works on Astrology find a ready sale, as the booksellers will tell you; and Raphael is not the only *successor of the prophet Samuel*, as an astrologer calls himself. Doubtless, the "new planets" lately discovered, will produce some perturbations in many a horoscope, and celestial virtues are now being invented in conclave, to correspond with the *names* vouchsafed to the wanderers by Leverrier and Mr. Hind. *Astræa* will probably preside over the birth of a young King Solomon for England, and *Iris* will further develop the first-rate politician "with all the variegated and beautiful colours of the rainbow."

changes in religion, with consequent persecutions, dreadful and bloody, so that some, and the best of churchmen, would perish through grief and anguish of heart. This is an abstract from a work of the kind, predicting the events of the year 1597, by an eclipse of the moon in the IXth House, as occurs in the present year 1848.¹

Paul III. needed guidance in his difficult position. The false position of the popedom with reference to the emperor—the affair of rebellious England, Paul's problem. were not all that he inherited from Clement VII. His constant neutrality in politics had been his recommendation: he would be now compelled to “pronounce.” The great conflict that agitated the world—the strife between those two parties between whom he had just assumed so important a station—the necessity of combating the Protestants—and the secret connexion with them into which he was led by their political attitude—his natural inclination, arising out of the posture of his Italian principality, to weaken the ascend-

¹ *Prognosticon Astrologicum*, by Valentine Steinmetz; Erfordt. “Sie bedeut auch hierbeneben grosse Aufrurh, Krieg, Entpörung, und allerley listige Practicken durch Verräthercy, Betrug, Vervortheilung, Verleumbdung, und allerley felschlich Beschuldigung, die dann nich allein unter gemeinen Leuten, sondern auch unter grossen Herren und Potentaten werden sehr gemein sein, und derwegen ihrer viel in eusserste Gefahr Leibes und Lebens bringen. *Ratione Loci* aber, als das diese Finsterniss geschicht im 9. Haus des Himmels, bedeut sie ferner grosse Zerspaltung und Zerrüttung der Schulen und Kirchen, der Religion und der Geistlichen Gütern durch Verfolgung, damit ihr viel werden belestiget werden, auch wol vor Leidt und Bekümmernuss dahin sterben, und ihren Geist aufgeben müssen, und werden also diesem nach hin und wider entstehen viel Rotten, Secten, Ketzereyen, und Verfelschung in der Religion, wie ein vortrefflicher Mathematicus hievon schreibet mit nachfolgenden Worten.” “Si aliqua Eclipsis extiterit in 9 domo tum plerumque inducit disceptationes, lites ac dissensiones acerrimas, et mutationes in Religione horrendas, et consequenter persecutiones funestas ac eruentas; dehinc experientur Ecclesiastici statum infelicem, adeò quod nonnulli et quidem maxime præcipui præ tristitiâ ac animi mærore interibunt.”

ancy of the Spaniards, and the danger involved in every attempt to that end—the urgent necessity of Church reform, and the undesirable circumscription with which it threatened the papal power.¹ Those were the problems he had to solve, these were the difficulties in which he found himself, out of which to achieve deliverance he would require all the dexterity of the politician. Add to this, that his paternal partialities would constantly hamper his best laid schemes and re-act on his exalted position. His first declarations referred to the reform of abuses, particularly in the court, and the college of cardinals; and yet among his first public acts, he created cardinals two boys of fourteen and sixteen years of age—one the child of his natural son, Pierluigi, the other of Constance, his natural daughter. And when the matter was talked of, he wittily said, that he made up for their ages by his own decrepitude! However, after that transaction, he ceased talking of reform.² The Jesuit Pallavicino tries to excuse this promotion as well as he can—that is, very badly, by saying that such an excess of tenderness could not be a defect in any other *prince*—the usual special pleading of the Jesuit: but minds of a sterner morality would ask, in whom should we not condemn the choice of two children to occupy a dignity, whose function consists in nothing else than the participation in the government of the universal Church, and in giving advice in the most important matters in the world?³

¹ Ranke, 63. ² Sarpi, lib. i.; Pallav. iii.; Panv. Paul III.; Fleury, liv. 134.

³ Courayer. He adds: "Would it not be a defect in others, as well as a pope, to make such a choice? And what is the morality of the Cardinal Pallavicino, if he thought not so? It must be avowed that he has a gospel quite expressly

Meanwhile, the Catholic question was to be discussed, and measures adopted to promote its ascendancy. The Catholic Kingdoms, and, above all, the popedom were question. deeply concerned in the issue, which was shrouded in darkness. There was bewilderment in the councils of religion—there was bewilderment in the cabinets of kings. The ancient religion, which had become a second nature to the men of Europe, was contemptuously cast off; and there were thousands, the priests of that religion, with their chief, at one fell stroke, impoverished—made desperate by despair. The fiend of religious persecution unsheathed the sword, and flung it to those who were so naturally disposed to flesh it in the cause wherein their “all” was at stake. And kings and princes, who sided with Rome, were either too bigoted, or too little skilled in the arts of policy, to waive the question of *religion*—so utterly impossible to decide—by resting satisfied with the contingent, if not actual *utility* of their subjects, though differing in opinions. The subsequent experience of three hundred years was to teach that wisest of axioms to blundering politicians. Hence war to the death was declared against the votaries of the “new doctrines;” nought but their annihilation would secure the prerogatives of orthodox royalty, against which it was easy to show that the Protestant movement was outrageously advancing,—although it was evident that revolt, in every instance, was the result of persecution, actual, or undoubtedly impending. Besides, these kings and princes, by attempting to shackle the minds of their

made for the popes, and that it is as difficult to excuse *him* for his excess of flattery, as *Fra Paolo* sometimes, for his somewhat excessive malignity.”—*Hist. du Conc. i.*, 136, note.

subjects, were the allies of the pope—that object of execration and source of all oppression, as represented at least, to the Protestant world. The crimes, the licentiousness of the late popes, and even of Paul III. himself, have been alluded to, not as undeniable facts, but as the reports, the rumours of the age; as such they were sufficient to fan the flame of execration; as such they became historical data of immense importance; for, even admitting them to be false, did they not influence the minds of men? And what more could they have done had they been undeniably true? The actions of men are infinitely more biassed by falsehood than by truth.

Meanwhile, the shock given to papal power, by the Reformation, seemed to become a death-blow by the increasing success of the cause; and whilst the Catholic powers of Christendom seemed to rejoice in the goodwill of the pope, it was evident that they availed themselves of his supernatural influence, only with the view of promoting that political unity so likely to result, as they thought, from the unity of faith. There was nothing cordial in that amity. The pope might aid them; but he could neither make nor mar them. The Vatican was shorn of its thunders; it lightened anon, but the cause of the phenomenon was too evident to the minds of men to strike terror as of old. Other methods must be tried—other means must be developed to protect the infirm old man of the mountain—to prop the crumbling pile of the Vatican. Those means demand consideration. Its spiritual prestige had been always the bulwark of the popedom;—even in the case of the historic infamy, Alexander VI., and the ferocious Julius II. The spiritual army of the popedom—the

Orders of Monks—were the spiders that wove the entangling network for the minds of men held captive unto death :—the flimsiest of textures is beyond the power of the weakest of insects to break. But now the network of prestige was broken through ; a fierce bison had rushed by and borne it along triumphant ; on his horns its remnants sported in the breeze. These remnants were—papal power and right divine—which had weighed too heavily on the backs of men any longer to remain an article of faith.

How to withstand this upsurging tide of disobedience ? That was the problem. It was a difficult problem ; nothing less than to reform the priesthood and monkhood, expressly for the purpose of doing battle with the Philistines of heretic-land, a land like the floating islands they tell of—here, there, and everywhere—its latitude constantly increasing north and south of its Germanic equator. Paul III.'s very heart was deep set in the mighty problem. If religion was not his darling, ambition was his imperious mistress. Power he craved ; power for himself, and his son, and his grandsons, and all his holy blood. Victory promised him everything ; defeat was too dreadful to think of ; all means and methods must be tried to insure the former. If a remnant of the religious sentiment remained, on *that* the papal sovereignty and omnipotence might once more be raised to rule God's world below. Now, about the year 1537, there was much talk about a General Council of the Christian Church, for the purpose of settling disputed points of doctrine, and the reformation of abuses. The subject, as you are aware, had been long before the world : all seemed interested in the accomplishment ; but Pope Paul III. seemed dis-

inclined to venture his prerogatives to general arbitration. There was evidently a tendency in the age to curtail these prerogatives of the popedom. Various surmises were afloat respecting the pope's motives in his apparent unwillingness or delay to promote the general demand for a reforming council. The political pontiff was certainly more intent on temporal affairs—the establishment of his house—than the spiritual interests of the church, properly so called.¹ It seems but natural to conclude, that, to such a character, the interests of religion were of little moment ; and although we may not “unhesitatingly assert that his own personal feelings were never once enlisted in favour of the Catholic movement,”² we may certainly believe that he made it subservient to the ruling passion of his soul. As far as it was his policy, he gladly promoted that movement, as his public acts so amply testify. Urged by the pressure from without, Paul announced a General Council of the Christian Church. He had sent Vergerius, as legate, into Germany, with a special commission to sound the views of the Protestants respecting the method to be observed in the council, and to act accordingly. Vergerius went to Wittenberg, in 1533, and had an interview with the redoubtable Martin Luther. “I went up to the castle,” says Luther, “where he was ; he cited us, and gave a summons to us to proceed to the council. ‘I will go,’ said I, adding, ‘you papists are taking a great deal of pains very uselessly. If you resort to a council you will not open the questions respecting the sacraments, justification by

¹ “Portato da disordinato appetito a vasti e irregolati pensieri, ò non conosceva, ò non istimava l'esperor se stesso, la sua casa, la chiesa, e l'Italia tutta in sommi travagli e pericoli di evidente ruina.”—*Paruta*, 569.

² Ranke.

faith, or good works ; but you merely resort to child's play and idle words, such as fixing the length of robes, or the breadth of a priest's belt, or the extent of his tonsure,' &c. The legate turned away from me, and observed to his companion : ' This man goes to the point at once,' &c. Some one asked when the pope would convoke a council. Luther replied : ' It seems to me that we shall have none before the day of judgment. Then our Lord God will himself hold a general council.'"¹

It is evident that Luther saw the futility of the proposed measure. There could be no doubt that the prominent and essential doctrines of protestantism would be condemned by " authority," leaving the main question at issue still in litigation, and never to be decided—the question which may be expressed as follows : How much may *men* add to the doctrines contained in *Christ's Gospel*, and yet be Christians ? . . . Vergerius gave a bad account of his mission : he affirmed that the Protestants would never receive the Council, if it were not free, and held in a befitting place of the empire, according to the promise of the emperor ; and that as for Luther and his " accomplices," there was no hope of their submission ; and there was no other means of reducing them to subjection but *by arms*. He was rewarded with a bishopric for his pains.²

And now, whilst Henry VIII., in his popedom of England, was constructing his church,—altering, without a whit amending—dissolving monasteries and driving out monks for their ignorance and *corruption*, not half as great as his own, and pocketing their revenues, or sharing them with

Church re-
form in pros-
pect.

¹ Hazlitt, Life of Luther, p. 278. ² Sarpi, i. 53 ; Sleidan, l. x. ; Pallav. l. iii.

his minions in church and state,—celebrating the death of the virtuous Catherine by beheading his new queen Boleyn, on a charge of adultery, Archbishop Cranmer pronouncing *another* divorce,—close upon these transactions, clamours for church reform rang in the ears of Paul III., who had promised, but did nothing in the matter, conscious as he was that the thing was next to impossible. To the storm, however, he yielded, and resolved sturdily to set about the Augean labour, like another Hercules, in the matter of the filthy stables. He resolved to reform himself (think of that, for a veteran pope) and his cardinals, and the interesting court of Rome. Four cardinals, five other prelates he selected, to investigate and report on the matter, and to suggest the most applicable and expeditious remedies for universal disorders. Both the matter and the method of reformation were to be their solicitude. The result presented a picture of the “Church of Christ,” after fifteen hundred and thirty-seven years had given her ample time to reach perfection. What a picture was that report! It was a diagnosis of the ecclesiastical epidemic. It proved that Pope Adrian’s words were still too true—that “the disease had spread from the head to the limbs, from the pope to the prelates.”

Their report was heart-rending. They began with the Father of the Faithful. The source and origin of all the abuses, said these conscientious investigators (*Caraffa* was one of them)—the source and origin of all abuses consist in the fact that the popes too easily listen to flatterers, too easily dispense with the laws, and do not observe the commandment of Jesus Christ, forbidding them to take money for their spiritual functions. Then they came

Commissioners report on the matter.

to details. They challenged twenty-four abuses in the administration of church affairs, and four in the particular government of Rome. They spoke of ordination, the collation of benefices, pensions, permutations, reservations, and pluralities. They laid a stress on residence and exemptions. They fell foul on the depravities of the religious orders, the ignorance of preachers and confessors. They did not forget pernicious books, apostates, and usurers; nor did they stop there. Dispensations stuck in their conscience:—dispensations for persons in orders to marry; dispensations within the prohibited degrees; dispensations to simoniacs; dispensations of vows. And finally they said:—the goods of the church are made a matter of inheritance; wills are commuted, mistresses are kept, hospitals are neglected. They entered into particulars, ferreted abuses to their sources, chased them to their consequences, and finished with offering a plan of reform to induce the Court of Rome to lead a *Christian* life for the future.¹

No man in the world better knew the truth of all these allegations than the pope himself. He received the document, gave it to some cardinals to read, and proposed it in full Consistory for deliberation. Imagine the rising of eyelids, the shrugging of shoulders, the sighs and exclamations, and the yawnings of the sacred cardinals assembled. And the “fitting of caps” of each on his neighbour. And the fear of one or two simple ones, in a mortal perspiration at the idea that matters were come to a crisis, whilst the veterans stroked their beards, and waited

The matter in
conclave - a
curious dis-
cussion.

¹ Fascic. Rer. expet. ii. p. 220, analysed in Sarpi, i. 57.

for the speech of *Cardinal Schomberg*, who said, that the time was *not* come for such a reform. Then all was light. All breathed freely, as he continued, saying : The corruption of men is such, that if you wish to stop the cause of one evil, you give rise to another. It is less irksome, said he, to tolerate known abuses, by custom made less remarkable, than by reformation to introduce others which by their novelty will be more evident, and consequently more exposed to censure. And he followed up his argument by a most striking appeal. By reforming, said he, you will give cause to the Lutherans to boast that they have forced the pope to the measure ; in fact, the proposed reform, being a sort of admission that the Lutherans were right in denouncing the abuses which ought to have been corrected, will only serve to foment the rest of their doctrine. Strange sentiments for a Christian man ! But nothing can be truer than the fact he feared to establish—that Luther's movement did prove, in time, a blessing to the Catholic Church, by rendering reform imperative ; and if at the present day that Church is more honestly, more honourably administered in its head, its shoulders, and its arms, Catholics must thank the *Protestant* movement for the desirable consummation. To Luther every honest Catholic, anxious for the integrity of his Church, owes a lasting debt of gratitude.

Caraffa, the founder of the rigid Theatines, was not the man to side with this execrable worldly policy. At once he took the high position of an honest churchman. Reform is necessary, he exclaimed, and you cannot resist it without offending God. It is a law of Christian morality, he added, that as we cannot do evil to procure good, we ought not to leave undone the good

which we are bound to do, for fear of the evil that might ensue. Admirable sentiments, and worthy of a better age; but the fact is, that people in these times knew well enough what was right; but they clung to the suggestions of their perverse passions in preference: it is the habit of transgression that moulds a conscience to suit any case of guiltiness.

The result was—nothing. Opinions were divided, much was said on both sides of the question; it was resolved to defer the matter to another time.¹ *A demain les affaires*—to-morrow for business! exclaimed these men so interested in unrighteousness, whilst it seemed to make them more comfortable in the part they had chosen. To them the Catholic cause was as nothing, compared to the wages of iniquity. The best guarantee of its duration they rejected—cast away as of no moment. And then, by one of those striking coincidences which give us friends—destined to become benefactors to an incalculable amount—at the very time in question, the staunchest champions of the Catholic regeneration were journeying to Rome, perhaps already arrived.

In the year 1537, three men craved audience of the pope; their request was granted. The spokesman of the party was a Spaniard; rather short of stature—complexion, olive-dark: eyes deep-set, but full of fire—broad forehead, nose aquiline: he limps, but it is scarcely perceptible. He has travelled far and wide, and has had many strange adventures. He is now in the prime of life, full of energy, deep in things spiritual, which fit him well.

A stranger craves an interview with the pope.

¹ Sarpi i. 57; Pallav. iv. c. 5.; Sleidan xii.; Fleury, 118.

He has studied mankind closely, has borne persecution bravely, has clung to his purpose firmly, and is perfectly versed in the art of captivation. He throws himself at the feet of the Holy Father : there is a great idea in his soul : this is no ordinary man ; he is Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesus.

How much depends upon the result of this interview ! How intensely is the Protestant movement concerned in its issue ! In that ragged pilgrim, prostrate at the pontiff's feet, there is a spirit whose expansion and development will find the universe too narrow for its grasp. His bosom heaves ; "FOR GOD AND THE POPE," in tones of superhuman energy, solemn and deep, are the words of his covenant. CATHOLICISM, a thing of bones, grey, enervated, decrepit, palsied, shivering, bides the result, in the rear of the pontiff, and she sighs disconsolate on her bed of Bulls, Cowls, Mitres, and Relics. Towards the *first*, vainly she strives to move her palsied fingers ; but she cannot grasp them, though close beside her !¹ Full in front stands the stripling warrior PROTESTANTISM—glancing defiance—his right arm advanced, his massy spear upstaid—the Book in his left, clutched as a flaming sword, whilst he scornfully overlooks the pilgrim, and measures his strength with the pontiff. A rustling of

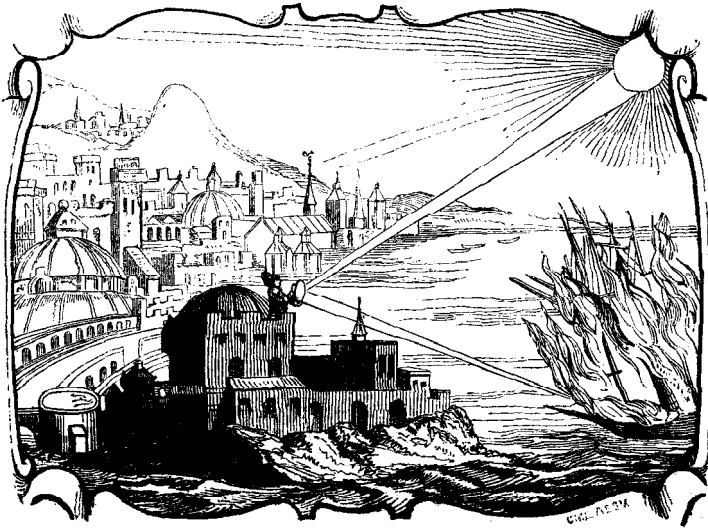
An allegory
and a glance
at the future.

¹ Paul IV. had been induced to frame a terrific Bull against Henry VIII., depriving him of his crown ; but in the present prospects of the popedom, he repented of his precipitancy. "To publish the Bull," says Lingard, "could only irritate Henry, and bring the papal authority into contempt and derision. It was therefore resolved to suppress it for a time ; and this weapon, destined to punish the apostacy of the king, was silently deposited in the papal armoury, to be brought forth on some future opportunity, when it might be wielded with less danger, and with greater probability of success."—Vol. vi. 226.

bones is heard, the pontiff turns his head and beholds the Thing of Bones, with arms outstretched, wordless, but gasping a prayer; she smiles to the pilgrim, her ready saviour and deliverer. RELIGION is there; but how describe her? Her hues change like the camelion's, smiling anon, then frowning darkly; pale with affright, red with indignation; whilst round about her throng, circle, and pass away myriads of earth's inhabitants—each with his victim-gash, each pointing to the pilgrim—passing on, and rapidly succeeded;—the red Indian, the swarth African, the sons of Confucius, Buddh, and Brahma, the children of the Sun from the mines of gold, Gauls and Britons—all from every land of earth inhabitable, and each has a history to tell.

And the shades of KINGS and POTENTATES flapped through; and some said Hail! and others Malediction! but the latter prevailed, and their voices roused a thousand echoes, stunning humanity; but the pilgrim, firm as the wave-beaten rock, was unmoved to terror or despair.

And SCIENCE and the ARTS rushed in, wild, running to and fro; digging here, digging there; building up, pulling down, turning every soil, sowing, and planting, and reaping with a magnificent harvest home. The pilgrim, innocent of both, smiles and wonders at the fruits not his own. Enough! Fiat! Let there be JESUITS, and there is hope for Rome, her Bulls, and Relics, but not for *Cowls* or *Mitres*, and these shall be dispensed with. "Give me but light!" said Ajax: "Give me but *Ignatians*, and I'll fire the world with orthodoxy," said the Thing of Bones, and the wily Paul consented.



Turn we now from the pilgrim and the pope, and glance prospectively into the future about to follow—that we may not be strangers to its workers and their deeds.¹

The struggle for religious unity—the unity of faith—will agitate the Christian world. The triumph of Catholicism or that of Protestantism, will be hope's proposition to the respective parties who will fret and strut their hour on the stage of life. Catholicism and Protestantism will

Catholicism and Protestantism striving for the mastery.

¹ In order not to encumber unnecessarily the text of this prospective glance with special references, I will state the chief authorities for its facts, premising that most of the events will subsequently demand deeper attention, when special references will be appended. Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*; Browning's *Huguenots*; Ranken's *Hist. of France*, vi.; Robertson's *Hist. of Amer.*; Raynal, *Hist. of the Indies*, iv.; Brantome, *Cœuvres*; Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*; Montaigne, *Voyage*, iii.; Garnier, *Hist. de France*, xiv.; Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, i.; Capefigue, *La Reforme*, &c.; Thuanus, xvi.; Millot, *Hist. de France*, ii.; Audin, *Luther*; Mosheim, *Ecl. Hist.* ii.; Kohlrausch, *Hist. of Germany*; De la Place, *L'Etat de la Relig.*; Castelnau, *Mem.*; De la Planche, *L'Etat de France*; D' Aubigné, *Mem.*; De Thou, *Mem.*; Montluc, *Mem.*; Condillac, *Hist. Mod.*; Lige des Nobles; and many other works; for I have laboured to arrive at right opinions, at least such as seem to me such.

be roused by an impulse, a conviction or sentiment, whose uncompromising tendency will be the destruction of every obstacle which will respectively stand in the way of the former, or thwart the progress of the latter. A terror or a monster to each other, resistance on both sides will become a battle of desperation.

This will be the result of the human, or, rather, inhuman passions, which will be enlisted in the strife, with the imposing banner of religion unfurled. If God will not be for all, every man will be certainly for himself—all his social and political interests will be deemed at stake in the battle of religion.

If we examine the theoretical expositions of the parties, giving an account of the faith within them, both will seem strong in motives of resistance and destruction, it is so easy to justify conscience when the heart is possessed by desire : but this very evidence will give us the key to that box of Pandora, the human heart. The motives of human action will leap forth in succession, the history of events will become credible, and if we sigh at the discovery, we shall still be consoled—if it be always a consolation—with the possession of truth.

Protestantism will have advanced, Catholicism will have suffered in the conflict. In every kingdom of Europe the unity of faith will be menaced, if not destroyed. It had seemed at first, as it seems to many now, a strife of mere opinion, a conflict of words, a battle of croaking frogs. Had that been the fact, it would soon have been drowned in the marsh of oblivion. But *solids* were equally the bone of contention : the *loaves and the fishes* were never forgotten by those who feasted thereon, and laid by the fragments.

The stake of the battle.

A key to the box of Pandora.

Solids were the bone of contention.

Protestantism struck at the root of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection—time-honoured enjoyments of popes, monks, bishops, and priests. Indulgences would no longer be craved and paid for ; dispensations would be dispensed with ; bulls, breves, anathema, and excommunication would be only parchment, calf-skin, or foolscap ; and the result would be painfully inconvenient. The stream of pious benefaction and church-profit would be turned from its prescriptive gulf—so broad and deep ; for it is certain that the gratitude or childish terror of mankind had, from time immemorial, more than rewarded Mother Church for her care and solicitude. A kingdom, with broad lands for the pope—vast revenues for cardinals, pets, minions, and bishops—fertile districts for comfortable monks—endowments, grants, and foundations, for mass-priests and father-confessors ; in a word, the estate of the Church, in the day of her glory, attests the natural gratitude of man, if not the modesty and moderation of his teachers, and his liberal payment to his prophets, who did little or nothing without a “consideration.”

How Protestantism exasperates Catholicism.

Now, however, things were different ; *thought* had changed whilst *matter* was inert, and went as men listed. Many of the great had changed their opinions in matters of faith, but not their natural appetites in the matter of body. Men there were who considered themselves the “Church,” and therefore they had a right to church-property ; and they helped themselves when they found that the Church would be the last to help them ; they deemed themselves “worthy of their hire,” after the old notions ; and the men of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection denounced

More painful results.

them, detested them as spoliators, robbers, and interlopers.¹ Princes and nobles had come in for the lion's share, as a matter of course, and rioted in the fatness of the Church. Centenary charities circulated in channels irregular, though similar, and the "pious orgies" of monks were succeeded by orgies without "dispensation."

Thus, those who had been rich became poor, and the poor became rich by transubstantiation of substance, as

the alchemists call it ; and many were dying of that great epidemic called "want of money."²

Herein is the question—broad, deep, high as heaven, low as the other place, and as universal as humanity. Anxiety about the loaves and the fishes will vastly promote the struggles for the sake of "religion," on all sides, desperate, giving no quarter. Ambition, envy, avarice, love or lust, hatred and revenge, will be the sources of leagues and associations ; religion and the benefit of the people will be the pretexts ; sacrifices will be proclaimed, and the people will be the victims. The people will suffer, invariably suffer for their "betters," whose cause they will defend, with blood and bones, under the name of religion. Princes will fight in self-defence, or for self-aggrandisement, whilst religious enthusiasm will recruit their armies, and open the treasures of their subjects. Of the multitudes who will flock to their standard, such as be not lured by the hope of plunder, will imagine that they fight for truth, whilst, in fact, they will be shedding their blood for the personal objects of their princes, kings, or governors, temporal or *spiritual*.³

¹ See Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, for Luther's strong opinions on this subject of spoliation, p. 278. Also, Schiller, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 10, where he discusses the subject a *lectle* after the manner of Machiavel.

² See *Sat. Menip.* c. 1.

³ Schiller, *ubi supra*.

In the midst, or the skirts of this strife—wherein enthusiasm was needed and made effectual—we shall meet the sons of Loyola.

Epoch of Destiny—age of Transition! Primitive monsters will begin to vacate their strongholds; but vast will be their struggle; they will inflict deadly wounds as they turn and fly reluctant, by Fate pursued. *Stirring events will ensue.* Epoch of Destiny—age of Transition. Great interests will be at stake. Human passions will inhumanly rage in strong desire. God's justice will be offended—yet men will “think they have a good conscience.” Hideous selfishness will riot in the *act*—religion will swoon in the *motive*. The potentates of earth will fling ruthless swords into the conflict—the ministers of religion will lend motives to the combatants—the sons of Loyola will be there. Man, as a reasonable and moral agent, will retrograde for a time—from bad to worse—but blessed Providence will bring forth good from the evil done. Hope, humbly, then—ye who suffer. God is above.

Draw the curtain and scan the crowned heads of this little world—the arbiters of man's fate—the pagan gods upon earth, if nowhere else. The crowned Heads of Earth.

Charles V., a warrior, and little else besides—except a monk. His hands will be too full, his mind too empty, and his heart too narrow. An army of reckless freebooters will give him a victory or two—he will injure others without benefitting himself, which will be a consolation; he will frighten the pope, Paul III. Being deceived by his holiness, he will undertake to settle the religious bickerings of his subjects, and publish articles called the *Interim*, until the Great Council shall have “pronounced.” Papal prerogative

will thus be infringed, and a Jesuit will trample on the imperial measure, and brave God's anointed to the face. Then Charles will abdicate his sceptre, ensconce himself in delightful Estremadura—turn monk and watchmaker, and die without assigning a reason for what really will need no explanation ; but opinions will be divided—some will say he was “disgusted with power,”—others, “convinced that all is vanity of vanities,”—some, that he was “crippled with the gout,” and therefore resolved to risk no more “the diminution of his high reputation,”—and others will say, that he would give “an interesting and sublime lesson of resignation, contentment, and humility to mankind.”

A Jesuit will visit and spend an edifying hour with the prostrate monarch.

His son will succeed him—Philip II. Gold will make him great—and craft will make him little. The wealth of the crushed Indians will fill his coffers—
Philip II. and Jesuits will waste not a little of the price of blood. Freedom will be his bugbear—his nightmare for ever : Protestantism his haunting devil. Poor fool of power ! He will support factions and leagues, and yet have no authority in their councils. He will fancy himself their spring : he will be only their dupe. He will “stir” the Netherlands so bunglingly, that he will lose many provinces for his pains, and his bigoted Catholicity. He will “stir” Ireland, which was stirred long before him, and all to little purpose for himself—but hideous suffering for the dupes of his dupers—the Jesuits. He will “stir” England in like manner, and with the same result—superadding a huge calamity to his country, the destruction of her fleet, the invincible Armada. He will think of humbling his enemies ; and

they will crush him. Finally, he will ruin his own country. Spain will be the first power in Europe when Charles abdicates ; Philip will only leave her the ambition of being such again, and a crafty system of politics, which will disturb her neighbours, but never raise herself again. Philip's heart will be cruel, his mind shallow ; he will plan much, and do nothing but evil to the world, and his country. He will die an object of pity and compassion.

The Jesuits will be his faithful ministers, and very humble servants.

Mary of England, his wife, will have passed away, with execrations on her head for the blood she will draw in defence of her faith, in hatred of Protestantism ; the Catholic cause will triumph Mary of England. again—barbaric priests and bishops will torture and burn the heretics : the queen will die and their cause will be found in a dread minority. Elizabeth will spring to the throne, a man in mind, and anything you like in heart—the nation's Protestant Queen.

Jesuits will brave her power. Jesuits will defy her authority—"stir" her people—delude many—and die bravely in their cause :—for the sword of the law will fiercely, ruthlessly, cruelly rage against England. traitors and dangerous fanatics, who would never have existed, in all probability, without the stirring Jesuits. But the cruel, atrocious measures in Elizabeth's reign, and that of her successor, will be ruinous to the cause of Christianity, and only tend to perpetuate all manner of craft and iniquity, destined to entail, sooner or later, a terrible retribution.

We shall meet, in those days, the redoubtable, cunning, unprincipled Jesuit Parsons. King-killing doctrine will be rife.

A memorable event will render famous, or infamous, every succeeding year : each decade will behold a revolution—the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France. 1572—the horrors of the League in 1585—the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France, in 1593. The murder of a king will have preceded, and Henry himself will fall by the knife of the assassin. King-killing doctrine will not be obsolete : monks, or **Jesuits**, will always be found able, ready, eager to inculcate and to defend the proposition. But more terrible events shall have preceded.

What shall we find in Italy ? Crafty, ambitious, or worldly-minded popes, rising from their humiliation and presuming on their regenerated power—the work of the indefatigable Jesuits, who will soon have achieved their promises. But the ambitious Paul IV., pope of Rome, will induce Henry II., of France, to invade Naples. Philip will despatch his Duke of Alva to Italy, whence he will soon expel the French under Guise, and overrun the States of the Church, saying that “he will hold all the places he shall take, in trust for the next pope.” Such will be the pretext of Philip II.’s conscience, consenting, in his prodigious orthodoxy, to war against the Father of the Faithful. His soldiers will complain that they battle with a mist—a cloud—and can clutch nothing :—for all will be hungry in those days of craft, rapine, and murder.

Policy and pay will achieve all things :—the Protestant leader, the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, first Duke of Prussia, will befriend the Pope of Rome in his difficulties ; and the pope’s best troops will be Protestant Germans—jeerers of images—scoffers of the mass, and breakers of the fast,

sons of Luther. *They* will not battle with a mist ; nor will they be fighting for the pope ; for Albert will only be trying to build up a kingdom near the pope's right hand, Austria and Poland. He will not succeed, however, for his policy in siding with the pope. Nor let the fact surprise you ; even Solyman the Turk, the infidel, will be solicited to fight in the papal cause !

This Pope Paul IV., an old brawny veteran of eighty years, will feel the weight of the Spaniards more than that of age. He will sit for hours at table Pope Paul IV. over the black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, (his favourite drink,) and pour forth torrents of invectives against the Spaniards, styling them schismatics, heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world ; and finish his benediction with a prophecy from the Psalms applied to his blessed self, saying—"Thou shalt walk upon serpents ; thou shalt tread upon lions and the dragon !" And he will raise to the rank of cardinal his nephew Carlo, who will have revelled in the wild excesses of a soldier's life, and of whom Paul IV. himself will have said that "his arm is dyed in gore to the elbow." His other nephews he will make a duke and a marquis, Palliano and Montebello. Their claims to favour will be—hatred to the Spaniards ! In that passion the pope will forget reform—his once darling object ; for it is of *Caraffa*, the founder of the *Theatines*, the honest Christian of a few years ago, that you have been reading ! But another change will ensue—his eyes will be opened—the rage of reform again will rouse him to the effort—he will disgrace his own nephews in spite of every solicitation—sudden as the lightning will be the resolution—rapid as the same its execution and ruin. An old Theatine, Don Geromia, will have

“taught him things he never could have guessed.” And then he will launch into universal reform, reckless of consequences, even as he advised on a former occasion. He will literally fulfil every wish he then entertained ; the church and court of Rome he will thoroughly purify ; not an abuse will remain unrectified. A medal will be struck, representing him under the type of Christ clearing the temple. It will be his boast, that he let not a day pass without promulgating some order towards the restoration of the church to its original purity ; and the horrible Inquisition, with its tortures to compel the detection of accomplices, will aid him in his purification.

He will give the Jesuits considerable trouble ; hamper them in their measures ; alter their Constitutions in two essential points ; and keep them in terror, as though destruction impended. But they will have a crafty general at their head, and he will allay the tempest ; their day of triumph will come, when the terrible old pope will fall back and die—when his memory will be execrated—his statue pulled down and broken to pieces, and the triple crown dragged through the streets. Then will the Jesuit-general stand a good chance of being elected Pope of Rome ! Whatever be your humiliation, will you ever despair ? Whatever state of things annoy, disgust you, will you ever think a change impossible ? Think of these events, and learn to be patient.

A fearful slaughter of Paul’s nephew and his relatives will engorge the next pontificate, and the Jesuits will figure, crucifix in hand, at the awful execution.

The great Council of Trent will give them, and will have given them a field to fight their theoretic battle for

papal authority, and to compromise the rights of bishops, who will never be able to cope with the Jesuits.

From Italy's spiritual kings, if you turn to France you will behold Henry II. in the lap of favourites:—ambitious and moderate, warlike and cruel, according to the opinions and influence of those to ^{France.} whom he is attached, and in whose opinion he confides for a time. Diana of Poitiers is his mistress—her ruling passions are avarice and ambition. Catherine de' Medici is his queen—crafty, accommodating, supple—as ambition requires—and destined to a cursed immortality, she will give the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A slight amelioration in the treatment of the Protestants of France will be permitted by the intervention of her Parliament. Bigotry will take alarm. The Cardinal de Lorraine obtains an edict which enables bigotry to torment the Protestants. A Dominican monk is appointed Inquisitor of the Faith in France—a tribunal with its penetrating police is established. Remonstrances follow; even the Catholic bishops are disgusted, for humanity is neither confined to times, places, nor religions. The Parliament takes up the cause of mercy, and the noble Seguier boldly denounces the short-sighted policy of selfish bigotry. In his memorable speech on that occasion, he will speak counsel and warning for all succeeding times. Tracing the practical dangers of the visionary theory, denouncing the endless injustice of the persecuting scheme, predicting its inefficacy, and then branding the parasites—the self-seekers—the hangers-on of court favour—the panderers to crime—saying: “And as for you, sirs,” turning to the counsellors of state, “you who so calmly hear me, and apparently think that the affair does not concern you, it is fit that you should be

divested of that idea. As long as you enjoy favour, you wisely make the most of your time. Benefits and kindness are showered on your heads: every one honours you; and it enters the mind of no one to attack you. But, the more you are elevated, the nearer you are to the thunderbolt; and one must be a stranger to history not to know what is often the cause of a disgrace. But to date from the registering of this edict, your condition would cease to be the same: you will have, as in times past, for successors, men poor and hungry, who, not knowing how long they may remain in office, will burn with a desire to enrich themselves at once, and they will find a wonderful facility in so doing; for, certain of obtaining your confiscation from the king, it will only be necessary to make sure of an inquisitor and two witnesses; and though you may be saints, you would be burned as heretics." The speech makes a "sensation"—the king is "affected"—but, for a time at least, the Inquisitor is not shaken. There he stands, firm as Egyptian pyramid, with his four cardinal-pointed sides frowning over the doomed heads of the poor mechanic in his daily toil—of the shepherd watching his flock—of the student in his whispering closet silent as death—every heretic in the length and breadth of the land.

After incalculable suffering, bitterness, and strife, Henry IV. will reward his Protestant subjects for their services in fighting his battles with the *Edict of Nantes*, and will favour the Jesuits—to counteract the craft and machinations of Spain.

The Inquisition and the monks will sap the foundation of Protestantism: will strive to restore the supremacy of Rome—and nowhere more than in Portugal under John III.; but the Romans themselves will rise up

against the iniquitous tribunal with which they are menaced, and demolish the prisons of the "Holy Office." The horror of these persecutions subsequently induce the phlegmatic Hollanders to embrace the religion of Luther. The advance of Protestantism. Vain is the flood of new monks, capuchins, recollets, and barnabites—the Reformation is spread over Germany, a part of France, England, Sweden, Poland, and amongst the chamois-hunters of Switzerland.

But the Jesuits will go forth, and bring back many a straggler to their fold—and sing the triumph of the faith.

From the governors of earth—their means and their methods—let us turn to the governed, and behold the human nature of those eventful times.

In Italy, amidst its splendour of arts and science, its talk of religion—morals are so corrupted, that public shame is utterly lost; the vices of individuals, Morals in Italy. even the most remarkable for their riches, rank, and position, exhibit a front of brass in the boastful impudence of guilt. Nothing is concealed—nothing disgraces. Princes and their ministers, only intent on gaining their objects, reject not, in their affairs and consultations, the utmost perfidy or atrocity—not even excepting poison and secret murder. In the memories of men rife and palliating are the deeds of Alexander VI., his execrable son, and their minions. The licentious court of Leo X. is not forgotten. The doctrines of Machiavel, proposing expediency as the motive for every action, and making all things lawful by that standard, infect all deliberations, and are brought to bear on every measure.¹ Intentions are perverse, means

¹ No author's meaning can be plainer than Machiavelli's, and yet no author has found so many discordant interpreters; some representing him as the

are abominable, superstition is general, religion scarcely felt or respected, and trampled under foot in the very spot where it should find its sanctuary and defence. No wonder, then, that Italy will suffer so long, so bitterly, social and political afflictions to the latest posterity. Its science will increase, its arts will expand—but the perversity of the national character will continue to administer premiums to dexterous craft rather than simple virtue. Dexterity will be the nation's virtue. Its possessors will find in Rome admiration and liberal reward.

pervorter of all morality, others as only the satirical denouncer of the principles then in vogue. The very fact of this defence, however, is an evidence of the atrocious principles inculcated in his works. That he wrote as he felt, I have no doubt. His *Principe* is the great stumbling-block, but many of its principles are found in his other works as well, and to the former he refers for further elucidation. Bacon excused him with the argument above given, and Macaulay dismisses the subject with a broad cachinnation. Roscoe does not doubt his "sincerity," and Sismondi gives the vote against the politician. The king of Prussia, in his *Anti-Machiavel*, says he is in politics what Spinosa is in faith. Earlier writers were not deceived by appearances. Though his book was published in Rome (after having circulated in manuscript), though the author was the confidential friend of Pope Clement VII., though his maxims were carried out in church and state, he lacked not denouncers. The Englishman, Cardinal Pole, was the first to pronounce against *Il Principe*, and the author generally, in his Apology for the Unity of the Church; and the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, one of the first companions of Ignatius, abuses Machiavel in no measured terms, in a work expressly written to describe the early Jesuit-notion of a Christian prince. I shall have occasion to advert to one or two maxims inculcated in this Jesuit-book. From the notes to Alciati's Emblems, by *Minoe*, published in 1608, and by the *Cautio* of the Jesuit Possevin, in 1592, it appears plainly that no doubt was then entertained of Machiavel's perfect sincerity and good faith in his diabolical politics. Butler says:

" Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick."

Hud. P. iii. C. 1.

"But," says Macaulay, "we believe there is a schism on this subject among the antiquaries." See Roscoe, Leo X., ii., 290; Bacon, De Augm. Scient. l. vii.; Sismondi, i., 430; Macaulay, Crit. and Hist. Essays, i.; Tirabosch, Storia della Lett. vii., P. i. 518; Alciati Emblem. per Claud. Minoem, p. 683; Ribaden. Tratado de la Religion, &c., Madrid, 1595 (first edition); Mem. of Machiav. prefixed to Bohn's excellent translation, P. xv.; Bossi, x., 101, 106.

In Spain, results avenge the fate of America, discovered, ruled with a rod of iron, and crushed by the Spaniards. Moral turpitude had fallen back redoubled on the homes of the corrupters—Morals in Spain. we behold that result in their pride, their avarice, and diabolical licentiousness. The Spaniards disdain the common occupations of life. The dignities of the church, the insignia of office, become their aspirations. The spirit of industry is dead—their manufactures languish—labour is a disgrace: but to figure in the pompous retinue of the great, even as domestics, is an honour, a distinction. Foreigners step in, do their work, and carry off fortunes. Enervated by luxury, uncultivated in mind, ashamed to labour, men find in monasteries and the church a beggarly refuge, subsistence, and the distinctions which superstition lavishes on its priests, friars of every hue, and fattened monks.

And fiendish cruelty has unhumanised the hearts of America's conquistadores—plunderers of the savage, yet Cross in hand. A dread demoralisation ensues. It seems as if men look on crime as on their meals,—with an appetite or not as the case may be—but all is natural. Iterated example trains to imitation. Children grow up like their parents: born in the midst of wickedness, how can they be otherwise? In 1523, assassinations were so frequent in Spain that every man was allowed to wear a sword for his own defence. Only the *nobles* were allowed them before. Then the dread Inquisition lowered on the land, generating suspicion in every heart, mistrust, jealousy, in every mind. A son may accuse his father, a mother her child and her husband; a man his friend or fellow-citizen.

In Germany, Protestantism arrests attention. We

stand aghast, bewildered by the violence with which men quarrel about opinions. Protesting against Romanism, they are not united among themselves. They may thus be conquered in detail—or goaded on, one against the other—set to persecute each other—the Jesuit method in Austria so successful. But what shall we say of that flagrant example of expedient connivance—nay, authorised infringement of a sacred law—the bigamy of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse? Luther and Melancthon repent too late for their share in the scandal. The moral sentiment of Protestantism sees with disgust the names of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and four other Protestant leaders, affixed to the document permitting the prince to have two wives together—Protestant leaders being present at the secret marriage, subsequently by woman's vanity divulged.

In France luxury and extravagance are excessive and universal. Italy and Spain give the fashion. Severe enactments are issued by authority against abuses, but what can effectually resist the spirit of an age? It may be changed or modified by influence, but it cannot be suppressed by force. The pride and vanity of the lower ranks vie in display with the great: jealous bickerings ensue: the nobles present a petition to restrain the extravagance of the upstarts—and do not forget to throw in a remonstrance against the prevalence of public-houses for games of hazard and prostitution. The presumption of these upstarts, the contemptible “lower orders,” is curiously exemplified and awfully punished. Francis I. meets with an accident which compels him to cut his hair short, and he further adopts the fashion of wearing a beard. Some plebeians take it into their heads to do

Morals in
France—the
League.

the same. The indignant nobility get an edict, in 1553, from the king, enjoining every plebeian, husbandman, and farmer, under penalty of the gibbet, to cut their beards—for long beards are the distinguishing marks of the nobility. Meanwhile the education of children is neglected—their fathers are “gone to the wars,” or plunged in dissipation—their mothers thinking of gaudy attire, fantastic display in dress; not the most modest above, though below, their garments sweep the ground as in the beginning of a succeeding century. Contemporaneous authors depict the morals of the age: the privileged classes stand before us in their loathsomeness. Meschinot de Mortières, Martial d’Auvergne, Chartier, and Cornelius Agrippa, the Diogenes of the times, pourtray the “gentlemen” of those days, without mincing matters or lacking hard words. The untranslatable epithets of the last are given below.¹ He has to smart for his truth and philosophy. Transition, the indefatigable spirit that slumbers never, is tempting the masses with the baits of knowledge. The masses are biting fast, and are being caught, as in Germany, in England, Switzerland, and elsewhere—to escape with a jerk anon: but the nobles, the gentlemen of France, deem ignorance an honour. “The young lords,” says Alain Chartier, “are nurtured in delights and idleness. As soon as they are born, that is, as soon as they learn to speak, they are in the school of gluttony and bad words. Their people adore them in the cradle, and train them to forget themselves and others

¹ “Ils sont brigands, enfonceurs de portes, ravisseurs, meurtriers, larrons, sacrilèges, batteurs de pavé, putiers, maquereaux, bordeliers, adultères, traistres, concussionnaires, joueurs, blasphémateurs, empoisonneurs, parricides, boute-feux, pirates, tyrans et semblables qualités,” &c.

as if they were born only to eat and drink, and the people created only to honour them. And more; for this foolish talk runs now-a-days among the courtiers, that a gentleman ought not to know letters. And they hold it a reproach to gentility to know how to read well and write well. Alas! What greater folly can there be, or what more dangerous error to be made public.”¹ Duelling is in vogue. Henry II. lends his august presence to a personal encounter, in which his favourite is mortally wounded. After the victory the survivor kneels before the king, thanks God, and beating his breast, exclaims, *Domine, non sum dignus*—O Lord, I am not worthy! The two champions will have sworn, according to ancient usage, that “they have not, either on their persons, or their arms, any *charm or incantation* to aggrrieve the enemy, because they will not aid themselves with anything but God, and their right, and the strength of their bodies and arms.”

Meanwhile Protestants are burnt without mercy. Even pity is denied them: members of Parliament are arrested for suggesting a modification in the rigour of the laws. The Jesuit Daniel calls this “unreasonable compassion,” in his heavy, dull History of France. Hatred for the Church of Rome necessarily increases. The fiercest passions of men—in the persecuted and the persecutors—are in continual irritation, and constant display: but persecution strengthens the suffering cause, and preserves its rank and file: at the court, in the city, the provinces, amongst all orders of men, the

¹ Chartier died in the preceding century. He it was whom Margaret of Scotland kissed as he slept in a chair, by way of tribute to his “eloquent lips” which “had said so many fine things.” He was called the Father of French eloquence.

reformed doctrines have supporters. A crisis is inevitable. Imagine a royal mandate such as goes forth, enjoining the judges to arrest as accomplices of heresy all who shall even solicit in favour of the heretics! That crisis comes at last. The Catholic League, under ambitious princes and nobles, and bigoted popes and kings, spreads horrible war and devastation over France. The Protestants hideously cope with their persecutors, and follow their example of fiendish atrocity. These are the wars of the *League* and the *Huguenots*.¹ The fierce, ruthless Huguenot, Baron des Adrets, displays the atrocities generated by religious discord brought to bear fruit in political abuses. He caught two hundred Catholics, and hurled them from the windows of his castle, in the ditch below, to certain destruction. One of them clung to a branch in his fall—clung with a grip such as the fear of certain death nails to an object. The baron poured shot and stones at him; but never a

¹ The origin of this name is curious: it is not from the German *Eidegenossen*, as has been supposed. Regnier de la Planche accounts for it as follows:—"The name *huguenaud* was given to 'those of the religion' during the affair of Amboise, and they have retained it ever since. I'll say a word about it to settle the doubts of those who have strayed in seeking its origin. The superstition of our ancestors, to: within twenty or thirty years' thereabouts, was such that in almost all the towns in the kingdom, they had a notion that certain spirits underwent their *Purgatory* in this world, after death, and that they went about the town during the night, striking and outraging many people whom they found in the streets. But the light of the Gospel has made them vanish, and teaches us that these spirits were street-strollers and ruffians. At Paris the spirit was called *le moine bourré*; at Orleans, *le mulet Odet*; at Blois, *le loup garou*; at Tours, *le Roy Huguet*, and so on in other places. Now, it happens that those whom they called Lutherans were at that time so narrowly watched during the day, that they were forced to wait till night to assemble for the purpose of praying to God, for preaching, and receiving the holy sacrament: so that, although they did not frighten, nor hurt anybody, the priests, through mockery, made them the successors of those spirits which roamed the night; and thus, that name being quite common in the mouth of the populace, to designate the evangelical *huguenauds* in the country of Tourraine and Amboise, it became in vogue after that enterprise."—*De l'Etat de France*. An. 1560 (Panth. Litt.)

missile touched him as he hung—fast and resolute. Struck with the fact—moved by his intrepidity—the fierce Adrets spared and saved the man thus rescued as by miracle.¹ Montluc, the Catholic leader, was equally ferocious. “I procured,” he says, “two executioners, who were called my lacqueys, because they were so much with me.” The dreadful and universal massacre of the Protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, by order of the king in council, will never be equalled by Protestants—however criminal may have been the acts of some of their leaders. They suffer terrible calamities and yet are not “put down.” What more inspiring to their cause than a simple fact as the following. A poor man and his wife are burnt alive. As they go to death, the wife exhorts her husband to suffer, saying: “Have courage, my brother, for to-day we shall go together to heaven.”—*Ayez bon courage, mon frère, car aujourd'hui nous irons ensemble en paradis.*

And the effects of these wars on humanity, what are they? A year of civil wars is enough to bring shapeless desolation where all was once prosperity. Agriculture is neglected, where, we are told, it has been better attended to than in any other country—France, the garden of the world, as the chronicler calls his fatherland. Towns and villages without number have been sacked, and pillaged, and

Results of
the “relig-
ious” wars.

¹ A different, but very improbable version of this affair is given by others. The baron’s men are placed in the moat to receive the Catholics on their pikes! Enough to smash themselves to death, certainly. Then we are told that the poor fellow in question, being ordered to leap, stopped twice, on the brink. “Coward!” exclaims the baron, “you have shrunk back twice!” “I’ll give you ten times to do it, brave general!” replies the man—and he is pardoned for his wit! It is evident that *Castelnau’s* account is nearer the fact. See his *Mémoires*, l. iv. c. 2. We are farther told that the baron used to bathe his children in the blood of slaughtered Catholics (!)

burnt, and have become deserts. The poor labourers have been driven from their dwellings, robbed of their goods and cattle, taken for ransom, and pilfered, to-day by one party, to-morrow by the other, *whatever may be their faction or religion*; and they take to flight like savage beasts, abandoning all they possess, so as not to live at the mercy of those who are without compassion. Trade and the mechanical arts are discontinued: for the merchants and artisans have quitted their shops and trades to buckle on the breast-plate. The nobles are divided—the churchmen are oppressed—no man is sure of his goods or his life. Where force and violence give the law, justice is not administered: magistrates and statutes are disregarded. In fine, the civil war has been the inexhaustible source of all manner of wickedness—robbery, murders, incests, adulteries, parricides, and other vices as enormous as can be imagined—for which there is no check—no chastisement. And the worst is, that in the war, the arms which have been taken in defence of religion, have annihilated all religion and piety, have produced, like a rotten body, the vermin and pestilence of an infinite multitude of *atheists*: for the churches have been sacked and demolished, ancient monasteries destroyed, the monks driven out, the nuns violated. What has required four hundred years to build, has been destroyed in a single day—without sparing the sepulchres of kings and of our fathers. Behold, my son, says the chronicler, behold the fine fruits which civil war produced, and will produce, when we are so unfortunate as to take up arms again, as seems most likely. The League is put down by Henry IV., whose history is involved in that of the Jesuits. Of course they will play their part in the wars.

In England, the constant prosperity of the Protestants, and adversity of the Catholics, under Elizabeth, arrest attention. There is no innate ferocity
 Elizabeth. in Elizabeth, though she is the daughter of Henry VIII. The child of his best moments, perhaps, she exhibits the passion of love in its intensity; and would live on the praise and affection of all her subjects: but her right to the throne is questioned by the Catholic party—a Spanish faction headed and “stirred” by the Jesuits. This faction endangers, threatens the life of the Queen. No method seems so advisable as persecution—horrible slaughter, embowelling, and quartering, to put down that faction. The age loves blood. The English sport with it; and hundreds, with Jesuits to show them how to die, entertain the national propensity to see gibbet-work. Tortures the most hideous are devised—limbs are stretched till the tendons crack again—blood spurts from the ears and mouth—but the persecuted flinch not—though many of us would, perhaps, decline the ordeal—and remain firm to their religion, which is, in the nation’s opinion, one and the same with *treason*. England’s insular position saves her from a civil war. Spain’s armies would give Elizabeth and her able ministers infinite work, if Spain’s Philip could throw a few thousand of his troops on the plains of Albion. We shall find her policy in the history of the Jesuits.

Thus, fermentation is general over Europe. Wars are incessant—because states and principalities are being
 Recapitulation. formed as Transition advances. In Spain—the seeds of ruin: in Italy—a bone of everlasting contention: in Germany—politics and religion share it between them: in France begins, or rather continues, the

abuse of regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical power, destined to reach the climax with Louis XIV., and then after a stumbling and bungling reign, to produce the thunderbolt of the Revolution : in England, the foundation of a Protestant Constitution is laid, with a striking development of the national resources—as we shall behold in *every* country where the Protestant form of religion permits the human mind to work unfettered. I have alluded to the French Revolution. We shall note as we advance in this history, the steady progress to that terrible event which shook the universe. In perusing the history of the two centuries that precede the scourge, we shall find it difficult to believe that the religion of Christ was the religion of Europe. We shall behold portentous causes stirring the mass of humanity—upheaving the eventful history of two hundred years—years of “religious” and political abuses crying to indignant Heaven for retribution. From the atrocities of the “religious wars,” to the devoteeism of Louis XIV.’s last years, and their offspring, the philosophism of the two succeeding reigns—throughout the entire period we shall see in operation the most perfect worldliness stamped on the actions of the chief actors, united to a gorgeous display of hot-blooded zeal :—intellect, indeed, predominant, but scornful, owing to the hypocrisy, the inconsistency, which it will be incessantly compelled to detect, or suspect, in the promulgators of “religion.” In truth, we shall find the history of the Jesuits a key to that of the world during their lordly career.

Suffering, disaster, by human passions caused and promoted, have filled the preceding glance at the state of Europe during the sixteenth century—the world as the Jesuits find it—eager for something—gladly availing

itself of every arm consenting to work in its service. The Jesuits are capable of serving: they will have plenty to do. In the midst of atrocious crime, we find religion, or rather its name, on every lip. All men are devoted to their "religion." All are ready to fight and die for it. Its forms are venerated, deemed indispensable; its spirit is a matter of entangling distinctions and perversions. Its best verbal sentiments are uttered in the moments of triumphant guilt. The name of God seems to sanctify the lusts of the heart of man; for the spirit of pure religion has taken flight from earth, now a prey to political and religious ascendancies.

Meanwhile the arts and sciences receive an impulse in France, England, Germany, and Italy—an impulse destined to be strengthened and increased in every succeeding age. Poets, painters, sculptors, preachers, visionaries, astrologers, with chymists and alchymists, swell a lengthened list of honoured names for the sixteenth century. The heart and mind desire and plan objects of sensual gratification, and the rewards held forth by the great, by popes, and by kings, each in the circle of his own desires and interests, stimulate talent, give perseverance to genius. Shakspeare and his tragedies and comedies for the Virgin Queen, Ariosto and his wild and tempest poesy; Malherbe; Machiavel and his universal politics; Montaigne and his blessed toleration; the Scaligers and their book-fights; the Aldis and their printing-presses; Erasmus and his timid nothings; More and his "*Utopia*," destined, like "*Jesuit*," to designate what nobody can comprehend; St. Francis of Sales and his mild devotion; Paracelsus and St. Theresa with their visions and dreams; Ghirlandajo,

"Religious"
and political
ascendancies.

The arts,
sciences,
literature.

Raphael, with immortal paintings ; Palestrina and his heaven-reaching strains of devotional music—these and a thousand others wield the chisel, the pen, the pencil—and among them vigorously, boldly figure the JESUITS, who leave no *art* untried.

Spiritualists there are—*schoolmen*—men of knotty distinctions, unintelligible jargon, stamping wranglers with muddy demonstrations :—again, the *Dogmatists*, more reasonable, perhaps, teaching from the Scriptures and the “Fathers”—and lastly the *Mystics*, seraphic swooners on the bosom of fleecy clouds—totally confined to the empyrean of dream-land—forgetful of body, whose wants are a constant dead weight and affliction.

In the midst of this crisis of mind and morals, Ignatius dies, bequeathing to the world, then possessed with unspeakable desire to see and know, his well-trained, disciplined, and serried battalions—as “millions of flaming swords drawn from the thighs of mighty cherubim.” Their sudden blaze far round illumines earth. Highly they rage against their appointed foe, determined HERESY,

————— and fierce with grasped arms
Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

What an opportunity is this for blessing mankind ! In their power to bless, the Jesuits will be omnipotent. The disorganised state of society ; the unsettled, bewildered minds of men ; their intellect keen and active, their passions strong and misguided—all crying for a helper—a saviour unto men in their “horrible pit,” their “miry clay.” Then will be the opportunity for “a new

song"—an opportunity like that chosen by God when Jesus appeared. For at that blessed advent were not men's minds bewildered by teachers, disgusted with the fooleries of paganism, surfeited and tired with unrighteousness? How sweetly may the new Order strive to heal, to cure the wounds of Humanity, now way-laid, plundered of her best treasures, and wounded, and left for dead in a "howling wilderness without water"! But alas! she becomes at once a *party*—first to serve others as a slave, then to work for herself as a grasping speculator. Old abuses, vile prerogatives—these she covers with her wings—these she defends with claw and nail, and talons. Kings in their pride—popes in their encroachments—*herself* in her ambition—these are successively her molten calves—and she falls down and worships them.

She finds men eager to learn—she gives them subtle controversy; teaches them how to wrangle for ever, seeking the discomfiture of the antagonist more than his conviction:—and then, dexterously changing her method with the circumstances, she works at soft persuasion—enlisting into the specious service every human art and all manner of trickery, which she herself denounces in theory by some of her members: whilst others sanctify craft, make deceit not unholy in doing her appointed work. Rather than fail in reclaiming the objects of her spiritual ambition, she will thus pervert herself, by resorting to unlawful means for her holy purposes. We shall see how these things come to pass in the scenes of her history.

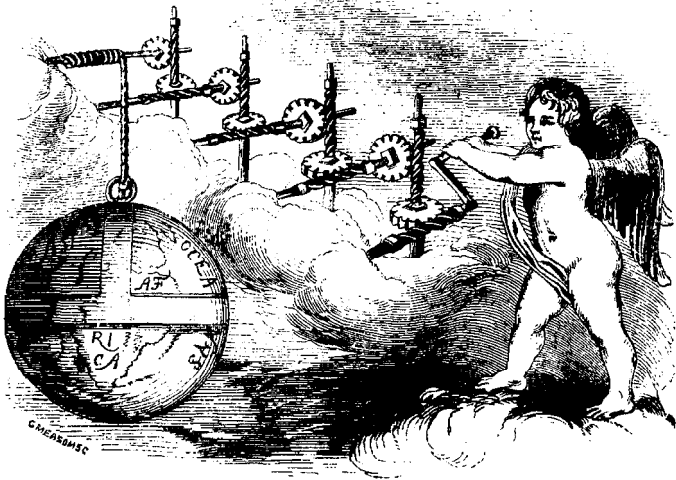
When mankind fix upon her the stigma of craft and cunning, she herself will be proud of her tact and address. All her members will thus be fashioned to a certain standard.

Outward circumstances will press them in a certain path. Ever suspected, from being once detected, nooks and corners will be her working-places. Results she will show : the means will be shrouded in darkness.

The selfishness of party will possess her as "legion," and she will multiply herself and her resources to confirm and hold and clutch with a grip inextricable that influence she will achieve on the minds and hearts of mankind—to the destruction of many—of countless thousands—all over the habitable world—body and soul together in undistinguishable ruin.

Oh ! had a prayer been offered at the moment of this Society's conception, and been heard where virtue is good destiny—that prayer would have enabled us now to say with exultation : The Society of Jesus confined herself to the domain of mind and religion, to make men happy here and hereafter : she benefited body and soul together : she kept aloof from the pitchy touch of kings and popes, with their grasping monopolies of power over all : she strove to regulate, and never flattered the passions of men by a seeming specious morality, which was but vice without the conviction of guilt : she did not rise in her pride to the desire of ruling by her invisible arm kings, countries, all mankind. It will not be thus. The hopes of popes and kings, which the Society of Jesus will raise in their absorbing domination ; the fears of the weak and ignorant, which she will know how to awaken ; the enjoyments of the great, to which she will administer ; their vices, at which she will systematically wink ; her vast educational scheme, which will dislodge all rivals and competitors ; her universal literature, which will expand her renown ; her world-encircling missions, which will give her gold—the groundwork of more extensive

operations ; the decided skill, and cleverness, and address of her men—proverbially learned these qualifications will swell her pride and self-sufficiency until she bursts forth in the words of intolerable boasting—“ Give me but a place to stand on, and I’ll move the world.”¹



THE ARCHIMEDEAN SCREW.

Observe in that figure her astonishing conception most admirably portrayed by the help of Archimedes. On the clouds of *popular opinion*—an airy nothing in itself—screw into screw endlessly cogged,—the universe belted and suspended,—and moved as she lists *invisibly*, as appears by the sturdy and brawny winged object for an angel, turning the handle. It will be thus when a General of the Society shall say to the Duke of Brancas, “ See, my lord, from this room—from this room I govern not only Paris, but China : not only

¹ “ Fac pedem figat et terram movebit.”—*Imago Primi Seculi S. J.* p. 321.

China—but the whole world—without any one knowing how 'tis managed.”¹

Add to this, that her moral doctrines will be compared with those of the pagan philosophers, and the latter will be deemed more Christian :² that it will become an historical problem for Catholics, whether the Jesuits, or Luther and Calvin, have most injured Christian doctrine, and it will be solved to the disgrace of the former by a Catholic :³ and finally, that Doubt and Atheism will be sportively made popular by one of the Society's eccentric progeny.⁴

¹ “Vede, Signor—di questa camera—di questa camera io governo non dico Parigi, ma la China ; non già la China, ma tutto il mondo, senza che nessuno sappia come si fa.”—*Abrégé de l'Hist. Ecclés. de Racine*, xii. 77. Arnaud, xxxii. 78. (Morale Pratique).

² *Parallèle de la Doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jésuites*, 1726.

³ *Problème Historique, qui, les Jésuites, ou Luther et Calvin, ont le plus nui à l'Eglise Chrétienne*, par [Mesnier, Jansenist Catholic] 1737.

⁴ *L'Athéisme découvert par le Père Hardouin dans les écrits de tous les Pères de l'Eglise*, 1715.

BOOK II. OR, FABER.

Most graciously was Ignatius of Loyola received by Pope Paul III. The reader remembers the interview.

The finger of God. It was probably one of Paul's fortunate days. Doubtless he had cast his horoscope. But astrology was not the only art that directed the pope's resolutions. He judged by palmistry as well. A panegyrist of Don Ignacio, when become *Saint Ignatius*, tells us that "after the pope had attentively considered the hands of Ignatius, he saw nothing else inscribed and engraved in them but the name of Jesus, and instantly exclaimed: "The finger of God is here! I find nothing in these hands but the fingers of God."¹

The pope was prepossessed in favour of the pilgrim. He had heard of him before. Ignatius had sent him

¹ "Postquam pontifex attentè considerasset manus Ignatii, nihil aliud eis inscriptum et insculptum vidit præter nomen Jesu, et statim dixit: Digitus Dei hic est—nihil in istis manibus reperio præter digitos Dei."—*Valderrama*, in *Canon. Ignatii*, p. 48. See a curious tract on Palmistry, by Indagine, *Introd. in Chiromant., Physionom., &c.*, Lug. 1582.

The Jesuit historians, apparently not relishing the *whole fact*, have retained the *exclamation*, but dexterously omit the adjunct. They make the pope utter the words when he saw the *draft of the Constitutions of the Company*. Bartoli, l. ii. 43. Cretineau Joly, t. i. 43, &c. Valderrama, who gives the anecdote, was Prior of the Austin Friars in Seville. It occurs in his sermon preached by request of the Jesuits on the 31st July, 1610, when Ignatius was canonised. Of course the Jesuits supplied the "facts" for the laudation. See Bayle, *Dict.* vii. 196.

some of his companions to crave a benediction ; they were well received by Paul, who patronised “learned men,” wherever he found them, with meritorious liberality.¹ Ignatius did not go with them, for fear of *Caraffa*, who suspected him, or whom he had offended at Venice by refusing to enrol himself and companions amongst the *Theatines*, founded by Caraffa.² Don Ignacio had his own idea to work out—his own gun to let off—it was primed : why should he let another fire it ? He has reached the joyful moment. The pope is pleased with him. Paul likes his hands, and doubtless his features, which I have described, after the Jesuits : “All signs of wisdom,” says Bouhours, “according to the physiognomists ;”³ but the physiognomists add more than the Jesuit declares. They say : “Devotion on the lips, hardness in the soul, audacity and obstinacy,—such are the chief characteristics” [of a good likeness of Ignatius] : “with such eyes it is hard not to be a fanatic ; and in such a forehead a thousand projects incessantly succeed each other with rapidity. In fine, the mouth announces a mind of bigotry, or hypocrisy and intrigue, which will employ all means to gain an end. At this portrait, traced by Lavater himself, we recognise *Loyola* and his disciples.”⁴ Be this as it may ; in the cry of reform, then ringing in his ears—for you remember the occasion—with the conviction that something must be done to satisfy the tyrant opinion which interfered with his political schemes—Paul III. accepted the services of Ignatius and his companions. Their terms were the most tempting in the world (in matters of religion)—their services would be

Ignatius and
his scheme.

¹ Bouhours, i. 245.

² Id. i. 234.

³ Id. ii. 228.

⁴ *Précis Analytique du Système de Lavater*, an excellent digest of Lavater's great work. See also Indagine, ubi suprâ, in *Physionom.* c. vii.

gratuitous; they craved no filthy lucre. The Don's object was simply to work for salvation. As far back as 1534, three years before the interview, he had designed his society;¹ he had long before resolved to be a glorious founder, like St. Dominic and St. Francis;² he has not imparted his "holy ambition" even to his companions,³ much less, then, will he scare the pope with a design likely at once to take him aback, at a time when there were cries on all sides against existing orders of monks—useless drones and licentious hypocrites.⁴ He must establish claims before he can demand possession. This he has resolved, and all that he imparts to the pope are the following offers in his own name and that of his companions:—1. That they will lodge at the hospitals, and will live on alms only. 2. That those who might be together will be superiors by turns, each a week, for fear lest their fervour should carry them too far, if they do not set bounds one to the other in the matter of penances and labour. 3. That they will preach in the public places, where permitted; that in their preaching they will hold forth the beauty and rewards of virtue, the deformity and penalties of vice, but in a manner conformable to the simplicity of the Gospel, and without the vain ornaments of eloquence. 4. That they will teach children the Christian doctrine

¹ Bartoli, l. ii. 109.

² Maffei, l. i. 8. "Quid si præclarum hoc S. Dominici facinus, quid si hoc S. Francisci, Deo fretus aggrediar?"

³ It was not till the year after that he imparted to his companions "l'affaire importante qu'il méditait." We shall hear the words ascribed to him on that occasion. See Bouhours, i. 256.

⁴ "I labour very unwillingly in the matter of the monks," wrote Bombo in 1530, "to find under many faces all human rascality covered with diabolical hypocrisy." "Io mi travaglio malto malvolentieri in case di frati per trovarvi sotto molte volte tutte le umane sceleratezze coperto di diabolica ipocrizia." *Apud Botta*, i. 26.

and the principles of good morals. 5. That they will take no money for their functions ; and that, in serving their neighbour, they will purely seek God only.¹ Manifestly offers identical with the duties of Caraffa's *Theatines*, an institute soon obsolete and forgotten, and so would have been the Ignatians had they confined themselves to those simple avocations. With his usual sagacity, Paul III. saw at once the metal of his man. At all events, there could be little risk in giving him a trial. Such workers as the men before him promised to be, were decidedly wanted to make Rome "lead a Christian life for the future." Time and the stars would direct his final resolution. Meanwhile, we will inquire more deeply into the fortunes of Ignatius, "a great and portentous man, honest withal," as honest George Borrow, of "The Bible in Spain" notoriety, terms the founder of the Jesuits.² Some account of Don Ignacio

¹ Bouhours, iii. 245.

² Mr. Borrow's most interesting book, as above, produces very queer notions as we advance with him in his biblical frolics. How the Bible Society enjoyed his opinions on several occasions is a matter of curious conjecture. His politics seem to have warped his judgment, and given him all the knowledge he required for its foundation. What did the Bible Society think of this opinion? "I believe the body of which he (Ignatius) was the founder, and which has been so much decried, has effected infinitely more good than it has caused harm." "What do I hear?" asks the *Catholic Rector*; "you an Englishman, and a Protestant, and yet an admirer of Ignatius Loyola!" "Myself," writes the *Man of the Bible*, "I will say nothing with respect to the *doctrines* of the Jesuits"—[the deuce you won't!] "for, as you have observed, I am a Protestant: but I am ready to assert that there are no people in the world better qualified, upon the whole, to be intrusted with the education of youth. Their moral system and discipline are truly admirable. Their pupils, in after-life, are seldom vicious and licentious characters, and are in general men of learning, science, and possessed of every elegant accomplishment." Then follows the apparent inspiration of his historical judgment. "I execrate," says he, "the conduct of the *liberals* of Madrid in murdering last year the helpless fathers by whose care and instructions two of the finest minds of Spain have been evolved—the two ornaments of the liberal cause and modern literature of Spain, for such are Toreno and Martinez de la Rosa," p. 27. That's the Bible-agent's opinion—and nothing can

de Loyola or Guipuscoa, is necessary as a key to the history of the Jesuits ; but a few remarks must precede the narration.

It is said that there have been thirty Lives of Ignatius. Many are before me. I have read all I could find.

The biographers of Ignatius. The groundwork of all is Jesuit matter. To Jesuit books all refer. His Life is thus chiefly an *ex-parte* production. Gonzalvo, the saint's confessor, Ribadeneyra, his daily companion, Maffeus, an early Jesuit, Bartoli, another Jesuit, and, lastly, Bouhours, also a Jesuit, have, with Pinius, the Bollandist,¹ furnished the groundwork to all other biographers

be more satisfactory—to the Jesuits, if not to his employers. Throughout the perusal of his book I constantly fancied the wry faces pulled by the masters at the strange freaks and opinions of the servant. It is all very well to say “The cause of England's freedom and prosperity is the Bible, and that only, as the last persecutor of this book, the bloody and infamous Mary, was the last (!) tyrant who sat on the throne of England,” p. 17. It's all very well to oil the wheels in this fashion, but the following must have been granite-grit to the fundholders. “Of all the curiosities of this college (Valladolid) the most remarkable is the picture-gallery, which contains neither more nor less than the portraits of a variety of scholars of this house, who eventually suffered martyrdom in England, in the exercise of their vocation in the angry times of the Sixth Edward and fierce Elizabeth,” p. 125. Never did I read a book suggesting so forcibly the reality of a Protestant Jesuit in its author. Read the most comical account of his conversation with the superiors of the English Catholic college at Lisbon (c. v.) only instead of stars or asterisks put Catholics or clergy respectively—and don't be afraid of the agent's employers, as the writer seems to have been—they will not scratch you, if you have turned down the page where he says : “This is one of the relics of the monkish system, the aim of which, in all countries where it has existed, seems to have been to besot the minds of the people, that they might be more easily misled,” p. 18. Invariably are his opinions contradictory and most inconsistent—and sometimes hideously bigoted and uncharitable—and yet “the name of the Lord Jesus” is always on his lips. Was it in that name that he uttered the following atrocity respecting the late pope, who, in truth, was “honest withal !” “I said repeatedly that the pope, whom they revered, was an arch-deceiver, and the head-minister of Satan here on earth,” p. 15. Finally, if he knew the meaning of the Spanish word *carajo*, he ought not to have written it in a book where he talks of “Jesus”—and prominently, too. That adorable name always seems out of place in “The Bible in Spain.” Jesuit would sound and be better there.

¹ A name given to the compilers of saints' lives.

of Ignatius. All his Jesuit Lives vary in their facts with the age in which they were produced.¹ We do not find in Maffeus the strange and wonderful assertions of Ribadeneyra. Bouhours has used the broad end of his stylus with the graceful, the flaming, but somewhat intense Italian Bartoli; even Bouhours has been made to drop something in a late Life of Ignatius, published in Ireland. This Jesuit method of change suggests the necessity for caution in giving belief to Jesuit productions, where they are themselves concerned, or their enemies are roughly handled. Truth is not a thing to be adapted to times, and places, and circumstances. Truth is always respectable. Times cannot change it, nor make it ridiculous. Yet such must be the case with regard to Jesuit omissions in the more modern Lives of Ignatius. This fact, therefore, renders imperative some little critical examination in the entertaining inquiry. Further :

It requires some knowledge of the Catholic system of saintship and legendary marvels, in order to form a correct judgment on the historical value of Catholic saintship. Every Catholic has, or should have, a particular veneration for the saint whose name he bears. In some countries, it is the saint's day, not the birth-day, which is celebrated. The "Life" of his saint, at least, should be familiar to him. He can find it in the various Saints' Lives written for the edification of the faithful. If Alban Butler's erudite and almost universal biography of saints—for every day in the year—be not racy enough, he can turn to the Jesuit Ribadeneyra's *Flowers of the Lives of the Saints*, wherein

¹ Ribadeneyra died in 1611, Maffeus in 1603, Bartoli in 1650, Bouhours in 1704.

he will find, according to the necessary admission of a modern Jesuit, "an infinity of doubtful, false, and sometimes revolting matters."¹ To the Catholic such books are given. They are to him what the Bible is to the Protestant. They form what is called his "spiritual reading," or reading for the good of his soul. If any "conversion" from an evil life has been effected by reading, it is always some such book which has the grace-like power to influence the workings of the inner man, casting off the slough of the old Adam. Thirdly :

Most, if not all, of the founders of religious orders are saints of the calendar. Their miracles on earth and their glories in heaven become the grateful, or boastful, and certainly endless theme of their followers ; so that the very fact of being founder of an order seems to have necessitated his canonisation, as though it was evident that he had taken possession of one of the heavenly mansions, to be exclusively appropriated to succeeding militants, marching into heaven with *his* banner unfurled. The celebrated Father Andrew Boulanger, of humorous memory, parabled this idea for the edification of the Jesuits whilst on the summit of their glory. The Jesuits requested Father Andrew to preach a sermon to the confraternity on the festival of St. Ignatius. The orthodox father (he was a "reformed Augustinian") had his notion about the Jesuits, like many others at the time, and resolved to hit them on the knuckles. He imagined a dialogue between the Almighty and St. Ignatius,

The founders
of religious
orders.

¹ "Il y adopte sans discernement une infinité de choses douteuses, fausses, et quelquefois révoltantes."—*Feller, Biog. Univ.* xvii. The book has been largely translated : there are many French versions, and one in English, by W. P [etre], Esq., in fol., 1730.

whom he represented in the act of demanding a place for his Order. "I know not where to put you," was the reply. "The deserts are inhabited by St. Benedict and St. Bruno : St. Bernard occupies the valleys : St. Francis has the little towns—where can we place you ?" "Oh," exclaimed Ignatius, "only put us where there's a place to be *taken*—in the *great cities*, for instance,—*and leave us to do the rest.*"¹

The Jesuit biographies of their founder and other saints of their order are some of the methods whereby the Jesuits "do the rest." The influence of the Jesuits on a certain portion of mankind is largely to be attributed to their multitudinous writings : their biographies have gently "*moved*" many a novice into the novitiate. One of the witnesses examined before the House of Lords, in 1826, answered for himself on this point. When questioned as to "any circumstance that may have led to that desire on his part," he replied :—

Literary
influence.

"I think I can attribute it chiefly to reading the lives of the great saints in our Church, whom that society produced, and to the admiration for their virtues, which it seemed to me the nature of that society must have produced in these and other men."

"What were the books in which you read these lives?"

"The *ordinary books* that are open to every person—the English Lives of St. Francis Xavier, and some other saints."²

¹ Tallem. Historiettes, t. vi. Predicatoriana, p. 219. There is an old distich which says :

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes."

² Evidence taken before the Select Committees. Exam. of "Mr. W. Rogers," a quondam student at the Jesuit seminary of Clongowes, Nov. 13th, 1826.

All these biographies of the Jesuits are strikingly adapted to the times in which they appeared—not only in style, but in matter. They are all written for effect ; and, like all the attempts of the Jesuits, have not fallen short of their aim. *Ribadeneyra* with his “ extraordinary things,” and *Nieremberg* with his boiling extravagance, were just the writers for the Spaniards. *Maffeus*, the elaborate imitator of Cicero and Livy, endeavoured to produce a new classic for youth, with the additional recommendation of having a Jesuit-Christian saint for its hero. *Bartoli* is elegant and entertaining, and ever anxious to show the world’s obligations to Ignatius and his followers, at a time when the society was an object of jealousy and envy on account of her wealth and power and successful operations—and not without blame. *Bouhours* pruned the luxuriant vine of legendary lore—was devout without strong piety, and produced the present standard Life of Ignatius for our entertainment as well as that of the courtiers of Louis XIV.,—when the formalities of devotion dispensed with piety to God.

Out of all these biographies and other Jesuit sources—not omitting the famous IMAGO, or Image of the First Century of the Society of Jesus,¹ I shall proceed to sketch the history of the renowned *Don Ignacio Loyola*

¹ This extraordinary production was published to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the society’s foundation. It is crammed with admirably designed, and well executed engravings—vigorous, and as startling as the accompanying dissertations, which are a splendid sample of intellect gone mad, and rioting in spiritual drunkenness. It will be more particularly described in its proper place. At present, suffice it to say, that “ the Jesuits, in order to attract others, present a pompous idea of their Society, and endeavour to excite a high notion of its Institute : they represent its formation as dictated by God, in miraculous revelations, and declare its plan, rules, and privileges to have been inspired by Him, and by the Blessed Virgin ; in order that all who might join the Society should know that it was not so much to the laws of Ignatius that they were invited to submit, as to laws of a divine and sacred origin.”

de Guipuscoa—a founder, a saint, and spiritual Quixote of the sixteenth century.

A biographer informs us that Ignatius always acted as though he had had no father, no mother, no genealogy:¹ his followers inherited the same exemption. All have been spiritual Melchisedecs Don Ignacio's pedigree. in theory; they have lived only for their spiritual work in hand, or for themselves alone: but to the *parentage* of their heroes they have always given honour due,—for a splendid example is better than a thousand dissertations on the contempt of the world, its pomps and vanities, in striving to “move” the rich, the great, the learned, into the society. Don Ignacio was the last son of eleven children—the eighth and last male scion of the house of Loyola: his father was Don Bertram, hidalgo of Ognez and Loyola, a house, castle, or fortress, in Guipuscoa, a province of Biscay, in the mighty kingdom of Spain.² In this castle Ignatius was born, in the year 1491, in the reign of Ferdinand, the last representative

¹ Ribad. lib. v. c. 5.

² Besides noblemen by descent, there were also in Spain others of curious tenure. There was the *hidalgo de brageta*, a denomination, very expressive in the original, given to him who had seven sons without a daughter intervening. Then there was the *hidalgo de gotera*, one who enjoyed the rights of nobility in one place or town only. Lastly, the *hidalgoejo*, *hidalguete*, *hidalguillo*, petty country squires, poor gentlemen all. It is impossible to say to which denomination the hidalgo of Loyola belonged; but his mundane titles may be conceded in the blaze of his celestial glories. Pasquier, the great opponent of the Jesuits, calls him “Gentilhomme Navarrein de bonne part,” after Ribadeneyra. It is curious, however, that as early as 1629 his nobility was denied. In the *Speculum Jesuiticum* (Jesuit Looking-glass), Ignatius is called “a man of obscure parentage, born at a place called Aspeytheia,” and in the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana* (Loyolan Fire-works), published in 1667, he is said to have been “born of mean parentage.” The house where he was born was afterwards called *Santa Casa*, and given to the Jesuits in 1682 to found a college near it, as the condition of the grant by the Queen Dowager of Spain stipulated that the old castle was not to be destroyed. The church of Aspeytheia, where Ignatius was baptised, was long afterwards frequented as a shrine by pregnant women,

of ancient "chivalry," and the first model of modern despotism and ruthless bigotry—hence immortalised in history by the surname of "The Catholic." His mother, in honour of the Virgin Mary's delivery, gave him birth in a stable. Some contention happening to arise among his relations concerning the name which should be given him, this extraordinary infant, to the astonishment of all present, cried out, "*Ignatius* is my name;" and so he was accordingly named.¹ Such is said to have been the origin of a name which he was destined to render immortal.

But sad beginnings preceded this fulfilment. His

and by mothers to have their children christened and named after Ignatius. The Jesuits made it an object of veneration to all their devotees. If my informant be correct (a gentleman who accompanied the Spanish Legion), the ruins of the old castle are still extant, and pointed out to the traveller. The above facts show how soon the Jesuits fostered the holy name of Ignatius into the honours of semi-divinity, and gained possession of the popular heart by the miraculous powers of their sainted founder. See Bayle, Dict. vii. 196, U. See also Bartoli for a flaming account of the veneration in which the *Torre di Loyola* was held in Spain, and "the fruit of souls" that was reaped thereant. L. i. 8.

¹ "Dudandose quando bautizavan a San Ignacio, como le llamaran, el mismo niño se puso nombre: con el qual se significa el officio que avia de hazer en la Iglesia."—*Nieremb.* c. i. On this the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana*, by a "Catholic Christian," observes as follows: "A brother of the society hath a pretty fiction (wherein they have a knack of outdoing all the poets), that while the name was in dispute, the infant himself (a prodigious baby) said he would be called Ignatius, the genuine signification of which is an incendiary [*ignis*, fire], one that casts about wild-fire—*conveniunt rebus nomina sæpe suis*." This book is a very curious old diatribe against the Jesuits. It is furnished with a formidable frontispiece, representing the Jesuits involving the universal world in conflagration, whilst the pope sits on the right, bellows in hand, from the pipe of which issue the words:

"Di scilicet inferi! cœptis aspirate meis!"

"Infernal gods! give to my enterprize
A favouring gale!"

The plate deserves a minute description: it comprises the whole history of the Jesuits, at least as presented to the mind of a "good hater" and "Catholic Christian."

early life was spent in dissipation, the probable result of the profanity which he imbibed under the paternal roof.¹ There is a prurient desire in the human heart to hear scandal. Many love to hear it because it seems to excuse their own delinquencies. There are cases in which, to a certain extent, it is historically necessary to enlarge in the matter; but in all cases it is read with great attention. In the biographies of the great, the narrative of private scandal is, perhaps, the most generally interesting. Unable to rise to what is eminent in virtue or talent, or unwilling to make the effort, men, in general, cling to what is lowest in vice, when it seems to be palliated by splendid talent, success in life, and historical renown. Biographers have been eager to satisfy this depravity of taste. The greatest minds have been made to excite the greatest disgust and contempt for human nature, despair of its final improvement, and a clinging doubt in the reality of human virtue. But not with this prurient object—not with this result, have the biographers of Ignatius signalised his early misdoings—more, however, by plain insinuation than by details. They seem to say: There is hope in the excesses of youth since an Ignatius died a saint. Ye who listen with delectation to the syren of pleasure,—who would nevertheless discard her for the owl of austerity, but are scared at the sight of your transgressions—despair not—listen to the tale of Ignatius, the worldling, the anchoret, the founder of the Jesuits, and now a saint appointed for universal veneration.

His early
career.

¹ "Ac de primâ ipsius pueritiâ id unum constat, haud ita severâ disciplinâ educatum à suis fuisse; atque ab ipsis incunabulis, ut in opulentâ domo, profanos admodum hausisse spiritus."—*Mañ.* l. i. c. 1.

Don Bertram had patronage at the court of Ferdinand : thither he hurried the young Ignatius at an early age, and scarcely in possession of the first elements of knowledge.¹ The youthful page soon became ambitious to excel in all the arts of the courtier, to whose morals he conformed, and chose the profession of arms. Henceforward the point of honour, and the love of woman, gave perilous occupation to his active mind and body.² His character at this period is thus described by his disciples. He was not so exact in his religious duties as in the discipline of war. The bad habits which he had contracted at court were strengthened amidst the license of arms ; and the labours of his profession were made compatible with the pursuits of love and pleasure. Perhaps there never was cavalier at one and the same time more inured to fatigue, more polished, and attentive to the fair sex. But, however worldly in his pursuits, Ignatius had certain principles of religion and probity. He was careful to observe decorum even in his excesses. He was never heard to utter a word calculated to offend piety or modesty ; he paid due respect to the holy places and the ministers of religion. Very sensitive on the point of honour, and impelled by his natural pride to demand satisfaction for the slightest insult ; still he pardoned all, and was appeased as soon as reparation was offered. His peculiar talent was shown in reconciling the quarrels of the soldiers, and in stifling popular commotions : on more than one occasion he disarmed, by a single word, two parties on the point of settling the matter by mortal

¹ " Literis vix dùm à limine salutatis," says the pompous Maffeus. Lib. i.

² " Id (temporis) ille . . . partim in factionum rixarumque periculis, partim in amatoriâ vesaniâ, et ceterâ sæculi vanitate consumeret."—*Id. ib.*

combat. He despised riches habitually, and proved his disinterestedness on one occasion by declining to share the booty of a captured town. He had tact in the management of affairs ; young as he was, he knew how to influence the minds of men, and improve an opportunity. He hated gaming, but loved poetry ; and, without the slightest tincture of learning, he composed very good verse in Spanish : curious enough, his subjects were sometimes pious—as, for instance, a poem in the Praise of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome, as Catholics believe.¹

Such is the first aspect in which Ignatius is presented to us by his disciples. It is the model of an officer, such as Escobar, the renowned Jesuit-casulist, His enthusiasm. might easily absolve, and such as would have been prized in the court of Louis XIV., with the Jesuit Lachaise and Madame de Maintenon for his patrons. Thus lived Ignatius to his twenty-ninth year—a semi-religious worldling, according to his biographers—mingling thoughts of revenge and love with the sentiments requisite for the construction of pious verse ; reconciling the “ false maxims of the world ” in practice with his theoretical “ respect for the holy places and the ministers of religion.” He must be converted. On that event depends his immortality. His burning desire for fame² must be turned into the ambition of the saints. A model of strict military discipline and valour on every occasion, whether as a soldier or commander, his love for the profession of his choice³ evinces that enthusiasm

¹ Bouhours, liv. i. Bouhours wrote in “ the age of Louis XIV.,” and his book is dedicated to the Queen.

² “ Ardenti laudis humanæ studio . . . abreptus.”—*Max.* lib. i.

³ “ Il passa par tous les degrés de la milice, fit paraître en toute occasion beaucoup de valeur, et fut toujours très attaché au service, soit qu’il obéît, ou qu’il commandât.”—*Bouhours*, liv. i.

which gives energy to the mind and heart in every and any pursuit, when a real or fancied reward in store lends a motive to every step in the onward march. Enthusiasm was the ground-work of his character ; enthusiasm, that consciousness of extraordinary power, with a will commensurate, to produce extraordinary results. Such a character is generally, if not always, tinged with the roseate hue of religion : all the passions with which it is allied—often the strongest—keep alive and agitate this religious tendency of enthusiasm, by their speedy satiety in transient gratification, leaving for ever void the desire of perfection in all things, which is a characteristic element of enthusiasm. With Ignatius enthusiasm seems to have been hereditary : his mother would give him birth in a *stable*, thus to honour the “ Queen of Heaven !” and in the midst of his worldly pursuits, Ignatius celebrated in verse the “ Prince of the Apostles,” as if even then convinced that only *spiritual* power and renown were perfect, and therefore more deserving his heart’s desire than the glory of arms, or the love of woman.

The last military achievement of Ignatius strikingly displays the leading features of his character. In the year 1521, Francis I., King of France, sent a large army into Navarre, under the command of Andrew de Foix. The province of Guipuscoa was ravaged ; the invading forces laid siege to Pampe-luna, the capital of Navarre.¹ A Spanish officer in the garrison endeavoured in vain to inspire the troops with valour to resist the invaders—they would capitulate. The panic spread : the officer left these cowards, and retired into the citadel, attended by a single soldier.

¹ See Robertson, Charles V. vol. ii. b. ii. ; Ranken, Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 209.

A parley in the citadel was offered and accepted eagerly by that officer,—determined to “improve the opportunity.” The severe terms of surrender were proposed—the base compromise was about to be made, when he seized the moment, and launched into furious invectives against the French. The conference broke up. “To arms!” resounded on all sides. Look to yon fortress! Sword in hand, the warrior leads his band (now forced to fight) to the gaping breach. Hand to hand, foot to foot, the struggle is for victory or death! But fortune or Providence decides the day; the hero of the fight falls desperately wounded. The hero of the fight is—**IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA.**¹ The splinter of a stone struck his left leg, and a cannon ball broke his right. His troop surrendered at discretion, and the victors, in admiration of his courage, bore Ignatius to the quarters of their general, where he received every attention so justly due to the hero. As soon as he could be removed with safety, he was carried to the castle of Loyola, at a short distance from Pampeluna. His surgeons were now persuaded that it was necessary to break the bones anew, in order to replace them into their natural position, having been badly set, or jolted out of place by the movement of the journey. Ignatius submitted to the operation without a groan. The result was nearly fatal. A violent fever ensued: he was given over by his medical attendants.

Resigned to his fate the warrior slept; and in his sleep, according to the legend, behold St. Peter who cured him with his own hand. “The event,”
 says the Jesuit, “showed that this dream had
 nothing false in it: when he awoke he was found to be

St. Peter
 cures him.

¹ Bouhours, and all the biographers triumphantly.

out of danger,—his pains ceased, his strength returned.”¹ The Jesuits venture two conjectures in explanation of this miraculous interposition. “God wished,” say they, “that St. *Peter* should cure him, either because Ignatius had, from his youth upwards, honoured the Prince of the Apostles ; or, because the Prince of the Apostles interested himself somewhat in the recovery of a man destined by Heaven to maintain against heretics the authority of the Holy See.” Decidedly a very plausible explanation. It reminds us of a certain worthy—a staunch Protestant by the way—who being somewhat “fixed” by his acknowledged inability to explain the meaning of *the Lion and the Unicorn* in the arms of England, said to the inquisitive Spaniard : “Suppose I were to tell you that they represent the Lion of Bethlehem and the horned monster of the flaming pit in combat, as to which should obtain the mastery in England, what would you say ?” He replied : “I should say that you gave a fair answer.” A little invention is a great talisman in Jesuits of every denomination and profession.²

The Jesuit’s explanation is intended to show the utility of saint-worship in general, and the worship of the great saints in particular. Besides, it points at once to the origin of the *Society*, which was, apparently, designed in heaven with the knowledge and concurrence of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome. Nothing can be plainer. It is evident to demonstration—not so the conversion of Ignatius, however. The miraculous recovery left him ungratefully unconverted. He still clung to the pomps

His vanity
and tender
passion.

¹ Bouhours.

² The interpreter of England’s Arms is Mr. *Borrow*, of “*The Bible in Spain*,” p. 15.

and vanities of this despicable world ;—for, finding that the bone of his leg protruded after the miracle, and marred the elegance of his boot—*empêchait le cavalier de porter la botte bien tirée*—the gallant cavalier, ever attentive to dress and fashionable grace,¹ determined to resort to the excruciating bone-nipper for that perfection of form which the apostle of his dream had not deemed requisite. He had the deformity cut away without uttering a word—without changing countenance. Nor was this all :—he had the limb stretched for several days by a machine of iron. The operation failed ; Ignatius was doomed to remain a cripple for life. This conviction must have been excessively annoying to a mind constituted as that of Ignatius has been described, and attested by his conduct on this occasion. What efforts to restore his external grace and attractions ! To whom were they so indispensable as to gallant cavaliers of these gallant times, when beauty and grace were essential in the adventurer who strove to be even as the Cid, or Amadis of Gaul, the idols of the national heart. Was there not one whose image filled the soul of the prostrate cavalier ? There was—and something worthy withal. “ She was not a countess nor a duchess ; but her estate was higher than any of these.”² And now, away with pious aspirations—the thought of his lady-love clings to his heart. He meditates some military exploit to render himself worthy of her smiles ; for he could not believe it possible to live without some great ambition, nor be happy without some absorbing passion.³ But when he glanced at his

¹ “ Cum esset corporis ornatu elegantissimus.”—*Maff.*

² “ Non era condessa, ni duquesa ; mas era su estado mas alto que ninguna de estas.” His own words, given in *Act. Sanct.* apud Ranke, b. ii.

³ Bouhours, liv. i.

leg—his leg doomed to limp—what a pang of despair shot freezingly through him !

“ In the midst of such peril, all methods I try
To escape from my fate, I weep, laugh and sigh.”¹

And shrugging his shoulders he submitted to his fate—

“ I have not, I care not, nor hope for relief.”²

Still confined to his bed, he asked for a book to while away the tedious hours. He wanted a romance—some work of chivalry. There was none at hand. They brought him the Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints instead. The latter, very naturally, fixed his attention, so full of adventure, strange and windmill achievements. He read, and pondered as he read, and then his musing struck off a bright idea. “ What if *I* were to do what St. Francis did ? what St. Dominic achieved ? ”³

Generous notions these, but nipped in the bud by those thoughts of the woman, for Ignatius was a lover : his Dulcinea was one of Castile’s highest and fairest damsels. St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictines, had been in a similar dilemma, ’twixt love and conversion. Benedict rolled himself on some briars and nettles, till his body was covered with blood, and his heart divested of love ;⁴ not so Ignatius,—he continued to read the Lives of the Saints, which was more rational. The result was satisfactory ;

¹ “ Pues tantos peligros me tienen en medio
Que llore, que ria, que grite, que calle.”

² “ Ni tengo, ni quiero, ni espero remedio ! ”

Alonzo of Carthage, apud Sismondi, ii. 165.

³ “ Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus,” &c.—*In Act. Sanct. Maff.* l. i. c. 2.

⁴ Butl. Saints’ Lives, iii. *St. Ben.*

he jumped to his conversion ; for thus only can we qualify the effect, considering the cause. His conclusion was that " God alone could satisfy the human heart, and that he should renounce all things to secure salvation." *How* he came to this conclusion we cannot discover in the premises :—but his biographers give a page or two detailing the process of his conversion. Its results are more interesting, and assuredly more authentic. The process of conversions is very commonplace, always alike ; certainly nicely managed, though not always consistent with the character and condition of the patient. The result is all that is necessary : the formalities are like ready-made garments : they answer the purpose—after a fashion. The result, in the present instance, was, that Ignatius resolved to copy the awful saints of the Church, his imagination being heated by the terrible austerities wherewith they fought against the world, the flesh, and the devil. By these legends he was convinced, as we are expressly told, " that all the perfection of Christianity was comprised in the maceration of the flesh."¹ Not by any means after the manner of Hopeful's conversion,² was that of Ignatius. His conversion was a wedge driving out a wedge—and remaining a wedge notwithstanding. It was only another sort of ambition which got possession of his mind, in his altered condition : in the paths of this new ambition he might limp, and yet reach the goal joyfully at last. Whatever were his inmost convictions, results proved that he was determined to attempt the *nimis alta*, the impossible things, the windmill adventures of spiritual ambition. It is futile to ascribe to Ignatius more than the vaguest notions of spirituality.

¹ Bouhours.² Pilgrim's Progress.

These are sufficient to account for his immediate resolution. He will grow wiser ; perhaps, more sober, by experience, and a little knowledge of the craft. His present resolves are suggested by his reading, and the superstitions of the age, to his enthusiastic ambition : hazy notions all, without sunlight, but right-well conducive to his purpose : he will soon do enough to constitute him a man of authority in the estimation of credulous disciples, and then he will assuredly “do what St. Benedict did, what St. Dominic achieved :” that is, *found an Order of Monks*,—this being his starting idea, as his own words so strikingly declare. This ambitious hope made his “conversion” necessary, and he was “converted.” We shall presently behold the *probable* process.

Life is a chain of incidents. Each event holds to its predecessor. We march on unconscious of causes—
Ignatius and Luther. looking merely to effects, and their endless ramifications. All of us look *forward* ; we leave the past, and stretch beyond into the future— even the old in years and experience gamble with life, trusting to “chance”—that impossible thing—for a blessing and success. Ignatius knew not what he had to endure, ere he should reach the goal :—but his resolution was taken. His first idea was to set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, clothed in a sack, fasting on bread and water, lying on the hard ground, seeking for his transient dwelling some frightful solitude¹—“a darksome place.” This was in the year 1521, when Luther was enjoying his delightful Patmos in the castle of Wartburg, protected and solaced (after the Diet of Worms) by the Duke Frederick,—basking in the bright

¹ Bouhours.

sun of day which visited him by times at morn, and listening to the song of the nightingale perched on his window, greeting him as a friend, or soothing his heart with the sound of his flute, so cheering in his unrest—as constantly his companion as the Bible, which he was then translating into German.¹ So far the Catholic Audin ; but it was also from this spot, in a series of mournful but eloquent letters to various persons, that he unfolded the sad thoughts which came over him in his solitude—*eremo meo*, as he writes,—“his region of the air”—“the region of birds,” or “from amidst birds which sing sweetly on the branches of the tall trees, and praise God night and day with all their might,” or “from the mountain,” and “from the isle of Patmos ;” and yet shaking anon his terrible mane, and with a roar that could find an echo in the thousand hills of Fatherland, crying to the spirits that seemed asleep in the day of labour : “What art thou doing now, my Philip ?” he writes to Melancthon. “Prayest thou for me ? As to myself, I sit gloomy all the day long. I place before my eyes the figure of the church, and I see those words of Psalm lxxxix. : *Wherefore hast thou made all men in vain ?* Oh God ! how horrible a form of the anger of God is this abominable rule of the antichrist of Rome ! I hate the hardness of my heart, which does not dissolve in torrents of tears, bewailing the children of my slaughtered people. There is not one among them who rises up, who puts himself in the front for God’s sake,

¹ See Audin, *Hist. de Luther*, c. xiv. for an interesting description of Luther’s sojourn at Wartburg. Also D’Aubigné, *Hist. of the Ref.* ii. 277 ; Mosheim, *Hist.* ii. 27, and Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, p. 100, *et seq.* This is perhaps the most interesting account of all. Mr. Hazlitt deserves great praise for this book. It is immeasurably superior to Michelet’s affair. See also Cox’s *Life of Melancthon*, p. 152, *et seq.*

who makes of himself a rampart for the house of Israel in this day of desolation and anger. O reign of the pope, filth of ages! God have mercy upon us."

To the future anxiously looked Luther in his Patmos : to the past musingly gazed Ignatius in his solitude, with the Flowers of the Saints around him. Ignatius and the great saints of the church. Ignatius admired in these saints-errant that absolute dependance on providence which made them wander from one end of the world to the other without any provisions. With astonishment he contemplated the holy denizens of solitude ; and especially the anchorets of Palestine and Egypt ; men of quality covered with rough haircloths, their precious rings and ornaments of gold discarded for heavy chains of iron ; their pampered bodies macerated with fasting ; their eyes by beauty fascinated, and by sleep delightfully refreshed, now weary with excess of watching, and by tears bitterly scalded ; habituated to lordly halls, with pomp and merriment, now buried alive in frightful deserts, horrible caverns, whither roaring throng their natural indwellers —savage beasts dislodged by the men of penance ! "These men," said Ignatius, " who have treated their innocent flesh with much barbarity, have they any other nature than I have ? Why then do I not what they have done ?" The thought of his Dulcinea had withheld his answer to the stirring appeal. It had diverted his musings from the saints-errant to the knights-errant of chivalrous renown. But the sun of chivalry was set in the clouds of gunpowder. War was no longer a pastime. Battle was no longer a joke. The fun of the thing was gone for ever. Back, therefore, from knight-errantry to saint-errantry the broken-down warrior recoils. From embattled paladins to canonised

saints he turned analogically musing. "Those," said he, "have indeed protected the oppressed, defended the honour of ladies, overcome enchantments, put armies to the rout, dissipated fleets, cleft down giants, saved empires, conquered kingdoms ; but the saints have given sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, and health to the sick ; they have restored the lame, cured lepers, reanimated the dead limbs of paralytics, tamed monsters, killed dragons, serpents, crocodiles ; traversed, like wild beasts, vast plains of air ; passed on foot through the waves of the sea ; made springs arise amidst the barren earth, given sweetness to bitter waters, walked through devouring flames untouched ; eat poisoned meats and drank poisoned drinks without injury ; foretold the future, read hearts, raised the dead, cast out devils, triumphed over hell, and conquered heaven.¹ Glory," added he, "for which I have a passion so ardent, was the end which both the one and the other of these heroes proposed to themselves. For glory they have undertaken such difficult adventures, borne so many fatigues, encountered so many dangers, braved hunger, thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather, hated their own flesh, despised life, and defied death. But what have these paladins gained as the reward of all their glorious labours, so boasted of in the annals of chivalry ? Empty glory, which they enjoyed but a moment ! Glory, which will not perhaps reach to future generations ; which, however splendid, and however diffused, even to the extremities of the earth, will last only to the end of time. Histories, brass, and marble, at most, will preserve their memory among men ;

¹ Even in the *modern* saint-biographer, Alban Butler, you will find, everywhere, examples of these prodigious miracles.

but these illustrious monuments will perish with the world, and this glory will perish with them,—but the glory of the saints will eternally endure. What then can I do better,” concluded Ignatius, “than fight like them under the banner of spiritual chivalry, since it has so many advantages over the temporal.”¹

His resolution being thus taken, he hesitated not a moment on the choice of the examples he should follow.

Ignatius and the devil. St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assyse presented themselves immediately to his mind—one as the spiritual Orlando, the other as the spiritual Amadis de Gaul. The difficulty of imitating these sublime heroes did not affright him ; his courage made him think all things possible ; and then it was that he cried out in the ardour of his zeal : “Why may I not undertake what St. Dominic achieved ? Why can I not do what St. Francis performed ?” Prayer and repentance, however, were the prescribed beginnings of sanctity ; so Ignatius, to conform to the rule as he conceived it, passed all his nights in prayer and weeping for his sins. Having risen one night, as usual, to give free course to his tears, he prostrated himself before an image of the virgin, and consecrating himself to the service of Mary, with sentiments of the most tender affection, swore to her an inviolable fidelity. This was too much for Satan. Immediately Ignatius (according to his own account, of course,) heard a horrible noise—the house shook—all the casements of his windows were shattered to pieces. It was the devil, who, enraged to see himself abandoned by our hero, paid him a visit of expostulation. Foreseeing what Ignatius would one day become, the fiend would have wished to destroy him under the ruins of

¹ Hist. de l'admirable Dom Inigo, i.

the castle. But Ignatius let fly a huge sign of the cross at the devil, who retreated in dismay. Ever after, they showed the breach which the devil made in retiring, for it never could be repaired, because of the insupportable stench that exhaled from it, and prevented approach. On this incident Valderrama flourishes to admiration. "When it came first," says he, "into the mind of Ignatius to quit his military employment, the house wherein he was shook, the walls were shattered, with all the beams and rafters; insomuch, that all those who were in it left it; and as it happens when in some sulphurous mountain a fiery fountain bursting forth, there is an immediate eruption of flames; so when that internal fire, which pent up in the young soldier was cold, and, as it were, frozen in respect to things divine, grew more powerful, it so broke out into flames, that a thousand terrors, a thousand astonishments, a thousand combustions, were the consequence thereof—never was there any *Ætna*, any fiery mountain, that did the like."¹

Be sparing of your astonishment. If you be a phrenologist, your organ of wonder will have endless exercise in the history of the Jesuits; if you read your Testament, the Acts of the Apostles (chap. ii.) will not be the only part of which you will be reminded in the lives of Jesuit-saints immortal;—all history, sacred and profane, lends similitudes to the Jesuit-mind for the exaltation of its heroes. Its classic and devout diction seems to have necessitated the appropriation of classic and sacred incidents to spin the dazzling web. If hell was enraged, Heaven sang, "O be joyful," we are literally told, at this stupendous

Ignatius and
the Virgin
Mary.

¹ Ribaden., Nieremb., Maff., Bartoli, Bouhours, Vald. in Canon. S. Ignat. Imago, Hist. de Dom Inig., Pyrotech. Loy.

conversion. "The Virgin Mother of God," says Bartoli, in proof of having received the offering which he had made of himself to her, "appeared to Ignatius one night whilst in prayer, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, and with familiar fondness remained some time before him, letting him see how she came to satiate him with a sight of her."¹

This interview was followed by a stupendous deprivation—the total removal of all concupiscence from the feelings of Ignatius. Never after did it presume to enter his heart; these horrible feelings vanished for ever. The favour has been vouchsafed to very few saints, *pochissimi santi*: Ignatius had it in so sublime a degree, that from this time forward, as if his flesh was dead within him, or he had lost all sense for the impressions of concupiscence, he never after felt even an involuntary emotion! *non ne provò mai più ne anco involontario movimento.*² Well might the Jesuit exclaim that Ignatius "was astonished to see himself transformed into another man."³

Enough, decidedly, to cheer the convert in his gigantic enterprise. How light, then, seemed the terrible deeds of sainted heroes. With his celestial favour, and his robust constitution, could he not do what so many saints did with delicate complexions? Could he not, like St. Hillarion, take four figs a day for his nourishment at sunset; or, like St.

A miracu-
lous depri-
vation.

Ignatius and
the awful
penitents.

¹ "Ma se l'inferno arrabiò, all' incontro giubilò il Paradiso, e la Vergine Madre di Dio, in fede d'aver gradita l'offerta, che di se le avea fatta, un'altra notte, mentre egli veggiava in orazione, gli comparve con in braccio il bambino Gesù, e con sembianze d'affabile domestichezza, buona pezza gli stette innanzi, lasciandosi mirare, come venuta a saziarlo della sua vista."—*Bartoli*, lib. i., c. 6. Also, all the biographers triumphantly.

² *Bartoli*, l. i., c. 6.

³ *Bouhours*, on another occasion, l. i.

Apollonius, live on raw herbs, such as brute beasts graze upon ; or, like St. Pacomius, sleep on a stone ; or, like St. Zuirard, sit in the trunk of a hollow tree, environed on all sides with pointed stakes ; or take no rest at all, like St. Dorothy the Theban ; or perch on a high pillar, forty cubits high, like Simon the Stylite ? Could he not bend the knee two hundred times a day like St. Guingale ; pray three hundred times a day like St. Paul the anchoret ; or, after the fashion of St. Policrone, offer up his prayers with the root of a huge oak on his shoulders ? What ! will he, who with so much constancy suffered such cruel torments only to be enabled to wear a Morocco boot tight on his leg, refuse to suffer less to become a great saint ? Can he not keep himself cramped in a cage, placed on the ledge of a rock, suspended in air, like St. Baradat and St. Thalellus ? The fires of concupiscence are extinguished, but still, by way of a *coup de grâce*, can he not throw himself naked into a swarm of flies, like St. Macarius of Alexandria ; or into a heap of thorns and briars, like St. Benedict ; or into water in the middle of winter, like St. Adhelm and St. Ulric ; or into frost and snow, like the seraphic St. Francis ? What hinders him from giving himself a thousand blows a day, as did St. Anthelm ; or even from imitating the great St. Dominic of the buckler, who gave himself 3000 lashes every week, repeating the psalter twenty times right through ? O blessed Hagiology of Rome ! how inexhaustible thou art in resources for thy maniacs and demoniacs of devotion !

With such examples, in the Flowers of the Saints, before his hot imagination, well might Ignatius compare temporal knight-errantry with the spiritual, and give

the preference to the latter. From admiration of the former, he naturally passed to a greater admiration of the latter in his altered circumstances, and from great admiration he hurried to imitation. His resolution gained strength by a slight resistance which, we are assured, came from his family. All the circumstances in the life of Ignatius are made to *tell*, cleverly devised to influence peculiar minds : so we have on this occasion presented before us Don Garcia, the saint's brother, trying to dissuade him from his resolution. The speech is given after the manner of the ancients, and the saint's reply, in like manner, admirably suited to the trained lips of any youth dissuaded by his friends from entering the society of Jesus. You may be sure that *none* of the biographers omit *this* incident. It was applicable at all times of the "celebrated society." Ignatius gave the first example. Under pretext of paying a visit, the spiritual Quixote mounted on horseback, and left the castle of his ancestors for ever. He paid his respects to his old general, the Duke of Najare ; dismissed his attendants on some pretext again, we are expressly told, and took the road for Montserrat (a Benedictine monastery, not far from Barcelona)¹ *ripe for adventure*.²

¹ Bart., Maff., Bouh., all the biographers gloriously.

² Before you proceed, perhaps you will be interested by the following account of the foundation of the monastery to which Ignatius is going. It will further elucidate the hagiology of Rome, or Roman Spain at all events. It is taken from a very rare book, called the "History of the Miracles performed by the intercession of Our Lady of Montserrat." The first count of Barcelona had a daughter—a most accomplished beauty—who was possessed by the devil. Her father carried her to a hermit, named brother John Guerin, and surnamed the holy man : he conjured him by his prayers to chase away the fiend that possessed her. This was done ; but, for fear lest the devil should enter again into that beautiful body, the count, by the advice of the same devil, left his daughter nine days with the holy man, who fell in love with her, ravished

It was on the eve of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, that Ignatius mingled amongst the pilgrims hastening to the shrine, the miracle-working image of the Virgin: Our Lady of Montserratt. The Virgin had blessed him with her presence: he now made a vow of perpetual chastity, "in order to render himself agreeable to the eyes of

An adventure by the way.

the maiden, and cut her throat . . . Guerin went to Rome to ask pardon for these two execrable crimes: he confessed himself to the pope, who, struck with horror at the recital, ordered him, by way of penance, to return to Montserratt, walking upon his hands and feet, and never to speak or stand upright, till an infant of the age of three or four months old should bid him rise, and tell him our Lord had pardoned his sins. Seven years after, the Count of Barcelona, hunting on the mountain of Montserratt, found in a cavern a man, hairy like a bear, and walking upon his hands and feet. They took him alive, and carried him to Barcelona, where they kept him in a dungeon of the castle, chained like a wild beast. Some days after this, the count gave a solemn feast on occasion of a child's being born to him. The guests, having heard some talk of the hairy man, desired to see him. He was accordingly brought into the banqueting hall at the same moment that the child, whose birthday they were celebrating, and who was but three or four months old, was brought in his nurse's arms. The child had no sooner cast his eyes on the new Lycaon, than he cried out with a loud and distinct voice, "Stand upright, brother John Guerin, for God has pardoned thy sins." He immediately rose up, and in an erect posture related his whole history to the count, who ratified his pardon, saying, "Since God has pardoned thy sins, I pardon thee also with all my heart. But," added he, "I desire to know where you have buried my daughter, that I may have her body brought to Barcelona, and interred in the tomb of her ancestors." Guerin showed the place where he had buried her; and the ground being opened, to the great astonishment of the spectators, the count's daughter was found alive and ravishingly beautiful. Instead of the wound which the hermit had made when he cut her throat, nothing was to be seen but a red circle, not unlike a scarlet collar. And she told the count, her father, that the Virgin, to whom she had recommended herself, had thus miraculously preserved her. In memory of this surprising miracle, a convent was built in the same place for ladies, over whom the count's daughter was made abbess, and brother Guerin was appointed their confessor and director. Near this place was found an image of the Virgin, sparkling with rays of light, and perfuming the adjacent parts with sweet odours. In attempting to carry it away, it was found impossible to remove it. Judging by this prodigy that she was resolved to remain in the place where the daughter of the Count of Barcelona had been interred, they built there the monastery of Our Lady of Montserratt, and placed in it this image, of which they recount so many miracles, before which St. Ignatius is about to perform a ceremony, after tempting, or having, an adventure. Apud "De Selva."

the Virgin before whom he was about to appear,"¹ and "to ratify the grace which he had received in the previous apparition."² He fell in with a Moor, an infidel Mohammedan, of the race proscribed by Ferdinand; a miserable remnant of those who tarried in the land to see the last of their hopes vanish for ever, and curse the Christian banner, triumphant, and persecuting, as it proudly licked the breeze from the walls of Grenada. The travellers began to converse. Ignatius (his heart being full) spoke of his destination, the shrine of the Virgin. A dispute arose: the infidel denied the virginity of Mary, after giving birth to a child—a mere quibble of words—but enough to rouse the indignation of the converted Caballero. He warmed apace. The Moor was prudent, and left the champion behind. His flashing eye doubtless precluded the flashing blade, uneasy in its scabbard. Ignatius followed, champing the blasphemy, which he deemed worthy of death. Heaven seemed to demand the Mohammedan's blood. He hesitated, we are told, and left it to Heaven and his steed to decide, by dropping the bridle, resolved to kill the Moor, if the horse should follow the blasphemer. The animal turned off, we are told, actually into a worse road, and thus saved the Mohammedan!³ It was the fear of transgressing the laws of chivalry that induced Ignatius to let his horse or mule decide the matter: for, by those laws, he was bound to punish the high delinquent and disparager of his lady. There would have been nothing to wonder at, had he killed the Moor. In spite of the deep notions of spirituality attributed to him so absurdly by his biographers,⁴ it is evident

¹ Bouhours, &c. &c. ² Ibid. &c. &c. ³ All the biographers marvellously.

⁴ I mean where they explain the pious process of his conversion. On the present occasion, however, they sadly contradict their former fine discourse.

that his ideas of divinity and morality were the haziest imaginable. If his enthusiasm was not running mad, his chivalry was certainly not allayed by the assault of the devil, and the familiar greeting of the Virgin. In fact, I do not think it proven that Ignatius really *spared* the Moor: if he did not kill the infidel, that result did not, perhaps, depend either upon his will, or the mercy of his ass. However, such a miraculous guidance had, in a manner, occurred before; for in the year 1136, about two hundred thousand crusaders, commanded by Emico, Clarebald, and Thomas, abandoned themselves to the conduct of a goat and a goose, whom they believed to be divinely inspired, to conduct them from Hungary to Jerusalem, as we are gravely told in the Chronicles of the Holy City.¹

Being arrived at the town, which stands at the foot of the mountain, he bought a coat of coarse cloth, a rope to serve him as a girdle, a gourd, a pair of sandals, and a great cloak; and placing The vigil at arms. this furniture of a religious warrior on his saddle-bow, soon the "gentle knight was pricking on the plain," to the shrine of his lady. He clomb the sacred hill, and reached the monastery. There he found a holy Father, a Frenchman, a man of great austerity and devotion,

Bartoli, as well as Bouhours, who follows him in general, pointedly alludes to the saint's moral obliquity on this occasion. Bartoli flatly calls him "an unexperienced novice, who as yet did not well distinguish between the sentiments of a Christian and the impulses of a knight"—"inesperto novizio in cui ancora non si distinguevan bene i dettami di Cristiano, e gli spiriti di cavaliere." L. i. 9. Certainly if Hasenmüller may be credited in spite of his acrimony, the Moor was truly fortunate if he escaped. By his account, stated to be from Bobadilla, a Jesuit, Ignatius was as cruel and blood-thirsty as he was chivalric. "Bobadilla, unus ex primis Jesuitarum patribus, fatetur eum fuisse hominem armis castrisque assuetum, et tam truculentâ animi ferocitate præditum, ut quemvis fuerit ausus."—*Hist. Jesuit. Ordin.* p. 12.

¹ Les Chroniques de Jerusalem, lib. i. apud "De Selva," Hist. de Dom Inigo.

whose duty it was to shrive the pilgrims. He had the pleasure of listening to the darksome catalogue of the Caballero's transgressions, which required three days for the transfer—not without many interruptions by bitter groans and similar tears. After his confession he gave his rich garments to a beggar, and being stripped to the shirt, he donned the accoutrements of the new order of knighthood which he was founding, in great jubilation of heart devoutly kissing the penitential sack a thousand times, girding his loins, hanging his gourd at his side, and, pilgrim-staff in hand, he passed the live-long night before his Lady's altar, alternately kneeling and standing, but always praying,—whilst he spent the indispensable "Vigil at Arms," as the paladins called it, according to the usages of ancient chivalry,—being now after his own invention,

THE NEW AMADIS DE GAUL.¹



¹ *Amadis de Gaul*, trad. par le Comte Tressan, 1760. There is an English translation by Dr. Southey. See Sismondi, i. 151 ; ii. 150, for an account of the work.

At the break of day he hung up his sword and dagger on a pillar near the Virgin's altar, as a standing memento of his election, and in such exultation as may be conceived but not expressed, he set off, with bristling resolves, to Manroza—then a little obscure town not far from Montserrat, but since rendered extremely interesting and extravagantly famous by our knight of the Virgin, for the penance he there performed—a penance which is with reason more extolled than that of Amadis de Gaul on the desolate rock, renewed by the admirable Don Quixote de la Mancha, if you remember, on the black mountain.¹

Thus is Ignatius fairly or foully, as you please, embarked on his new and unknown ocean of adventure. What is his object? It is difficult to say; but the immediate result will be fasting, prayer, and bodily maceration. The distant result, however, will be something more to the purpose. How far his present design, to rival in austerities the greatest saints before him, will give him greater honour in your

Reflections.

¹ All the biographers exultingly. Hist. de Dom Inigo, i., &c. &c. The following is curious:—"It is not as yet fully ten yeeres since I was in the same Church of Montserrat, where I saw a Benedictine Monke show very many superstitious Relicks, Idols, and other fopperies, unto Pilgrimes, and other people that were come thither: some upon devotion, and a blind, foolish, superstitious zeale, and others of curiositie (as myself and many more, God forgive us) to see their impostures, deceits, and couzenage, but I could not see Ignatius his Sword and Dagger: whereupon I requested the Sacristan that kept the Relickes, to let me see those two holy Bilbo-blades: he told me that there was never any such Sword or Dagger there. I seeming to wonder at the matter, showed him the Life of Ignatius, written by Peter Ribadeneira, a Spanish Jesuite, in the Spanish tongue, and printed at Valladolid, Anno 1604, where it is said that Ignatius left his Sword and Dagger there. Upon this, the Monke, in a Spanish fustian-fume, cried out *No me se de nada de las mentirias de los Teatinos*: that is to say, I care not for the Jesuites lyes or fables."—*Speculum Jesuiticum*, p. 3, printed in 1629. The Jesuits were confounded with the *Theatines*. That phrase seems to prove the anecdote to be authentic.

estimation, is yet to be decided ; but unquestionably there is in the man no common purpose. And it has gripped his heart as a ravening tiger fangs its unresisting prey. Heart and soul the man is in his resolve—and you 'll find him in his work. I have a notion, for which I crave your indulgence. It seems to me that Providence, which equipoises the tides of the ocean, alternately ebbing and flowing, and leaving no constant preponderance, permits something of the kind in the religious and political affairs of men and nations. The fortunes of men and of nations perpetually suggest the fact, I mean the *result*, though, having your own notions of good and evil, you will not always attribute prosperity to good, nor' adversity to evil. Nothing is more certain than that the notions of good and evil have suffered very remarkable changes among men. In fundamental laws, promulgated on divine authority, a decided change has been, on the same authority, declared imperative. For instance, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.¹ But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Again : "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy :² But I say unto you, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you : That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."—Matt. v. It is to the adorable *motive* here

¹ Ex. xxi. 24 ; Lev. xxiv. 20 ; Deut. xix. 21.

² Lev. xix. 18.

suggested that I call your attention. The most consolatory doctrine of Providence over all, issues from that motive for universal charity and brotherhood. This is not the place to evolve the beautiful theory wherein God's justice and bounty are not at variance. Suffice it to say that whilst God endures man in any state, in every condition of belief and morality, "for he maketh his sun," &c., man, on the contrary, rises up a fierce exterminator on both scores, and in so doing, "thinks he has a good conscience." There have been times when that impulse rushed through humanity like a fiery meteor, or spread like epidemic pestilence. From the general excitation, as it were a general advertisement goes forth—for a saviour, a defender. The state of affairs is the standing advertisement. Read through all political histories, you will never find a great, or a slashing, or a crushing mind, needed for any particular mission without his starting to the stage as the imp of incantation. You will find the same result in religious histories. About the same time, in the same year, 1521, when Luther stood forth the champion of Protestantism at the Diet of Worms, Ignatius conceived his resolution to dedicate himself to his spiritual career; and now, when Luther issues from the Wartburg, again to do battle in his cause, Ignatius has taken his vow, and begins his pilgrimage, (not to Jerusalem, forsooth, though he went thither,) but to Rome, whose rampart he is to become. Luther's entry into Wittemberg took place only eighteen days ere Ignatius passed his "Vigil at Arms" before the Virgin of Montserrat. When Luther attacked indulgences, he knew not that he would become the champion of the Protestant movement: when Ignatius resolved to imitate St. Dominic and St. Francis, he

had no idea of being an opponent of that movement. Both results followed, however, and an equipoise was effected, after considerable obstructions, of course, in the religious *and* political affairs of humanity. I shall again touch on the subject in the sequel.

We left Ignatius at Manreza. Astonishing it is to see how well he copied the example of the Catholic saints—
 Indian those dreadful examples of what human nature
 penitents. can do with itself if only impelled by a motive.

Any motive will do to produce the same results in a Catholic Christian, (of old,¹) or a *Yogee* of India—those unapproachable ascetics of a pagan god. Under a sense of sin, or thirsting after immortality, or seeking absorption into the Deity as their supreme good, these pagan devotees forsake their homes, and practise the austerities which their cruel superstition inspires and requires. True, the great majority are animated by no such motives. Ambition, vanity, love of admiration, and thirst for fame, and honour, and renown, the hope of being worshipped now, and of being elevated into a divinity after death, may be unquestionably the ruling passions of those who embark in this arduous enterprise; but the result is precisely the same. One man lies on a bed of spikes, or travels to Benares upon shoes whose irons lacerate his flesh. *He* inflicts tortures on his body for the good of his soul.² Another vows to remain standing in a certain position for years, with his hands

¹ I say of *old*—but the spirit of ascetic self-torture is not yet dead. In the “Times” paper of Dec. 21, 1847, you may have read the case of a French nun, of Paris, who, by advice of her confessor, constantly wore a crucifix with points on its surface, next her naked breast, in which position it was found by the physician who was called in to prescribe when she sank under her secret austerities. At night she slept with it under her back, so as not to lose the dear torment.

² Campbell, India, p. 55.

held up above his head, until the arms wither away from inaction, become fixed and powerless. One carries a cumbrous load, or drags after him a heavy chain, which he sometimes fixes to the most tender part of the body. Another undertakes a long and wearisome pilgrimage from the extreme north of India to Rameeshwarum, in the south ; or from the extreme south to Benares, in the north, measuring with his prostrate body the whole extent of the journey. Understand me well ; he lays his body lengthwise on the ground at each remove, or drags himself thus, and so he journeys on—poor miserable wretch—how the heart sickens to think of it—on—on—in his dismal pilgrimage he goes, parched with thirst in a burning clime, famished with hunger, a prey to every calamity. Some crawl like reptiles upon the earth for years, or until they have thus made the circuit of a vast empire. Others measure with their bodies the road to Jaganath, or, assuming as nearly as possible the form of a ball, or a hedgehog ensconsed in his prickly coat, roll along, like the Indian in Vathek, *teres atque rotundus*, from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges, collecting, as they move in this attitude, money to build a temple, to dig a well, or to atone for some secret crime. Some swing before a slow fire in that horrid clime, or hang for a certain time suspended, with their heads downwards, over the fiercest flames.¹ The legs of the standing penitents swell and become deeply ulcerated ; they cannot stand : they lean against a pillow suspended from a tree. Some turn their heads over their shoulders to gaze at the heavens, remain in that posture until it becomes impossible for them to resume the natural position, while, from the twist of the

¹ Oriental Mem., i. 68, 69.

neck, nothing but liquids can pass into the stomach.¹ The Yogee falls prostrate, and continues in fervent devotion until the sun pours down his heat like a furnace. He rises then, and stands on one leg, gazing steadfastly at the sun, whilst fires, each large enough to roast an ox, are kindled at the four corners of the stage on which he exhibits, the penitent counting his beads, and now and then throwing combustible materials into the fire, to increase the flames. Then he bows himself down in the centre of the four fires, keeping his eyes still fixed on the sun. Next, placing himself upright on his head, feet elevated in the air, he remains for *three hours* in that inverted position. Lastly, he seats himself with his legs crossed, and thus endures the raging heat of the sun and the fires till the end of day.² At night, how fares this voluntary penitent? He stands erect, up to his neck in a river, or a tank; and why? In order that thus the juices of his body may be dried up, and he may obtain emancipation from his passions and his sins.³ Some bury themselves in like manner in the ground, or even wholly below it, leaving only a little hole, through which they may breathe. Others tear themselves with whips, or chain themselves for life to the foot of a tree.⁴ Some stand in the midst of frost and snow, that the cold may seize on their vitals: others throw themselves from some terrible precipice, to perish in pursuit of a phantom and a lie.⁵ In the midst of the wild woods, caves, rocks, or sterile sands, sharing the habitations of the beasts of the forest, and feeding on the roots of the desert, you may see these resolute penitents, mostly naked, their long hair matted into ropes, intertwined

¹ The Hindoos, ii. 57.

² Mill, India, i. 353.

³ Campbell, India, p. 55.

⁴ Hist. of Brit. India, i. 354.

⁵ Campbell, *ubi supra*.

with other locks from the heads of other saints long in the sepulchre, falling confusedly over their bodies, which it sometimes nearly covers, reaching the ground on all sides. In this state they are more like wild beasts than men. Their outstretched fingers, armed in many cases with nails of twenty years' growth, look like so many extraordinary horns, whilst their elf-locks, full of dust, and never combed, stream in the wind in a manner strangely savage and horrible to behold.¹ And yet not enough. What means yon crowd innumerable, round a pole, erect and ready for something? 'Tis a swinging festival. From amidst the crowd comes forth a Sannyāsi, or Indian penitent. The multitude applaud the holy man. He has vowed perpetual silence. And now look up! A hook is thrust into the tendons of his back—he is suspended in the air, and swung round and round, to propitiate the favour of some exasperated deity.² And the hideous festival of Jagannath, or Juggernaut, who has not heard of the countless multitudes flocking from all the most distant extremities of India, in a pilgrimage in which they starve, and pine, and perish, to feed the vultures that hover in readiness above their path, dogs and jackalls; to strow the Aceldama with their whitening bones; or, should they linger to the end, with a vow to honour their god when his tower of Moloch shall roll its wheels over their bodies, willingly stretched in the bloody path, and crushed to atoms?³ Old as humanity is self-torture; and yet some "good" is its object. The Anchoret of India subdued his passions, acquired the habit of contemplation, and mortified or

¹ Oriental Mem., i. 69; Campbell, *ubi supra*.

² Campb., p. 56.

³ See Buchanan, *Christ. Researches*, for a heart-rending account of this festival, p. 19, *et seq.* Hindoos, p. 217, *et seq.*

macerated his body. He eradicated the three great propensities as to land, money, and women. He also extirpated all ordinary prejudices concerning castes, distinctions, and honours. His wish was to extinguish the most natural feelings, and even the instincts implanted in us by nature for our preservation. He required of his disciples to be insensible to heat and cold, to wind and rain, and to eat without reluctance not only the most offensive disgusting scraps, but even *things of which nature herself shows her utmost abhorrence*.¹ After all you have read of these pagans, the exploits of the Christian Ignatius will seem trivial indeed.

The knight of the Virgin arrived at Manreza, and went to lodge at the hospital of that city, and felt an excess of satisfaction at seeing himself in the number of beggars, its inmates. To conform himself to their manner of life, he begged his bread from door to door; and that no one might be able to discover his quality by a certain air, which persons well-born preserve even in rags, he studied the gross manners of those with whom he lived at the hospital, and forced himself not only to imitate them, but even to improve upon what he had remarked most loathsome in them; he succeeded in this attempt to a miracle. His filthy hair hung in disorder, and concealed one half of his face; his beard as long, as much neglected, and as filthy as his hair, covered the other half; this, with his nails, which he suffered to grow to a frightful length, so much disguised him, that he had rather the appearance of a bear, than a human creature. He was indeed so frightful, and so ridiculous at the same time, that when

Ignatius doing
penance.

¹ Dubois, Description, p. 330, *et seq.*

he appeared the children would point him out to each other, and follow him through the streets with loud outcries : the women, of whom he asked charity, took flight, scared at his horrible figure ; the gay made him their jest, and the grave were of opinion that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. He suffered all their insults with marvellous patience, and even affected to be more stupid than he really was, that he might excite more wonder, and have more occasions of mortifying those emotions of pride and self-love, which had not yet ceased to intrude amidst these strange follies. He fasted every day on bread and water, except Sunday, when he eat a few herbs, boiled and mixed with ashes. He girded his loins with an iron chain, wore under his coarse gown a rough hair-cloth, and, in imitation of St. Dominic, gave himself the discipline or lash three times a day ; and when he went to the church of Our Lady at Villardodis, at some distance, he encircled himself with a wreath of rough and prickly briars, to tear and transfix his flesh. But this method of honouring his Lady is far surpassed by the Sannyāsi, at the festival of his Kāli, or Kaluma, a female deity of India. On this occasion, the devout worshipper pierces his tongue with spits and canes ; thrusts sharp instruments through his sides ; infixes needles in his breast ; pierces the skin of his forehead, and inserts an iron rod in a socket attached to his person, suspending a lamp, which is kept burning all night. In this condition, he dances before his idol.¹ At the hospital, Ignatius sought out the most irritable and loathsome patients, and performed with most eagerness and alacrity the most disgusting offices. He not only handled them, took them in his arms, made their

¹ Ward, i. 353. The Hindoos, ii. 57.

beds, washed them, cleaned them, but, more than once, he even applied his mouth to their ulcers, and sucked the purulent discharge ; and this he did, copying examples in the Lives of the Saints. Meanwhile, he would watch all night, and used no other bed but the bare earth. He spent seven hours in prayer every day ; and though he had learnt only vocal prayer, he prayed mentally, without uttering a word, and remained whole hours immovable as a statue.¹

Four months in this course of penance he passed without the devil's bestirring himself to disturb the joy he tasted in it : but, says the sage who "Temptation." transmitted to posterity the great actions of our hero, this evil spirit observing him one day in the hospital, pleased amidst the filth of this miserable abode, could not endure such an excess of humility in a man bred up in the palace of a king. "What hast thou to do in this hospital ?" was the imp's appeal ; "what infamy in a man of thy quality to take upon him the life of a beggar ? Arc dirt and filth the essence of holiness ?" very wisely, but cunningly it seems, asked the devil. "And canst thou not become good without suffering thyself to be devoured alive with vermin ? Art thou not ashamed thus to degrade thy nobility, and dishonour thy illustrious house ? Heaven, which bestowed on thee a generous heart, was willing that thou shouldst be a holy knight, but not a miserable vagabond. Quit then this

¹ All the biographers ; but Maffeus is very concise on the subject, and Bouhours lops off much of Bartoli's luxuriance of description. Levier or "De Selva," however, gathers largely from Ribadeneyra and Nieremberg, and shows up the mock-Sannyāsi to admiration. It is the work of no admirer, but fair withal. Bartoli writes from the archives of the saint's canonisation—the humbug attestation *en oath* usual on such occasions. I shall have a word to say on the subject in its proper place.

horrid place. Go, show thy virtues in the court or the army; thy example will there produce more advantage than in an hospital. One such man will suffice to reform a whole city. At court nobles will imitate thee, but here children make game of you." These thoughts, for such of course they were, found immediately some access to the mind of Ignatius: suddenly he conceived a disgust and horror for the wretched existence he was leading—amid the loathsome patients of the hospital, its filth and harassments. That was a trying ordeal. How shall he pass through the fire of that temptation?—for such the spiritualists, the ascetics call it. And why? Because it militates with what they lay down as indispensable means of salvation. They have fashioned a God after their own hearts, and their God delights in the fantastic and the horrible. In the main, the thoughts of Ignatius were sensible, rational, and, therefore, in accordance with pure religion. To visit the sick, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, are things sensible, rational, and religious, and most consolatory to us all when we can do them. But to suck ulcers! And to imitate a Yogee—to imitate the pagans who, with like intentions, eat and drink what cannot be named,¹ or the Roman saints, whom Ignatius copied! Considered in itself, his attendance and services to the sick are in accordance with pure religion: he performed gratuitously what others are compelled to ask money for, it being their avocation. With pure benevolence, like that of a Howard, he would have merited our admiration and applause: but he was working for "merits"—for salvation-payment, and seeking to rival the "saints." He may have been benevolent by nature, but benevolence

¹ Dubois, Description, &c. p. 331.

was not his motive here. Pure religion, therefore, makes us shrink with disgust from the sight of a man deceiving himself with horrid mockeries of sublime virtue, human and divine. Well might he feel qualms of conscience, and translate them into "temptations of the devil;" and rush from the thoughts of his better nature into more frightful practices, "to conquer the devil that assailed him, and nature which betrayed him!"¹ Forsooth it would rather seem that the "devil's" suggestions were *intended* to drive him farther in his horrible career. I submit the idea to the spiritualists and ascetics.

After such a gain of merits and virtue, *di tal guadagno di meriti, e di virtù*, we are told, Ignatius decamped from the hospital. It had got
His austerities in a cave. wind, how, we are not informed, but by the *devil* of course, as they affirm, that the poor unknown, whom all laughed at, was a man of quality doing penance, and who, to conceal the splendour of his family, had stripped himself of his rich clothes, and exchanged them for those of a poor man. If, instead of the devil, they told us that Ignatius, in his fit of disgust at the hospital, had, in an unguarded moment of irritation with the abusive patients, let out who it was that served and cleaned them for their ingratitude, the thing would be quite natural and excusable too; but the devil and Providence answer all the purposes of fanatics, the ignorant, the designing. Not through the ranks of scoffers, and jesters, and hooters now walked Ignatius. The fact had given new eyes, new consciences—aye, charity to the gaping multitude. *Then they discovered*

¹ "Per vincere in un colpo due nemici, l'inferno che lo assaltava, e la sua natura che lo tradiva."—*Bartoli*, lib. i. 11.

the noble air under the hideous mask of poverty. *Then* were his greatest admirers those who had mocked him before. Was this not the sweet fulfilment of the knight's desires? Is it uncharitable to say that he must have exulted inwardly as he so soon beheld the results of his "merits and virtue?" One biographer tells us that he took flight on this very account; another, that he decamped in order to conquer the devil and his nature, conspiring against him in the disgusting hospital. In this contradiction, the state of his case, the workings of the human heart in such a case, must lead us to a right conclusion. And now pass on to the cavern where Ignatius resolves to perform the second act of his tragedy, to be rehearsed subsequently by his own lips to his admiring disciples. He has already copied and rivalled thirty thousand, at least, of the glorious saints whose lives he has been reading. He has done their deeds, if he has fallen short of a Yogee or Sannyāsi. But his imitative faculties have been hitherto confined to the *social* saints, if they can bear the name, the saints of human society. His attention is now called to a different class,—the awful Fathers of the Desert, the Sannyāsis of the Roman calendar, of whose frightful devotion the very rocks of Thebais must still be eloquent if there be "sermons in stones." The anchorets of Egypt defy Ignatius of Manreza, and the knight of our Lady picks up the gauntlet. St. Anthony, with his temptations and beautiful devils, will meet him in the tournament. The cavern was at the foot of a hill, cut in the living rock, dark, and fashioned like a tomb. Had it been designed by Ignatius, it could not have suited him better. Rough, and ragged, and splintered was the approach; every bruise—every gash he received was a merit.

Briars and thorns blocked up the entrance. He had torn himself through them, and exulted at the pain. On all sides round a dismal wilderness insured him freedom from all intrusion, excepting that of the devil. And oh, how entrancing! In the side of the cavern which faced Montserrat there was a cleft in the rock, through which he could see and salute our Lady—*per dove si puo vedere e riverire nostra Signora*. She would thus be the lady of the lists, the umpire, and guerdon-giver, in the tournament. His fervour redoubled, and dreadful were his self-inflictions. He watched and watched till he conquered sleep; four or five times a-day he gave himself a shower of blows with an iron chain, fetching blood; more than seven hours he prayed on his knees; and, after the example of St. Jerome in the Wilderness, struck himself violently on the breast with a flint. Add to this his pains from the hair-cloth, his chain-girdle, the vernal frost, against which he found no defence in the open cavern, and but little in the sack which covered him: he continued three or four days without taking any nourishment, and when his strength failed him, he eat some bitter roots which he found near his cavern, or a bit of the musty bread which he had brought from the hospital.

The result you expect naturally followed. The wonder is, that he lived through the ordeal. His strength failed: his disordered stomach tormented him with bitter and continual pains: sudden faintings deprived him of his senses. In this condition, almost lifeless, he was found at the entrance of his cavern, by some persons who went in search of him, having discovered his retreat. A little nourishment, which they forced him to take, having restored him from his swoon, he would

have regained the bottom of his grot, but, in spite of his reluctance, they carried him back to the hospital of Manreza.

One word of reflection on this curious affair. Perhaps you do not know what hunger is—I mean practically ; and perhaps you do not know what fasting is—fasting in right good earnest—fasting to punish the rebel flesh and put down concupiscence. It varies with the temperament somewhat in the intensity of its effects ; but continuous fasting, with the set-purpose of maceration in view, constantly produces the very result deprecated. With the body all the faculties of mind are weakened—will, memory, and understanding. But that propensity in you, which you may have indulged, or which is naturally stronger than the rest, will still have its modicum of strength more than the rest, and your will (whereby your moral strength is imparted) being weakened, how can you more effectually resist your propensity by fasting ? In fact, fasting redoubled the temptations of St. Jerome, who was naturally lascivious ; and it is proverbial that we should not ask a favour of a crusty man before his breakfast. Give to the man of strong passions moderate meals and plenty of work ; diminish the supplies and idleness of an alderman *corpulento e grasso*: but let your fasting be only from sin, as much as possible.

Ignatius, however, took another view of his case, though exactly to the same end, against fasting. It is the *devil* again who speaks ; there's no doing without the devil in Jesuitism. “ How canst thou,” said he to him, “ how canst thou support a life so austere during *seventy* years which thou hast yet to live ?” This was giving him a pretty long run in store—rather too long :

but Bartoli takes off just twenty years, and reduces the term to fifty.¹ Need I give his reply? Enough, alas! of the pernicious mockeries of religion which the Jesuits have debited to the world. Tired and harassed with the recital, let us advance into more tangible facts, on which contemporaneous history will shed enlightenment. A rapid glance at his career will, however, be necessary to enable us to appreciate the man and his work.

Ignatius was tried: he had his temptations: the devil spoke to him internally: the devil's speeches are recorded. But he triumphed; and if he has His visions. not said that angels came and ministered unto him, still he affirmed, according to the biographers, that, whilst rehearsing the "office" or prayers of the Virgin Mary, he was elevated in spirit, and saw, as it were, a figure clearly representing to him the most holy Trinity.² Thus he was made chaste by a kind of necessity, and he is now a believer without the necessity of written revelation.³ Disease, despair succeeded, but heavenly consolations were not denied. He once had a rapture of eight days' duration. They thought him dead, and were on the point of burying him, when he opened his eyes,

¹ "Qui fieri potest ut duram hanc . . . vitam septuaginta annos ad quos victurus es, perferas."—*Ribadeneyra, Vit. Ignat.* lib. i. c. vi. "Come avesse cuor di durare cinquanta anni che gli rimanevan di vita."—*Bartoli*, lib. i. 12.

² Bouhours.

³ "Quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret."—*Acta Sanct.* Again, "Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverat."—*Maff.* p. 28. This last passage is erroneously translated by D'Aubigné; thus, "he would have believed them, for God had appeared to him." It simply means, "what he knew, God opening or revealing unto him;" that is, by immediate revelation. Such errors I find constantly in all works against the Jesuits. The comparison drawn by D'Aubigné between Luther and Ignatius, is amusing, but totally baseless in every point. The national characters of the two men did not differ more than their respective individualities. See *Hist. of the Reform.* iii. 118, *et seq.*

and with a tender and devout voice exclaimed, "Ah! Jesus!" "No one knows," continues the same authority, the secrets which were revealed to him in that long ravishment; for he would never tell; and all that could ever be extracted from him was, that the graces with which God favoured him were inexpressible."¹ It is asserted that Ignatius received thirty visits from Christ and the Virgin.²

Enough has surely been recorded to show forth the results of conversion in the sixteenth century. In Jesuit-books these thrilling incidents are so sweetly worded, that they penetrate to the heart without resistance, and provided we have the peculiar grace requisite, our admiration for the spirit of Jesuitism is overwhelming. These details, which are given as from the saint's own lips, were believed in all their intensity by the faithful; and a council of Spanish ecclesiastics at Tarragona, declared, that "the holy Virgin, in the sanctuary of Montserrat, *conceived to the sacred Ignatius*, and having embraced him in her bosom, opened and imparted to him the bowels of her mercy; and in such a manner, being, as it were, enveloped in the womb, she cherished him, and fed him with the food of heaven, and filled him with her divine spirit."³

The result of these wonderful adumbrations—this Delphic delirium, was the composition of the famous

¹ Bouhours.

² Nieremb. San Ignacio.

³ Nieremberg, Vida de S. Ignacio. "La Virgen Santissima, en aquel sagrado lugar de Monserrate, concibió al sagrado Ignacio, y aviendolo abraçado en su gremio, abrio, y comunico con el las entrañas de su misericordia . . . y de tal manera estando como embuelto en el vientre, le favoreció, y con pasto del cielo le alimento, y lleno con su spirito divino, siendo Ignacio aun niño, como cerrado en las entrañas de su madre, dava saltos de placer, y muchas vezes estando fuera de si, y levantando sobre si, vio como en un espejo el ineffable misterio de la Santissima Trinidad," c. xvi.

book entitled the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. From a penitent, equal to the greatest of Christendom, but not of Brahminism, Ignatius would become a *teacher unto salvation*. The result is natural—is consistent; hence we may dismiss the question, whether Ignatius did or did not appropriate the groundwork of that book from a similar production of the Benedictine monk Cisneros. The application and the use of it are sufficient to demonstrate the method of Jesuit influence. It was given to men as a revelation,—“the book of Exercises was truly written by the finger of God, and delivered to Ignatius by the holy mother of God.”¹

This book—or rather the training under its direction—has, we are told, worked miraculous conversions in all times. It consists of a course of meditations extending over four weeks—progressively from the life of worldliness and sin to the perfection of the saints—the temporal foretaste of the joys of heaven. A total seclusion from the affairs of life, is one of the conditions essential to the pilgrimage. Four meditations or contemplations take place daily—the first at day-break, the last at midnight. His spiritual director must be the penitent’s only companion. The solemn silence of the *Chamber of Meditations* was not enough: artificial gloom, frightful pictures of hell, were there to strike terror in the soul through the senses.² The penitent brought fierce passions to the ordeal; they were strongly appealed to though the end of the means was holy. Pride, ambition, love, are not extinguished, but their objects changed;

¹ “Est enim liber Exercitiorum verè digito Dei scriptus, et a beatâ Dei matre sancto Ignatio traditus.”—*Homo Orat.* à I. Nouet. S. J. 1643, in Direct.

² See Millot, ex-Jesuit, Elem. de l’Histoire de France, tome iii. p. 131.

and the imagination is trained to excite mental agitation or mental delight, through the corporeal senses, according to the subjects of meditation and the march of the pilgrimage. In the gloomiest hours we imagine we *behold* the vast conflagration of hell ; we *hear* its wailings, shrieks, and blasphemies ; we *smell* its smoke, brimstone, and the horrid stench of some sewer or filth and rottenness ;¹ we *taste* the bitterest things, such as tears, rancour, the worm of conscience : in fine, we *touch*, in a manner, those fires by whose contact the souls of the reprobate are scorched. Thus each meditation, each contemplation, are scenes of a drama—instinct with life : its pains and its pleasures, its vices and its virtues—every corporeal sense must perform each its function—metaphorically, at least, to aid the deception. And when from the meditations on human destiny, sin, death, judgment, we come to the contemplation of the more tangible subjects—the Incarnation—all that is most impassioned, most tender in our hearts, must be poured fourth in the vividly imagined presence of the Divine Persons—the angel fulfilling his mission, and Mary acquiescing in the work of redemption. We must diligently seek for expressions wherewith we may worthily address each divine person, the Word Incarnate, and his Mother ; praying, according to the emotion we shall feel in our hearts, for whatever may aid us to a greater imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it were just made man.² Merely to see and hear the personages in contemplation, is trivial : we must, with a certain interior taste and smell, relish the suavity and lusciousness of

¹ “ Imaginario etiam olfactu fumum, sulfur, et sentinte cujusdam, seu fœcis, atque putredinis graveolentiam persentire.” *Ec. v. Hebd. i.*

² *Hebd. ii.*

the soul imbued with divine gifts and virtues ; and by means of an internal touch, we must feel and kiss the garments, places, footsteps, everything pertaining to them, whence we may derive a greater increase of devotion, or any spiritual gift.¹

How sweet and tempting are the baits suspended here ! How delicious the odours around, making us ask, Whence come they—these odours ? But they are so sweet, so delicious, that poor human nature bribes the judgment to believe them divine : they are so sweet, so delicious !

This is called the “ application of the senses ” to the uses of the soul.

Towards the end of the second week occurs the famous meditation of “ the two Standards,” in which Ignatius sanctified his previous warlike notions, just as he has applied all his natural predilections and refined sensuality to the purposes of salvation in “ the application of the senses.”

In this contemplation we behold two camps in battle array—two generals appealing to us, each eager to enlist us in his service. In the rear of each general is his respective city or stronghold. One general is Jesus Christ, his city Jerusalem ; the other is Satan, his city Babylon the Great. The latter displays a splendid banner, with the motto, PRIDE, HONOUR, RICHES : on the standard of the Redeemer appear the words, POVERTY, SHAME, HUMILITY. “ To arms ! ” is sounded on all sides : we must instantly decide in whose ranks we will fight—shall it be with Satan or with Christ ?

¹ “ Interiore quodam gustu et olfactu sentire quanta sit suavitas et dulcedo animæ, &c. . . per internum tactum attractare, ac deosculari vestimenta, loca, vestigia, cœteraque personis conjuncta,” &c.—*Ibid.* ii.

Having joined the ranks of the latter, having made the "election" (as it is called) one must learn how to conquer by patience and submission—by non-resistance unto death; these being the arms of our warfare, with the example of Christ before us, his sufferings and death.¹

From the sadness of these themes we pass to the last week—the Sabbath of this spiritual creation. Then the "glorious mysteries" are contemplated—the Resurrection, Heaven, the Joys of the Saints, Divine Love,—all that is cheering must now make amends for the gloom preceding. As during the former weeks no joyful thought was admitted, so now all sadness must be dispelled. We stand by the sepulchre of Christ, or in the little house of the blessed Virgin; the form, parts, and other peculiarities of which, as a cell or oratory, we examine with diligence, one after another.² Spiritual joy, the thought of glory must then entrance the soul. The light of day must be admitted. In spring and summer we must be cheered by the sight of the verdant foliage and of flowers, or the loveliness of some sunny spot; during winter, by the now seasonable rays of the sun or a fire; and so on, in like manner, with regard to the other befitting delights of body and mind, wherewith we can rejoice with the Creator and Redeemer.³

The principal rules and maxims of religious conduct, throughout these spiritual exercises, are found in the lessons and lives of the ancient fathers of the desert;

¹ Hebd. iii.

² "Speculandum accipiet sepulchri situm, et beatæ Virginis domicilium, cujus formam, partes," &c.

³ Hebd. iv. For a detailed account of the Retreat and Spiritual Exercises, see *The Novitiate*, 2nd Edition.

they are here judiciously chosen, methodically digested, and clearly explained.¹ The manifest object of all is religious perfection according to the saints' ideas. In

the space of a month the soul seems to grow from the bud of repentance to the fruit of salvation. The easy and natural gradations throughout are truly admirable : the perfect adaptation of means to an end is also striking ; but the highest praise of original invention is due to Ignatius, if the work be his, for his method, just sketched, of giving intensity to the leading truths of revelation, by materialising spirituality, as far as imagination can effect this anomaly. By this method the science of the saints penetrates more deeply, mixes itself with all our sentiments and emotions, and we become strong in "faith, hope, and charity," without being aware of the imperceptible transformations which have been effected in our souls. Need it be added that, as the ultimate object of these exercises is to enable the penitent to choose a state of life—a profession—the chances are very many to one that he will remain amongst those whose method *has* dazzled and charmed and entranced him with joys of heart more intense than usually fall to the lot of plodding Christians, through the dull routine of commonplace morality. The spiritual exercises agitate the heart, and bewilder the mind, like strains of melting music mysteriously sounding in the midnight hour. It is hard to resist spiritual impulses in solitude ; but harder still when to these are added all the emotions of the passions, which, it is evident, are never permitted to slumber for a moment in the Chamber of Meditations. Finally, a delirium steals over the mind and heart ; we

Results of
the "spiritual
exercises."

¹ Butler, Life of Ignatius.

feel predestined ; above all, we feel that we “ can do all things ” by holy obedience, having become totally “ indifferent to all things in themselves,” considering them merely as far as they conduce to the end for which we were created, and this will be made known to us by our spiritual director, superior, or Father-general.

From this grotto at Manreza Ignatius departed on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He took Italy on his way, and received the pope’s blessing. His design was to labour in the conversion of the Turks, as the military knight had battled to subdue them : but the monks established at Jerusalem objected to his interference, and compelled him to return to Europe. Wonders, of course, attended him here, as everywhere else, and are duly recounted by the biographers. Convinced of his ignorance, he resolved to begin his studies : at the age of thirty-three he commenced grammar at Barcelona : but his memory was very defective ; he could retain nothing. Logic, physics, and divinity, confounded his original ideas : though he studied night and day he learnt nothing at all.¹ He was clogged in the conjugation of the verb *amo*, I love—clinging to the idea, and repeating to himself, “ I love—God,” or “ I am loved—by God.” A vow was necessary to wrench his thoughts from heaven : he made the vow at the foot of the altar to continue his studies, and apply to them with greater assiduity. He begged his master to punish him if he failed in his duty, and not to spare him any more than the youngest pupil.²

Ignatius sets out for Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, he lived on the charity of those whom he

¹ Butler.

² Bouhours.

influenced. Two pious women particularly cared for the saint's temporalities. The name of one is immortalised with that of her protégé. Isabella Rosello is remembered with Ignatius of Loyola: nor is Agnes Pascal, with whom he lodged, consigned to oblivion: his chamber was the scene of a prodigy. Ignatius was discovered at night with his face all on fire, and seemingly raised above the ground, environed with light.¹

The same suspension-bridge of rapture had been vouchsafed to Saint Dominic;² and the lambent flame had been given to the pagan boy, Rome's future king.³

Ignatius raised a dead man to life. But the saint only prayed for as much life as would enable the suicide to make his confession and receive absolution. The dead man came to life, and died again as soon as he had received absolution!⁴

Indefatigable in his labours he reaped the harvest of numerous conversions; but the dread Inquisition pounced upon him as a wizard, a magician, a heretic. He escaped with honour amongst the people: he was declared a man filled with the spirit of God, a successor of the Apostles—the holy man.⁵ Judgment from above was imminent over all who questioned his sincerity.

¹ Bouhours.

² Butler, St. Dom.

³ *Puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu.* Liv. lib. i. "A boy, named Servius Tullius, as he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons, had his head all in a blaze." Virgil, also, may have suggested the idea to the classical biographers:—

*Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli,
Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molli
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.*—Æn. lib. ii.

⁴ Bouhours.

⁵ Ibid.

One day he was asking alms : a by-stander exclaimed : "May I be burnt, if this man does not merit the flames!" On that very day the unfortunate man was burnt to death by the accidental explosion of a cannon, "as if God," say the Jesuits, "in order to declare the innocence and avenge the honour of Ignatius, would verify the words of Lopez (that was his name) by the very punishment which he had wished himself."¹ Such tales are full of meaning : the Jesuits can frighten as well as console : terror and consolation often come with the greatest efficacy from the same imposing lips.

More troubles awaited Ignatius : his book of the Spiritual Exercises was denounced : he was examined, and acquitted, but forbidden to preach on the doctrines of Sin until he had studied divinity ^{His troubles.} four years. Dissatisfied with this sentence, he departed from Spain, and arrived at Paris in the year 1528, determined to gain that science which was necessary to give authority to his mission. Possessed with his new ideas, and determined to test their efficacy in the vocation which he had chosen for his new ambition, his difficulties seemed only to increase his ardour and fortify his resolution. Ignatius must have champed the inexorable curb of Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy, thus checking the impulse of his superabundant energies. His metal was misunderstood ; or rather, the "men under authority" treated the enthusiast (such a cool calculator withal !) as "leaders" have ever been treated ; they persecuted the man whom they should have "let alone" —and thus deprive him of that sterling merit which

¹ Bouhours.

persecution invariably confers. Little cared Ignatius for Orthodoxy, since Orthodoxy cared so little for *him* : a dutiful son of the Church he may have been in the abstract ; but to stop his mouth thus unceremoniously was enough to inspire him with a worse resolution than we find recorded ; there would have been nothing surprising had he turned heretic openly instead of trying another field for his operations. As it was, it proved the best step he could have taken : his persecutors eventually expedited his career ; it was destined that his Society should be born in Paris, to which city he retired from Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy in arms against a poor field-preacher.

Here he suffered much from poverty, and was compelled to wander from place to place for substance. He visited *London* in his peregrinations !

At the college of St. Barbara, whilst prosecuting his studies, Ignatius managed by his dexterity to exchange a public whipping for a public triumph. He had been admonished not to interfere with the studies of the students by his devotional practices : he disobeyed, and the punishment was announced. But by a single interview he operated so effectually on the principal of the college, that, without replying, the latter led him by the hand to the expectant students, all ready for the sign to inflict the penance ; then, throwing himself at the feet of Ignatius, he begged his pardon for having believed the evil reports against him ; and rising, pronounced him a saint !¹

This solemn satisfaction at once raised Ignatius to a

¹ Bouhours.

most desirable position : he became famous ; the grand epoch of his life was at hand ;—“ he knew clearly that he was chosen by God to establish a company of apostolic men, and that he was to select companions in the university of Paris.”¹

Peter Lefevre, or Faber, was his first convert ; Xavier afterwards a saint, was his next ; and Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez,—all famous men in the Society—subsequently enlisted. There was judgment in the selection and prudence in their probation ; for Ignatius gave them more than two years to mature their resolution and to complete their studies.

He begins
to gather
followers.

At length, on the 15th of August, 1537, finality was given to the glorious scheme : the determined vow was taken. Montmartre was the scene of the ceremony. The monastery stood on a hill near Paris, consecrated by the blood of martyrs, whence its memorable name.

They take
a vow.

It was the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, when the church announces and commemorates the Virgin's bodily translation into Heaven on the wings of angels, as represented in pious prints and paintings. It was in a subterraneous chapel where the apostle of France, St. Denys, was beheaded. Lefevre said mass. He was the only priest among them. He gave them the body of the Lord : they eat, and stood, and swore the vow of confederacy. They promised God to go to Jerusalem to convert the Turks ; to leave all they possessed in the world, excepting what was necessary for the voyage ; but they threw in the remarkable proviso, that in case they could not go to Jerusalem,

¹ Douhours.

nor stay there, they would *throw themselves at the feet of the pope*.¹

Claudius Lejay, Codure, and Brouet afterwards joined the band, which, with Ignatius, now amounted to ten men, of different natures, of widely different dispositions and attainments, but all with a determined will to attempt "great things," and withal, devoted to Father Ignatius.

They set out, and reached Italy. Their pilgrimage was at an end ; for war having broken out between the Christians and the Turks, the voyage to Palestine was impracticable. Heaven preferred the clever *proviso* of their vow. It was during this journey, and at Vicenza, that Ignatius enjoined his companions to call themselves "the Company of Jesus." "Because," said he, "they were to fight against heresy and vice, under the standard of Christ." A bold and distinctive sign-board was that aspiring appellation ; and it was destined to be carped at accordingly with pious indignation, but rather inconsistently, for the more honourable and exalted the name we bear, the greater may be our efforts nobly to wear it. Ships were called "the Most Holy Trinity ;" colleges have divided between them the name of the Redeemer ; everybody calls himself a *Christian*. It was a bold idea in Ignatius to select the sacred name for his company ; and that is all, except that it answered most admirably the purpose of attraction and renown. Soon other names will be given to the followers of Ignatius, according to their attributes, real or supposed. They will be called the Servants of Jesus Christ ; the Venerable Congregation ; the Apostles and Legates

"The Company of Jesus," and other patronymics.

¹ Bouhours.

of Jesus ; the Brothers of Jesus ; Reformed Priests ; Theatines ; Priests of Santa Lucia ; Priests of Santa Catharina. Thus by their friends and admirers ; but the compact and awfully execrated patronymic “ Jesuit ” will cling to them more closely, until they will boldly adopt it themselves, always exceedingly accommodating to the troublesome world. Then will all manner of perverse names be showered on the sturdy workers :— *Jesuweiter*, or “ far from Jesus ; ” Papst-Schärge, the pope’s lictors ; Papst-Schwarze Ritter, the pope’s black horsemen ; Esauites ; Jebusites ; and the Philistines of Christendom.¹ But little cared the followers of Ignatius for these hard names. They could boast of a mighty vision, which showed their credentials in Heaven. It follows :—

From Vicenza, the little band of pilgrims set out for Rome. On the journey, whilst retired in prayer, Ignatius saw the Eternal Father, who presented him to the Son ; and he saw Jesus Christ bearing a heavy cross, who, after having received him from the Father, said these words to him—*I shall be propitious to you at Rome.*

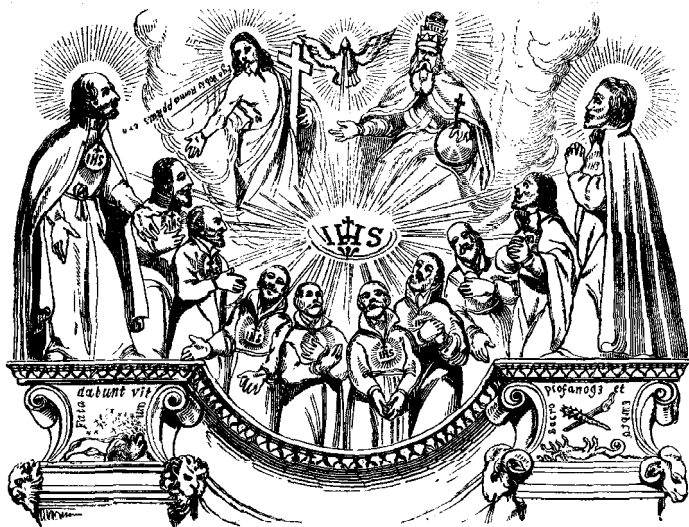
The most remarkable vision Ignatius ever had.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Jesuits give an engraving of the chapel where the vision was vouchsafed.² Ignatius could not have hit on a better plan to invigorate the enthusiasm of his chosen band. He boldly related the “ vision : ” it had the desired effect : they marched on rejoicing. “ This vision,” says Bouhours, “ is one of the most remarkable that St. Ignatius ever had ; and it is so well vouched for that it admits not of a doubt.” Subsequently referring, with no small intrepidity, to this his “ vision,” Ignatius proudly exclaimed, “ *When the*

¹ Hasenmüller, Hist. p. 21.

² July 31. Acta Sanct.

Eternal Father placed me with his Son,—Quando el Padre Eterno me puso con su Hijo.”¹ This is one of



the most suspicious traits in the character and career of Ignatius.

Only before the grand accomplishment did the prudent Ignatius make known to his disciples his final scheme ; and then he did so in a long speech which is given by his biographer. “ Ought we not to conclude that we are called to win to God, not only a single nation, a single country, *but all nations, all the kingdoms of the world ?*” Such was the leading idea : then looking forward he exclaimed, “ What great thing shall we achieve if our Company does not become an *Order*, capable of being *multiplied in every place, and to last to the end of time ?*”²

He foresaw difficulties ; but the man who had overcome every obstacle in his way, or patiently bided his

¹ Bouhours, i. 246.

² Id. ib. 257.

time for sixteen long years ;—such a man, if any, can look the future in the face and *resolve* success. Some thought him mad, but they knew him not : some think, even now, that he was mad, and echo the words of Voltaire, the ex-pupil of the Jesuits : “ Would you gain a great name ? ” asks Voltaire,—“ Be completely mad : but of a madness befitting the age. Have in your folly a bottom of reason to guide your ravings, and be excessively stubborn. It may chance that you get hanged : but if you are not, you may have an altar.”¹ There is some truth in this. Ignatius is now in no danger of a halter, but bids fair for an altar.

¹ Dict. Philosoph., tome x. Ignace.

BOOK III. OR, XAVIER.

SUCH are the leading facts in the life of Ignatius, hitherto the wandering preacher, as described by his own disciples, for the edification of the faithful. Preliminary observations. Every fact has been either questioned or bitterly ridiculed. The enemies of the Jesuits have clapped their hands with merriment thereat ; but the Jesuits and their friends have not ceased, on that account, to venerate their sainted founder. Ever convinced of his perfect integrity and holiness, they cease not to put up their prayers to Ignatius in Heaven for the protection and advancement of his cherished Society. His divine mission is believed ; his miraculous powers are firmly asserted ; and every Catholic is bound to reverence his name, since a festival has been appointed to him, and his name is invoked in the Mass.

The historian must bear these facts in mind : he must give them some little weight in the judgment he labours to form of this remarkable man. There must have been some merit—some considerable merit in Ignatius, to effectuate or direct the achievements of his nascent Society.

In the picture of the age which has been given, we

behold the field open to precisely such a man as Ignatius may be conceived to be, after making due allowance for the peculiar views of his biographers. In his career, up to the foundation of his Society, we see evidence of unflinching determination—a boundless passion for spiritual teaching—and we have no reason to believe that his morals were otherwise than pure, however strongly the whole narrative induces the thought that spiritual power was ever his object ; hence the assertion of *his visions and inspirations*, all which, if not invented by his followers, *must* have been proclaimed by *himself*. Herein is the important feature of the founder's character. Success attended his efforts : the world applauded : circumstances combined to cheer him on : he advanced as to the breach of Pampeluna ; but his arms were now those of the spirit, and with these to conquer, or *seem* to conquer, is one and the same. God alone will finally decide what is or what is not, true victory.

The Pope of Rome beheld Protestantism boldly advancing. Germany was almost totally Protestant. England was severed from papal allegiance. Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the adjacent countries were “infected with heresy.” France had caught the “distemper” from Geneva. The “venom” had penetrated into Italy. In such disastrous circumstances extraordinary succour was required.

Renown of
 Ignatius and
 his followers.

Paul III. thought well of Ignatius and his followers, whom he had dismissed to their probation, after the first interview and explanations. Rumour announced their deeds, their success. “Everywhere,” said the thousand-tongued, “they revive the spirit of Christianity ; the

most hardened sinners cannot resist the might of their words ; they have even converted a *libertine-priest*—a man of scandal, who composed comedies, and acted himself—a comedian at the altar, a priest on the stage ! They have converted him : he has been through the Spiritual Exercises, and has begged pardon of the people, with a rope round his neck, and has turned monk—a reformed Franciscan !”¹

Paul III., we are assured, was struck with astonishment at these brilliant achievements. He was “still more impelled by an interior movement.”² A Cardinal, who had strongly objected to the new foundation, “felt himself changed on a sudden,” for Ignatius had “redoubled his prayers before the divine Majesty, for the foundation, with extreme confidence ; and as if he had been assured of success, he promised, one day, to God, *three thousand masses*, in acknowledgment for the favour which he hoped to obtain.”³ All very specious indeed : but the result was, that the pope granted the Bull, *Regimini militantis Ecclesie*, and the Society of Jesus was founded.⁴

The Bull went forth on the 27th of September, 1540. His Company being established, Ignatius deemed it necessary to begin with electing a Commander-in-Chief, or General, for he never totally resigned his martial

¹ Bouhours.

² Id. i. 286.

³ Ibid, p. 284. It is a curious “coincidence” (which is to be accounted for by the Jesuits), that the same fact is recorded concerning St. Dominic and his Order. The pope objected ; but “he dreamed he saw the Lateran church in danger of falling, and that St. Dominic stepped in, and supported it with his shoulders.” Butler, St. Dom. The Jesuits have been determined that no founder should eclipse Ignatius, either in austerities, sanctity, miracles, or familiarity with the Almighty.

⁴ The Bulls and Breves take their titles from the first word or words. The present begins thus, “Raised to the government of the Church militant.”

notions : his men were to bear “ the standard of the Cross, to wield the arms of God, to serve the only Lord, and the Roman Pontiff, his Vicar on earth.”¹

Ignatius summoned his little troop to Rome—not *all*, for some of his men were already at important posts. True to its subsequent history, the Society was already in a position to influence the minds of kings. Xavier and Rodriguez were at the Court of Portugal ; Faber at the Diet of Worms, and Bobadilla had express orders not to leave the kingdom of Naples before accomplishing the affairs committed to his management. The absent members left their votes ; the suffrages were collected ; as a matter of course, Ignatius was elected. He was surprised and afflicted ; but had he reason to be so ? Was it not natural that his followers should elect a man who had been favoured with visions—who had been enlightened to see through the mysteries of faith—who had been placed—*associated* by God the Father with God the Son, as before related.

Ignatius, as modestly as Julius Cæsar, refused the dignity—nobly, but gently, pushed away the proffered diadem.

The refusal confirmed the electors in their choice ; but, obedient to his request, they spent four days more in prayer and penance, before the next election. Ignatius was again elected. The Divine will seemed manifest. Ignatius was of a different opinion ; he made another effort to escape. He said he would “ put the matter into the hands of his confessor ; and if the latter, who knew *all his bad inclinations*, should command him in the name of Jesus Christ to submit, he would obey blindly.”

¹ In the same Bull.

It is needless to state that the confessor "told him plainly he was resisting the Holy Ghost in resisting the election ; and commanded him on the part of God, to accept the appointment."

A question arises here. For whom did *Ignatius* vote in the election ? Surely, if he did not think himself perfectly qualified, he should have named the companion whom he deemed worthy of the high function, particularly as he had called the electors to Rome, for the express purpose of the election. But the sentimental votes recorded by the biographers lack that of Holy Father *Ignatius*. *Xavier*, *Codure*, *Salmeron*, have left their votes on the grateful page ; we see one of them even now *lithographed*¹, doubtless every other was equally fervid ; but we must remain uncertain as to the real sentiments of the modest saint on this interesting occasion.

In due time *Ignatius* drew up the Constitutions of his Society. Subsequently, as years rolled on, Rules, Decrees, Canons, &c., were added to this
The "Insti-
tute." groundwork ; the whole body of legislation being termed "The Institute of the Society of Jesus." These books profess to describe the system of the Jesuits, but only for the inspection of the Jesuits themselves ; and not even to the newly admitted members, or novices.² For the use of the latter, and to be shown to the world, when thought proper, there was a compendium, or summary, exhibiting brief rules and universals. They were not to be printed without the General's permission, and then not to be published, nor shown to those who were not received into

¹ See Crétineau Joly, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus* : t. i. p. 52.

² Decl. in Ex. Gen. G.

the Society.¹ It was, therefore, contrary to standing regulations, that the Constitutions should be produced to the world. These were exhibited, in process of time, on a very memorable occasion in the history of the Jesuits, as we shall read; and the suppression of their houses, and consequent appropriation of their goods and chattels, scattered the Constitutions, Rules, Canons, &c., over the world, and they are now to be had for a trifle or more at the cheap-book stalls of the metropolis.²

To conceive an adequate idea of the Jesuit Institute, we must, in some measure, forestall the period of its compact omnipotence. We must fling round General idea of the Society. about the primitive ideas of Ignatius, or the first founders, all that circumstances and expediency subsequently suggested to expand them into that absorbing POWER which men beheld with terror, and Heaven willed or permitted to be struck down. Upwards of twenty thousand well-trained, efficient veterans—a legion—a phalanx held together by corporeal and spiritual discipline—united, theoretically at least, and for a time, by the conformity of moral inculcation, casuistry, and the method of education—by the perfect resemblance of doctrine and manner of life, as far as circumstances or expediency would permit—bound to their General-in-chief by the chain of entire submission—obedience prompt, enthusiastic, blind—and scattered, without division, on the face of the earth. To the Jesuits, dispersion was but a matter of geographical

¹ Decl. in Ex. Gen. G., et Decl. in Proæm. n. 2. Ord. Gen. cap. ii. § 4.

² A collection, in my possession, has at length come together from all points of the compass, as evidenced by the *superscriptions* on the title-pages; one from the college at Louvain, another from that at Rome; a third belonged to the "Scottish Mission," &c.

latitude, not mental separation : a difference of language, not of sentiment. Skies changed for the wanderers, but not the peculiar ways and means and method of the Jesuit. In this mighty family all subscribed to the same articles of faith, whatever might be the tendency of their particular inculcations. That was their uniformity :—whilst *theory* is respected, *practice* will be allowed for : if you leave the former untouched, the latter, to a vast extent, may riot unmolested. The Roman and the Greek, the Portuguese, the Brazilian ; the Irishman, the Russian ; the Spaniard and the Frenchman ; the Belgian and Englishman—all worked as one man : their individual tastes and inclinations were merged in the general object of appetite : they were a multitude in action, but in will a single, naked soul.¹

Penetrated by the same spirit, governed by one soul, this mighty body operated in concert, employed the same most powerful means to gain the object proposed by the Institute—the spiritual good of mankind in the first instance, but by the Jesuit-method effected, and necessarily attended with that temporal self-aggrandisement which exalted the Society of Jesus far above any confraternity that ever influenced the minds of men. It proved to be their misfortune : it is nevertheless the fact.

At the first command, at the slightest sign of the

¹ Hæc sunt intervalla locorum, non mentium ; discrimina sermonis, non pectoris ; cælorum dissimilitudo, non morum. In hæc familiâ idem sentiunt Latinus et Græcus, Lusitanus et Brasilus, Hibernus et Sarmata, Iber et Gallus, Britannus et Belga ; atque in tam disparibus genis nullum certamen, nulla contentio, nihil ex quo sentias plures esse. *Imago Primi Sæculi*, p. 33.

Idem sapiamus—idem propè dicamus omnes—doctrinæ igitur differentes non admittantur. *Const.* part. iii. c. i. § 18.

Superior, all was agitation and stir,—they marched to the conquest.¹ Hopeful of victory, they were not cast down by defeat ; effort succeeded effort till the breach was made, and the Society's banners outspread the talisman—*Ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—To the Greater Glory of God !

The simple Jesuit is to possess for himself neither power, nor office,² nor credit, nor riches, nor will, nor sentiments :³ the concentrated authority belongs to the General.⁴ His commands, his desires, are the law :⁵ his power flows from his hands as from its source, on the heads whom he chooses :⁶ it extends as far as he pleases ; it stops when he wills.

Condition of the simple member.

The General is elected for life, and by a general congregation of the Society, composed of the Professed Members. The General must be a Professed Member. His qualifications, according to the Constitutions, must be—great piety, and the spirit of prayer : he must be exemplary in all the virtues ; calm in his demeanour, circumspect in words. Magnanimity and fortitude are most essential attributes. He must have extraordinary intellect and judgment ; prudence, rather than learning ; vigilance, solicitude in his duties : his health and external appearance must be satisfactory. He must be middle-aged ; and a due regard is to be had to the recommendations of nobility, or the wealth and honours he may have enjoyed in the world.⁷

The General.

¹ "Licet nihil aliud quàm *signum voluntatis*," &c.—*Const.* part vi. c. i.

² *Bull. Greg. XIV.* ann. 1591.

³ *Const.* part viii. c. 1 ; *Exam.* c. 6. § 8.

⁴ *Const.* part ix.

⁵ "Monarchicam tamen et in definitionibus unius Superioris arbitrio contentam esse decrevit."—*Bull. Greg. XIV.* 1591.

⁶ *Const.* part viii.

⁷ *Ibid.* part ix.

He appoints the Provincials or rulers of the Provinces into which the Society is divided, the Rectors of Colleges ; all the officials of the Society.

A general congregation may depose the General : but this cannot be unless he “ commits mortal sins of a delicate nature and public—*in externum prodeuntia*—or wounds any one, or misapplies the revenues, or becomes a heretic.

He has five Assistants corresponding to the great provinces of the Society, to aid him in his function.

The General's assistants. Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and Portugal supply their assistants, elected in a general congregation. Their name explains their office. They assist the General in expediting the affairs of their respective provinces ; they stand between the chief and his subjects ; they are his prime ministers.

Something like a curb is placed on his authority. The assistants must be the watchful guardians of his virtue and conduct. Provincial congregations may deliberate on the expediency of a general congregation to consider his government, without his knowledge of the fact ; their votes are written.

Every Superior in the Society has his Monitor to observe his conduct ; the General is not exempted from The Monitor. this seeming check to authority ; but it means little—it can effect less ; for the fact must never be forgotten, that a thousand regulations of the Society insure the similarity of views in the whole body. If it defends the General or Superior from “ public sins,” *in externum prodeuntia*, it is no guarantee to the world at large, from those abuses which result from the possession of unlimited power in directing the efforts of thousands sworn to obey.

Another set-off against republicanism by the Constitutions is secured to the General in the remarkable regulations which follow. The General possesses the secrets of every member—a terrible fulcrum for the lever of influence. He knows the character, the inclinations of every member ; he knows these facts, or *may* know them, for he has them in writing. He is made acquainted with the consciences of all who must obey him, particularly of the provincials and others, to whom he has intrusted functions of great importance. He must have, like each Superior, a complete knowledge of his subjects ; their propensities, their sentiments, the defects, the *sins* to which they have been or are more inclined and impelled,—*ad quos defectus vel peccata fuerint, vel sint magis propensi et incitati*.¹

Another
"set-off."

Every year, a list of the houses and members of the Society, the names, talents, virtues, failings of all are there recorded. It was such a list, doubtless, that suggested to a General of the Society that proud exclamation, when, having exultingly alluded to his philosophers, mathematicians, orators, &c., he cried, "*Ed abbiamo anche martiri per il martirio se bisogna*,"—and we have men for martyrdom, if they be required.²

In effect, from this minute list of mental and bodily qualities, he can compute his power and direct his plans, adapt his commands and insure success to his delegated functions.³

Every local Superior or Rector must write to the Provincial *weekly* ; the Provincials to the General *weekly*, or at least *monthly*, detailing the condition and prospects of their respective departments.⁴

¹ Const. part ix. c. iii. § 19 ; Exam. c. iv. § 34 ; Const. part ix. c. vi. § 3.

² Chesterf. Letters, p. 236.

³ Exam. p. 35.

⁴ Const. part viii.

If the matter has reference to *externs*, or persons in the world, a species of cipher must be used to prevent discovery, in case the letter should fall into his hands,—*ita scribatur, ut etiamsi literæ in ejus manus inciderint, offendi non possit.*¹

The power of the General extends even over the Constitutions, which he may change, alter, or annul ;² but the changed or altered parts are *not to be expunged.*³ Hence, an appeal to the Constitutions must always silence the enemy who ascribes the conduct of a member to his rules and regulations ; hence the “*Monita Secreta*” *may* have been issued by authority !

Thus is the General’s power absolute—absolute as to the appointment of officials, the disposal of temporalities, the admission of fresh members to the Society, The General is absolute. absolute in the power of “*dispensation*,” which he wields according to times, persons, and all the suggestions of expediency.⁴

The General sends out his Missioners whithersoever he pleases ; and selects them according to the qualifications required by the circumstances in which they The Mission. will be placed. The strong and healthy, the trustworthy, the tried, *probati, et securiores* ; the discreet and insinuating, *qui discretionis et conversandi gratiam habent* ; the well-favoured in person, *cum exteriori specie*—men of genius and peculiar talent, orators, and skilful confessors—all must be sent where their respective qualifications are most required, or are likely to reap a plentiful harvest.⁵

The Missioners are sent in company, and must be *contrasted*. The talent of one must co-operate with that of

¹ Form. Scrib. 25. Edit. Ant. 1702.

² Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8.

³ Dec. Con. iii. d. 23. ⁴ Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8. ⁵ Ibid. part vii. c. 2. F.

another, or modified effects must result from the union of different natures. With a fervid and fiery temper, *ferventi et animoso*, let a more circumspect and cautious spirit be joined. A single Missioner How supplied. should not be sent.¹ All who are sent, go rejoicing. At the word of command from the Pope or General, the Missioner is ready for every fate : to share the luxury of kings whose conscience he has to govern, or to be devoured by cannibals, who prefer his flesh to the spirit of his religion.

To such a Society judgment in the selection of its members is essential, and this is required by the Constitutions. Prompt, humble, devout obedience, a constant correspondence from the remotest points of the Society, exact discipline in all the external practices of piety, which are so admirably adapted to keep the mind in subjection, the manifestation of conscience enjoined to every member of the Society, the perfect training in all the departments of knowledge—these, with the prestige of their name, were destined to weld together the terrible troop, and give them victory in a field where they had no equal opponents.

How the Society is united in her members.

Other expedients of the Jesuits will be manifest as we trace their progress down the stream of their troublous times into the gulf of their destruction. A glance at their declared objects and their method of training their men, must precede the narrative.

The end proposed to the Society, according to the Constitutions, is not only to give each member the means of working out his own salvation and spiritual perfection, but also of applying him-
The "end" of the Society. self to the salvation and perfection of his neighbour.

¹ Const. part vii.

Three vows are taken—obedience, poverty, and chastity,—understanding poverty to mean that the Jesuit will not and cannot have any revenue for his own support, nor for any other purpose. This prohibition applies universally. No stipend nor alms can be received for masses, sermons, or any pious office.¹

As to externals,—the Society does not assume, by obligation, any of the ordinary penances or macerations of the body. These are left to the dictates
 Externals. of individual piety and the judgment of the immediate superior.

It is a mendicant order, that is, its members are to subsist on alms.

These are divided into four classes :—

I. The *Professi* or *Professed*. These are the advanced Jesuits. Besides the three vows just mentioned, they make an express vow to the Pope and his successors to set out without excuse, without a viaticum or travelling expenses to any part of the world, among Christians or Infidels, “for the prosecution of such matters as tend to divine worship and the good of the Christian religion.”

The four
 classes of
 Jesuits.

II. The *Coadjutors Spiritual*, and the *Coadjutors Temporal*, are the simple priests of the Society, and the lay-brothers, or such as are not admitted to the priesthood, but make themselves useful in their respective trades—in other words, the servants of the Society—its printers, tailors, barbers, &c.

III. The *Scholastici* or *Scholars*, whose future position in the Society is to be determined by their respective qualifications.

IV. The *Novices*, or those who are admitted on trial.

¹ Exam. Gen.

Their trial or probation lasts two years, during which they are trained in spirituality, and taught the import of the vows they are about to take. Their natural dispositions are keenly observed: their temper is tried in various ways: the characteristic of their suitableness for *any* position is obedience.

The more endowed the applicant for admission is with natural talents or acquirements, and the more trying the experiments have been, in which he has stood the test, the more fit will he be for the Society. The Society requires sound knowledge, or an aptitude to acquire it, in the candidate,—united to tact in the management of affairs; or certainly the gift of a good judgment to acquire that discretion. He must have a good memory, both quick and retentive. The desire of spiritual perfection must be in the will; coolness, constancy, and determination in action. There must be zeal for the salvation of souls, “which is the cause of the love that the candidate feels for the Society,” according to the assumption.

Elegance of expression in the candidate is particularly to be desired,¹—it being very necessary in his intercourse with others—with a handsome or agreeable person,² “which usually edifies those with whom we have to deal;” good health and strength of body are essentials: the age for admission to the novitiate is fourteen and above: for taking the last vow, twenty-five.

Previously to the legislation of this modern Lycurgus, mere human integrity of body was all that the Church required in her ministers; but the experience of twenty years had taught Ignatius the value of good looks and good address in spiritual influence.

¹ “Exoptanda est sermonis gratia.”—*Const.* i. c. ii. ² “Honesta species.”—*Id.*

For a certainty, it seems that he had woman in view, since man is not usually caught by such tackle as a "handsome person."

The external recommendations of nobility, wealth, reputation, are not sufficient in themselves : still, as far as they conduce to edification, they enhance the fitness of the candidate.¹

There are impediments to admission besides bad looks : such as illegitimacy, previous apostacy, and heresy ;

The impedi- having committed murder, or being infamous
ments. on account of some enormity ; having been a
monk or hermit ; being married, a slave, or partially
insane. These are stringent impediments ; but the
Pope or the General of the Society can grant dispen-
sation, when it is certain that the candidate is adorned
with divine gifts, and likely to be useful to the Society,
"for the service of God, our Lord."

Minor impediments are, apparently indomitable passions and a hopeless habit of sin, inconstancy of mind, "a defective judgment, or manifest pertinacity, which usually gives great trouble to all congregations."²

Among the curious questions to be put to candidates are the following :—Whether any of his ancestors were heretics ? Whether his parents are alive ?—their name, condition as to wealth or poverty, their occupation. Whether he has ever been in pecuniary difficulties, or is bound by any claim to his parents or relatives ? Whether, discarding his own opinion and judgment, he will leave that point to the judgment of his superior, or the Society ? How many brothers he has ?—their situation, whether married or otherwise, their occupation or manner of life ? With regard to himself, whether he has

¹ Const. part i. c. ii.

² Ibid. c. iii.

uttered words that may seem to have pledged him to marry? Whether he has had, or has, a son?

A severe scrutiny as to his spiritual bent, faith, and conscience, follows this domestic inquisition.

If the candidate has any property, he must promise to "leave all," without delay, at the command of his superior, after he has been a year in the novitiate.

But he is to resign his property to the "*poor*;"—for the Gospel says, "Give to the *poor*,"—

How the
novice is to
"leave all."

not to relatives. The reason is assigned: for thus he will give a better example of having put off all inordinate love towards his parents, and will avoid the usual unpleasantness of distribution, which proceeds from the said love; and thus the opening to a return to his parents and relatives, and to their very remembrance, being closed beforehand, he may persevere firmly and fixedly in his vocation. He may give something to his relatives; but this must be left entirely to the discretion and judgment of the superior, and those who are appointed by him to investigate the claim for relief or benefaction.

All ready money that he may have must be given up, to be returned to him should he leave, or be found unfit for, the Society.

Any defect in the integrity of the body, disease, debility, or remarkable deformity, being too young or too old, or bound by civil obligations or debt, constitute minor impediments; but in these cases, as in the major impediments, the Society can grant dispensations.

The conclusion resulting from these premises is that the Jesuit was to be a picked man—no ordinary plodder on the beaten track of predication. We see the earnest of efficient propagandism, the prevalent obstacles to which are

The Jesuit
should be a
"picked
man."

effectually obviated. Ignatius beheld the evil of his times, and he invented the remedy. In after times, in modern times, at the present time, there is reason to believe that “dispensations” in these matters were and have been freely given ; but the men who established the Society in its primitive efficiency were formed according to the letter of the law, and were perfect in their calling :—“a simpleton, though a Jesuit,”¹ may have its modern application ; but the misfortune is the result of abuse ; according to the original plan of the Institute, a Jesuit should be no ordinary man.

Admitted to the novitiate, the Jesuit’s training began. Through the “Spiritual Exercises” of the founder, he was made to proceed as a first trial, and then, for two entire years, he remained under the same watchful eyes which marked his first failings, earnest to correct or direct them into the right channel. Constant occupation for body and soul is here given : the novice is never idle. His pride, his self-love, his will, are subjected to trials on every occasion ; and, if charity tempers the cold blast of humiliation, it must still reach the soul. The novices are employed in every menial occupation of the house, in which there are no servants but themselves. The son of a nobleman and the son of a peasant may be seen brushing shoes together, cleaning knives and forks, scrubbing bricks and boards, or digging potatoes.

Even in his dress, the novice is humbled ; cast-off habiliments invest the pious exercitant ; but he is right well fed, because he must be healthy and strong to do the work of a Jesuit.

¹ Words applied by Voltaire to the Jesuit Berruyer, of whom we shall subsequently speak. See Volt. Dict. Phil. t. x. Hist.

The mental occupation of the novice is the study of spirituality, or "Christian perfection." He learns how to meditate. He acquires the habit of thought, self-possession, self-restraint, and, perhaps, self-delusion; for, at every step, the all-sufficiency of *obedience* is preached to him, and disobedience is denounced with awful solemnity. In his superior, the novice is sedulously taught to behold the Lord: in obeying he performs the will of God. The perfection of obedience may be said to be the one thing needful in the novice of the Jesuits. It must extend over the whole man—the will, and understanding. All that he is must be, in the hands of his superior, as a carcase, as plastic wax, as an old man's walking-stick. These are the metaphors invented by Ignatius to characterise the obedience of a Jesuit. In theory, it is freely promised by the novice: it must be his endeavour to exhibit it in practice. Unless we take it for granted that the superior will never "err," by passion, or interest, or expediency, so entire a prostration of the will and understanding is liable to great abuses. Whatever God may ordain, is necessarily to be done, however repugnant to our ideas of justice or morality. To expostulate is to disobey. Now, if God's place is to be supplied by the superior, the same result must follow, without the certain guarantee of infallibility. To say that God will not permit the superior to err, is an assertion which I can neither positively deny nor admit. All other explanations and distinctions respecting the obedience of the Jesuits, are clever sophisms which may suit their purpose, but cannot reach the root of the objection.¹ The novices strive,

¹ Here follow three of the rules of the novices, but for the general observance of the Jesuits:—Rule 34. "At the voice of the superior, just as if it came from

and not in vain, to attain this perfection of obedience. To speak from experience, I confess that there were moments of enthusiasm, when I would have deemed all things lawful at the word of my superior. It may well be said by Hasenmüller, that the novices "have as many Christs as they have rulers and labourers."¹ This delusion sweetens the bitterest humiliation, lightens the heaviest burthen, beautifies the foulest occupation. What a state of trial for a thoughtful soul is the Jesuit novitiate. The menial occupations, the drudgeries of domestic labour, are alleviations—recreations in that solitude of the heart. Those were happiest who were most mechanical. The thoughtful, who reasoned unto conclusions, who penetrated the tendencies of all the regimen, bitterly felt the poison as it spread over mind and heart, transforming them entirely. Public punishments were awarded to public faults : private irregularities were expiated by public penances. These consisted in kneeling with arms outstretched, in kissing the feet of the brothers in a hundred humiliating ways, devised by holy obedience. Every novice had a monitor, and was monitor to another, whose faults he had to observe

Christ the Lord, we must be most ready, leaving everything whatsoever, even a letter of the alphabet unfinished, though begun." Rule 35 : "To this scope let us turn all our efforts and intention in the Lord, in order that holy obedience may be always and entirely perfect in us, as well in the execution, as in the will and understanding : doing whatever shall have been enjoined us, with great celerity, spiritual joy and perseverance ; persuading ourselves that all things are just ; abnegating all opinion and judgment of our own contrary thereto, with a certain blind obedience." Rule 36 : "Let each member persuade himself, that those who wish to live under obedience, ought to suffer themselves to be borne along and governed by Divine Providence through the superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which may be borne as we please, and permits itself to be handled any how ; or like an old man's stick, which everywhere serves any purpose that he who holds it chuses to employ it in." Summ. Const. Const. part vi. c. i. : "Tot Christs habent quot opera vel regulas."—*Hist.* c. v.

and declare to him and the superior. Besides his weekly confession to his superior, each novice had to manifest the state of his conscience, his particular vices and inclinations, to the Provincial at stated times. The manifestation was not made under the seal of confession: it was understood to be available in any way that might be deemed proper by the authorities. This requisition might have some effect in forcing the novice to stifle his propensities; but it might also generate that desperate cunning which thinks it can cheat conscience without falling short of perfection.

I have elsewhere¹ described the domestic life of the novices in these our days. I shall now lay before the reader the account given of it by Hasenmüller, a succeeding Jesuit, about forty years after the establishment of the Society. By comparing the two narratives, it will be found that age makes little difference with the practices of the Jesuits. Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since Hasenmüller published his experience. In reading much of it, I was carried back to my own novice days, on the banks of the Hodder, in the North of England. "In the summer at four, in the winter at five o'clock of the morning, they rise at the sound of a bell. Should any remain sleeping in bed,—which happens rather often,—and they be caught by the visitor, a penance is enjoined them. The rector sends for the delinquent, reprimands him for his drowsiness and disobedience, and says, 'During dinner, you will take your bed, carry it to the refectory, and perform the usual penance, which may cure your drowsiness.' The signal for dinner being given, and grace being said, when the fathers and brothers have taken their seats, the poor

¹ See "The Novitiate; or the Jesuit in Training."

fellow, with his bed on his shoulders, walks into the middle of the refectory, and falling on his knees, says : — ‘ Reverend Fathers, dearest Brothers, I tell you my fault, that this morning I slept beyond the hour, wherefore this small penance has been enjoined me, that I shall bring my bed three times into the refectory, and sleep till dinner is ended, and carry back my bed, and get my dinner at the small table.’ Whereupon he carries his bed three times round the refectory, then lays him down upon it, and sleeps, if he likes, whilst the other brothers laugh and eat. Such is the penance for too much sleep. Having risen, the first rule is for them to make their beds. An hour of meditation and prayer follows ; and then they must clean their cells. For breaking this rule the same penance as before must be performed, except that, whilst the brothers are dining, the delinquent goes and sweeps his cell. Should any of them fall asleep during the hour of prayer and meditation, their penance is, during dinner, to fall on their knees in the midst of the refectory, and show how they rolled their heads from side to side in their irregular nap. After meditation, all hear mass with reverence and decorum ; but if any make a noise with their hands, feet, or rosaries, or gaze through the windows, their penance is, during dinner, to kiss the feet of the fathers and brothers, and take their food under the table, or at the rector’s feet, and then, mounting on a bench and pushing their heads through the window, show the brothers how they gazed through the rails. After mass, they hear a lecture, which all must listen to attentively. Should any fall asleep, or talk, or laugh, they must exhibit the same irregularities in the refectory as the former, showing how they slept, and talked, and laughed.”

None of these crimes occurred in the English novitiate, or if any irregularity approached them, a psalm to be rehearsed with arms outstretched, kissing the feet all round, dining on the knees, kneeling for their cup to be filled by a brother, were the penances invented by holy obedience, and selected by the delinquents, as it were by inspiration. English notions dispensed with the hugely ridiculous in the work of penance. "After the lecture, the father minister distributes the occupations and domestic labours. At his approach, all rush to him. He stands in the midst and appoints the functions. To one he says : You go and help the cook. To another : Help the store-keeper. To others : Fetch wood : Bring water : Clean the dishes : Lay the table : Wash the cups. Should any one wish to humble himself more than the rest, and, as the rule enjoins 'to seek the things to which the senses are repugnant,' he goes to the rector, falls on his knees, and begs to be intrusted with the 'office of humility,' which is the foulest imaginable, and not to be mentioned, though it was commonly enjoined in the English novitiate, yet not exactly to the extent described by Hasenmüller. "The 'master of manners' follows and observes the workers. Slothfulness and levity are duly penanced, by the delinquent's being ordered to weed a brother's garden, and prune the trees. In this occupation, should he imitate or respond to a bird giving voice overhead, he must tell his fault in the refectory, and imitate aloud the sound three or four times again.¹ If a novice breaks a dish, or other vessel, his penance is to gather the pieces, tie them together,

¹ "Eosdem gestus et cantus edere, quos in horto exprimebat ter igitur aut quarter circumit in refectorio et altâ voce clamat Cuc, Cuc, Cuc, Cuc, (risum teneatis, lectores, dum et ipse cuculum istum imitor)."—*Hasenm.* Hist. c. v.

and walk round the refectory with the load suspended from his neck Although these things are frivolous, childish, ridiculous, and ostentatious, yet the Jesuits say that they will receive in heaven as many crowns as they have performed penances : nay, that these works are meritorious to eternal life, if they perform them in the intention of the Society, and in obedience to the superior. They have therefore as many Christs as they have works and rules." "Twice a-day they examine their consciences, before dinner and supper. At a given sign, the novices assemble and proceed to the appointed place, where, for the space of a half, or quarter of an hour, on their knees before some image, they probe their consciences, and try the spirit. Those who can write, note down in a list all their sins of thought, words, deeds, and omissions, so as to confess them on the Saturday to the rector, who may thus know all the secrets of his disciples. For this purpose, they use a diary, as follows, entering their sins each day of the week :—

SUNDAY. SINS OF THOUGHT.	WEDNESDAY. SINS OF OMISSION.
MONDAY. SINS OF WORDS.	THURSDAY. SINS AGAINST THE RULES.
TUESDAY. SINS OF DEEDS.	FRIDAY. NEGLECT OF PENANCE.
SATURDAY. FAULTS IN CONFESSION.	

They must practise the rules advised by Ignatius in the book of the "Spiritual Exercises :"—I. As often as a man commits the same kind of fault or sin, he must apply his hand to his breast and grieve for his fall, which may be done without being noticed by others. II. At night, having counted the dots on the two lines, corresponding to the sins or faults committed, and calling them to mind during the two examinations of conscience, he must see if any improvement has taken place. III. He must compare each day with the preceding, and observe the improvement, if any. IV. He must compare two weeks together, and note the result."

Such is the process through which a novice of the Jesuits marches to perfection. Whatever spirit of piety may accompany the exercitant through the tedious period, must depend on his organisation : the certain result is the habit of obedience, prostrate submission in the will and understanding. And that is the object of the trial.¹

After the expiry of the two probationary years, the novice takes the three vows, and proceeds to the house of the Scholars of the Society, where he pursues his studies, which are totally discontinued during the novitiate. The languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, enter into the course ; the time allotted for each being unlimited, and dependant on the judgment of the rector after examination. As the scholars cannot excel in all these

The studies
of the
Scholastici.

¹ For ample details on the subject I must refer the reader to the work before mentioned. The Day's Occupation in the English Novitiate, in 1838, scarcely differed in a single point with that of the Jesuit novitiates in the sixteenth century ! See Hasenmüller, ch. v.

faculties, each must be made to excel in some one or other of them, according to his age, genius, inclination, and previous acquirements.¹

In the books of heathen writers nothing must be read that can offend decency: they must be expurgated, and the society will “use the remnants as the spoils of Egypt,”—*ut spoliis Ægypti Societas uti poterit.*² On the other hand, the foulest obscenities are opened to the student when advanced to the study of casuistry,—obscenities infinitely more exciting to the imagination than the expurgated passages of the ancient classics, which, with these exceptions, inculcate a sterner morality than some of the books of the Jesuit-casuists.³

Even books written by Christians, although good in themselves, are not to be read, if the author be a suspected character, lest there should result a partiality for the author. In every department, such books as may or may not be read, must be determined by the authorities.⁴

All impediments to study must be removed, whether resulting from devotional practices, or mortifications carried to excess, or unreasonably practised.

There must be a library common to all: but its key must be confided to those whom the rector may consider

¹ Const. part iv.

² *Ibid.*

³ This comparison has been made, and largely discussed in the work entitled, “A Parallel of the Doctrines of the Pagans with the Doctrine of the Jesuits,” written in French. There is an English translation, London, 1726. The subject will be subsequently considered.

⁴ A similar proscription of Christian books was subsequently enforced by Pope Pius V. It was called the *Index*, and still exists. In 1775, there were about 20,000 works forbidden to the faithful. The works of Galileo, Copernicus, and Boerhaave, were put “on the Index,” but subsequently taken off, when the Pope consented to the earth’s motion, &c. *Dict. Hist. de l’Ital.* p. 591.

trustworthy, and each student is to have what books are necessary.

Assiduity in the classes, repetitions of what they have learned, the solution of difficulties that may result, public disputations, private conferences,—these train the Jesuit-mind, and give it that perfection which induced the philosopher to exclaim :—“Talis quàm sis, utinàm noster esses,”—being such as thou art, would that thou were ours !¹

The Latin language is to be commonly spoken, and perfection in style is to be acquired by diligent practice. This, of course, applies to the times when that language was the general vehicle of intellectual wares and baggage.

The student's emulation must be exerted by competition. Two students are to be selected and made to enter the lists against each other by a “holy challenge,” *sanctâ emulatione se invicem provocent.* A specimen of their composition must be sent to the provincial or head of the province, or to the general at Rome.² Competition is the soul of trade : competition is the warrior's impulse : competition is the statesman's goad. It is also the polemic's spur ; and was therefore applied to the young Jesuit, whose battle-field was to be the land, the universal land of Heresy.

The Jesuit-method of intellectual training will require

¹ Bacon (quoting the words of Agesilaus to Pharnabazus), in his treatise De Dign. et Augm. Scient. Bacon's admiration was extended to Jesuit “cunning” as well. He says :—“It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept ; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances : yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.”—*Essays*: Of Cunning.

² Const. part iv.

a lengthened discussion. It will be given in its proper place—about fifty years after the foundation of the Company. Rapidly the Jesuits attained their perfection in the art, rapidly they produced its striking results: but some little time and magnificent prospects were required to devise the scheme. Ignatius had little or nothing to do with the Jesuit-intellect. It was the Jesuit *will* that *he* fashioned for extraordinary achievement—and much more by example—by practice than by theory. But he knew by painful experience that intellectual training was indispensable to the spiritual warrior, and he prescribed it for his Company. To others more competent than himself he left the construction of the Jesuit-gymnasium. To himself he reserved the Will and its action: to others he left the Intellect and its products.

But mental culture and spiritual practice are not sufficient to insure adequate members to the Company.

Those who suit it no longer must be expelled, cast away. The power of dismissal is granted by the general specially to the various provincials, and local superiors and rectors—in order that in the whole body of the Company, the subjection of holy obedience may continue—so that the inferiors may clearly know that they depend on their superiors; and that it becomes them very much, yea is necessary for them, to be submissive to their superiors in all things Caution, however, is advised in the matter of dismissal; and that caution is to be increased according to the rank which the delinquent holds in the Company: in important cases the general must be consulted. Observe, a case becomes important not by the *guilt* of the delinquent, but his *rank* in the

Dismission
from the
Society.

Company,¹ his services, and his talents.² These last considerations were subsequent devices of the congregations. They are not to be found in the edition of 1558, two years after the death of the founder. All that appeared in that edition has been retained, though with many verbal alterations; but more is added, and among the rest, the above expedient devices. More of this in the sequel. "How far certain faults, which are said to be contrary to the Divine honour and the Company's good, ought to be tolerated, as this depends upon many particular circumstances of persons, times, and places, it must be left to the discreet zeal of those to whom that charge is committed, who shall the more diligently commend the matter to God, and take counsel of others who can aid in discovering God's will, in proportion as the case shall seem difficult and doubtful."³ This follows the original promulgation, where we find, as a motive for dismissal, "if it be judged in the Lord, contrary to his honour and glory to retain in the Company the man who may appear to be incorrigibly addicted to certain depraved propensities and vices, which offend the Divine Majesty."⁴ We admire the prudence, the worldly wisdom of the subsequent declaration: but we applaud the rigid morality of the original mandate. The other motives for dismissal are sufficiently obvious, and amount to this, that all must be expelled who fail in their probation, or be subsequently found useless, or prove scandalous and turbulent subjects. A previous bond of matrimony, the state of legal slavery, or being in debt for a large amount, will, when discovered, constitute motives for dismissal. Disease or debility supervening

¹ Const. part ii. c. i.

³ Const. part ii. c. 2. A.

² *Declarations*, to the same.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. ii. § 2.

in the probation, operates to the same result "if it is probable" that the chronic patient "cannot advance in his studies according to our Institute and method of proceeding in the furtherance of God's service ;" and you will not be surprised that dismissal must ensue "when the probationer cannot settle himself to a *life of obedience*—to be regulated according to the Society's manner of proceeding—if he cannot, or will not, *subject his own opinions and judgment.*"¹ But disease contracted in the Company's service does not come under the ban : "for then, if he is not content to be dismissed, it would not be just to dismiss him on *that count alone,*" adds an expedient declaration ;² and the same codicil to the original Will transmits a promulgation of vast historical importance. It is emphatically declared that "As it is not necessary to dismiss a member so much on account of the nature and magnitude of his *sin*, as for the purpose of removing the *scandal* which has resulted—this being the case, should he be qualified in other respects, the Superior's prudence will consider whether it be expedient to permit him to go to some other very remote district of the Company, without dismissal."³ Very soon the Company adopted this expedient method of shrouding her moral calamities by this sort of Botany-bay relief to the mother-country. In the country of the blind, says the proverb, a one-eyed man is a king : on the same principle, in the land of the heathen

¹ Const. part ii. c. ii. § 4.

² "Tunc enim, si ipsemet contentus non esset, justum non foret, hâc solâ causâ à Societate dimitti."—*Ibid.* B.

³ "Quando non tam propter rationem vel magnitudinem peccati, quàm ob removendum offendiculum, quod aliis præbuit, dimitti aliquem necesse esset ; si alioqui aptus esset, expendet prudentia Superioris, an expediat facultatem ei dare, ut ad locum alium Societatis valdè remotum, eandem non egrediendo, proficiscatur."—*Ibid.* D.

an infamous Jesuit is an apostle. Nor are *modern* times without such spots darkening the radiant sun of the Society of Jesus—for, as another proverb tells, “accidents will happen in the best regulated families.” A word to the wise is sufficient for them.

Dismissal is to take place as privately as possible, so as to cherish the good-will of the delinquent towards the Company ; and aid should be given him to embrace some other state of life ; charity should give him her hand at his departure, and defend his memory in his absence.¹ Such was the *original* idea ; but subsequent facts seemed to have dried up the fountain of charity and forbearance. Power gives pride, and pride breeds intolerance. If in all your means and measures you cannot defy scrutiny, keep a sharp look out on your secretary. Repentance and reform would be better ; but if these do not suit your convenience, you *must* adopt the Jesuit-method, as follows :—

Severe
enactments.

Those who leave the Society of their own accord are not to be sought after, unless for very good reasons ; “should they be such as we should not thus resign—particularly if they seem to have left on account of some violent temptation, or deceived from without, by others—we may endeavour to bring them back, making use of the privileges conceded to us for this purpose by the Apostolic See.” The *privilege* alluded to pronounces excommunication *ipso facto* against any Jesuit who returns to the world after taking the vows. By another such mandate, eight days are allowed him to return, under penalty of excommunication ; and all who aid, advise, or abet the fugitive, are obnoxious to the same penalty.

¹ Const. part vi. c. vii.

By another mandate, the general and other superiors can summarily, and without the form of judgment, reclaim, take and imprison the fugitive, and compel him to do penance, just as if he were an apostate, calling in the aid of the secular arm ; nay, even those dismissed from the Society, unless they enter some *other order* with permission of the general, the provincial, or the pope, are forbidden to hear confessions, teach, or preach, under penalty of excommunication.¹

Those who are dismissed for crime, must be first punished, even by imprisonment,² and are thus effectually silenced by disgrace, should they meditate inexpedient disclosures.

Should any members disclose the grave and hidden faults of "Our Men" (Nostrorum), they must be severely punished ;—the conscience of superiors is, in this matter, charged to investigate the fact, and not to spare public punishment in the case of public offences.³

These severe enactments, with others that might be quoted, seem to scoff with the hiss of contempt at the words of the Constitutions, where the spirit of mildness is enjoined in dismissal, *without exception, omnino, in spiritu mansuetudinis* procedere.⁴

Even in this country these enactments would have been enforced, did the Jesuits not dread the law of the land. What wonder then that the secrets of this Society have so rarely transpired, at a time when such terrible penalties in all their apostolical horrors hung over the

¹ Const. part ii. ; Comp. Priv. *Apostata*. See also Canon. Sept. Cong. Gen xxii. §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² Sept. Cong. D. xxii. § 6.

³ Ibid. xii.

⁴ Const. part ii. c. iv. § 5. All the superiors have the power "to inflict corrections and punishments ;" provided they are deliberate and mature, "they may proceed freely" in the matter—liberè procedere possunt. Comp. Privil. v. *Correctio*.

head of the fugitive. In effect, the greatest vigilance prevailed in all departments. Whatever could enhance the fair fame of the Company was given to the winds of Heaven, as their multitudinous "Lives" of their saints and heroes, and their "annual," their "curious and edifying, Letters" attest; *but* the slightest rumour of disgrace was intolerable: to the dungeons of the Society it was consigned, with its possessor, to rot in solitude, and perish with his name. The fate intended for *Melchior Inchofer*, a member of the Society, who only metaphorically exposed her abuses, the fate of *death* awarded to him by the general and his assistants, was providentially averted, as we shall read in the sequel; but the terrible letter of the law is enough to convince us that it was not passed in vain, nor obtained as a "privilege" without steady and resolute infliction.

Such are the prominent features of the Jesuit-Institute. The despotic aristocrat, Richelieu, termed the Constitutions of the Jesuits a model of administrative policy,—words signifying nothing; for, surely, *any* form of government can rule men if they can be induced to bind themselves by a vow of perfect obedience, and be made to keep it, being kept in awe by penalties similar to that of expulsion from the Society of Jesus in the day of her glory. The perfection of a government consists in its ensuring the greatest possible freedom of thought and action, compatible with all interests, individual and collective; where the spirit of "party" is left to its own resources, without the arm of statutes to "protect" its selfishness; where the mental and corporeal energies of men may attain their greatest development,—with the rewards of labour adequate to maintain the mind in comfort and the body in satisfaction;

in a word, where men may seek and find their position as destined by their organisation—the only guarantee of happiness in the social state. The Jesuit-Institute pre-supposes too many difficult premises for the conclusion of that great argument. It is only when we have thoroughly meditated the endless adaptability of the human mind that we can conceive it possible for a man to live contented under such a domination. As a system of monkhood, it is undoubtedly the cleverest that has ever been, and, it is to be hoped, ever will be invented or concocted. Its mechanical products in all the departments of human action must be referred to the endless adaptability of the human mind, to which, positively, *any* motive is sufficient to eventuate the greatest exertion in any given circumstances. The book of “Spiritual Exercises” is a more remarkable production than the “Constitutions.” The former, in practice, effectuates that frame of mind without which the Constitutions would be powerless, excepting where its *penalties* can operate on the basest organisations. It is the training under their constant influence which stamps or moulds every Jesuit, with unerring exactness, as to the various mental qualities that enter into his composition. In effect, what have Ignatius and his followers done in the Constitutions, but expand the primitive ideas of his spiritual strategy, forming his legion, giving it a head to command obedient soldiers—obedient by every possible motive that can promote and ensure human action? But the natural cleverness of the founder is still brilliant in the prominent essentials of his Institute. Let us consider: Luther had raised his mighty voice—its echoes were still resounding—against the avarice of the hierarchy-priests and prelates. Ignatius stipulated for

no pay to *his* troops, however important might be their functions. The monks were out of date, if not contemptible; but Ignatius soon convinced the cardinals that nothing was further from his intention than to institute an Order of monks; his Jesuits would wear the dress of ordinary ecclesiastics, or totally conform to that of the people among whom they lived. Here was another capital idea, and of wonderful use in after times. There was to be no public rehearsal or chaunting of the breviary among the Jesuits,—in other words, no canonical hours. The Jesuits, like Figaro, must be here, there, and everywhere. This was a bold innovation, but it took place in the age of Luther, when only bold ideas could cope with the rising spirit of the times. The Jesuits were to be select men, clever and good-looking, active, healthy, and determined in their vocation; vast lovers of their Institute, whose prime duty was to withstand and check the progress of the Reformation; and, lastly, the Jesuits were placed under the immediate protection and patronage of the pope, who, as we have seen, was just in need of such a band.

So much for the sagacity of this first Jesuit, as to the means he took for securing patronage in the right quarter—means which depended only on himself and his followers to remain in constant activity. But look within—see how he thumb-screws the novice, and yet preserves the integrity of the man—whatever that may be—keeping his distinctive passions alive, only directing their energies to “spiritual objects,” that is, all which concerned the Company—its “temporal and eternal,” between which there was, indeed, little or no “difference,”—making the practice of “religion” a veritable

Individual
tastes and
passions con-
sulted and
allowed for.

new nature to him, easier than any other ; and the habit once gained he wore it as you wear a garment. And to Holy Obedience what allurements were given in the fact that it would procure all things for the Jesuit, both here and hereafter ; every necessary comfort of body ; every gratification of mind, *if* he would only, by one gigantic effort, throw himself, without reserve, into the gulf of her collective interests, which constituted *her* “interests”—the portentous “party” of religionists. Thus unreservedly resigned, in *theory*—for that was all—he was certain that his individual ambition, or “interest,” would be completely consulted : for very rarely did the Jesuits misplace their workers. Throughout their history we shall very rarely find “square pegs in round holes, or round pegs in square ones.”

Those who were essentially religious by organisation, found, in the Society, ample food for their yearning ; and the Society proposed to them a thousand motives for the cultivation of their delightful garden ; that beautiful Eden, where no forbidden fruit of temptation could allure. These “spiritualists” of the Society were ever the adornments of which she could boast, and the world was compelled to admit their claims to admiration. The Society used them, in their innocence and simplicity, as a foil against her rancorous enemies. They were the “ten just men” in her Sodom. Meanwhile, the penalties for disobedience, the manifestation of conscience, the declaration of each other’s faults, promoted exact discipline in the letter of the law, just as the former motives alluded to, kept alive its spirit. Or, if the Jesuit indulged his corrupt nature, how strong were his motives for imitating the cunning Spartan, who was permitted “to

The spirit
and the
letter of
the Law.

carry off things by stealth," but severely punished if in the fact detected.

Ignatius isolated his Company: he made it strong by union, by suppressing the hopes of individual ambition:—the Jesuit vowed never to receive any ecclesiastical dignity—in fact, he vowed from the very first to live and die in the Society.¹ She made her men for her own use. Only imperative circumstances—only manifest expediency could induce her to permit an exception to that rule of her Constitutional grammar. Besides the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the Jesuit takes six other vows relating to his Institute. Three of these refer to the rejection of dignities *extra societatem*, out of the Society. He vows to reject them unless compelled by the obedience which he owes to him who can command him under penalty of sin—*nisi coactum obedientiâ ejus qui mihi præcipere potest sub pœnâ peccati*. By this only the Pope is meant, not the General of the Society, not the congregation of Cardinals during an interregnum. He also vows to denounce all who canvass for those dignities. And further, to ensure ulterior contingents, he vows, in case he becomes a bishop, to "listen to the advice of the General and

How the
Company is
isolated.

¹ Here follows the formula of the simple vows:—"Omnipotent Eternal God! I, N., although in every respect most unworthy of thy Divine presence, still, confiding in thy infinite bounty and mercy, and impelled by the desire of serving thee,—Vow, in the presence of the most holy Virgin Mary and thy universal celestial court, to thy Divine Majesty, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience perpetual, in the Society of Jesus; and I promise to enter that Society in order to live and die in it—*ut vitam in eâ perpetuò degam*—taking all things in the sense of the Constitutions of the same Society. Of thy immense bounty and clemency, therefore, through the blood of Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept this holocaust in the odour of sweetness; and as thou hast granted me the desire, and permitted the offering, so mayst thou grant me also the plentiful grace to fulfil it. Amen."

others of the Society. True, he only vows to "listen" to the advice, not to seek it—not even to follow it in case he has better; but who can fail to perceive that the result must be as contemplated by the vow, nay, by the organisation of a Jesuit?¹ To other monks, their Order was but a stepping-stone to the dignities of the Church. The bonds which held them to it were easily sundered. The Order was, as it were, common property; a common store-house of ecclesiastical functionaries. Party-spirit indeed actuated the Order, but it was comparatively powerless when its largest figures could be subtracted and posted in another ledger, where other *debts* required a *per contra*. To the Jesuit, however, his Society was a Maelstrom: she sucked him down entirely, or threw him up, as she listed. He belonged to her: she did not belong to him. She would reward him according to his "merits;" woe to him if *he* attempted to make her a "stepping-stone." This points at once to the main characteristic of the Jesuit-Company—its loudly, uncompromising *aristocracy*—the source and end of all her power, and of all her machinations. The great body of Jesuits were servants of the general and of the favoured few, comparatively speaking, who voted, like Venetian Senators, in the General Congregations—the *Professi* of the Company. Soon, very soon we shall find that aristocracy established in practice: but it resulted directly from the theory of the Constitutions—the organisation of the Society. No

¹ The extraordinary vows are as follows. 1. To go to any "Mission" in obedience to the pope. 2. Not to permit any relaxation in the vow of Poverty. 3. Not to procure any dignities in the Society. 4, 5, and 6. Those I have mentioned in the text. A seventh is also named, but it is included in the first formula, namely, to enter the Society, and accept any post assigned to him by the general. See *Arsdekin*, *Theol. Trip.* tom. ii., part ii., tract i., c. vi., art. v.

greater source of abuse could exist. It was utterly inconsistent with that humility which best beseemed them as religious men—bearing the name of Him who used not even the power he possessed, except to raise those beneath Him to a seat beside Him, in his kingdom. Other Orders of monks were republics—democracies, and nothing the better for *that*. All the superiors, and the generals themselves, remained in place for a limited time only. At the end of two or three years, a chapter or assembly, a general Congregation would raise up new subjects, and displace the old officials. It was a time of glorious excitement. The approach of these assemblies excited in the cloisters an universal fermentation, roused desires, filled hearts with hope and fear, engrossing every mind. The great mass of the Jesuits had nothing to do in the election of their general, except to pray for a good one, of which, however, they were to be no judges. Perhaps nothing was more quietly managed than the election of a general among the Jesuits. If he was not chosen by the Virgin Mary, as was Aquaviva, according to Nieremberg,¹ the aristocrats of the Company soon came to a determination, which was only the result of a small majority, almost always certain before its declaration. Once elected, the general ruled for life in absolute sway—surrounded by his “assistants,” aided by all his *Professi*, in a word, in the centre of his aristocracy. If he was an Aquaviva he might make himself some trouble, as we shall find in the sequel: but when the number of *Professi* increased, and the Company was culminating on her meridian, the reins were slackened, and the general might bite his nails as he beheld the distant but coming

¹ Vida de S. Ignacio, c. 18.

cloud, fraught with doomed calamity. When the aristocracy rose in its might, the Company rolled on her troubled ocean like a ship whose ballast has canted. That was the time when the tide turned against the Jesuits : the time when they no longer deemed it necessary to seek above all the approbation of their general.

The enjoined care in the choice of officials is worthy of notice. These were to be, and generally were emphatically, The choice of officials. men of business—cool heads and icy hearts. Cheminais, Bourdaloue, Segneri, were always simple subjects of the Society, esteemed, but powerless. The Company was proud to number them amongst her members : she enjoyed their glory as wealth that belonged to her. She flung their reputation in the face of those carpers whom other members, less estimable, attracted ; but she gave them no authority. The reason might be, that those minds, *unhardened* by the charms of literature, would not possess the requisite firmness, or that, having become too much enlightened by study, they would not evince that docility which was exacted. They were appointed to teach, but not to govern men : from all times of the Society, the men employed have been old theologians, practised from their youth upwards in the subtleties of the Schools, accustomed by the long experience of the confessional to distinguish and direct all the movements of the heart, after having become, by oft-repeated trials, as capable of obeying with suppleness as of commanding with authority. Such we shall find, to the letter, the princes of this monarchy : such were the Cottons, the Lachaises, the Leteliers, so renowned in French history. But their fame is the result of their intrigues. Who has ever heard of the sermons of Cotton, the theological lessons of Lachaise,

the books of Letellier ? These men had only one kind of talent—that of “stirring” minds with skill: they were elevated to posts where they could display their talent with effect. Of course there resulted always from such appointments, a damaging prejudice against a Society to which nothing was useless, and which, distributing her employments amongst all her children, confided to some the care of extending her glory by labours which command applause, to others that of strengthening her power by machinations which the interest of the public found it impossible to endure.¹

Other abuses, closely allied to perfections, will be pointed out as we proceed. I have anticipated times and their workers, in order to stimulate the mind of the reader to draw conclusions from facts as we advance together. I return to Ignatius and his primitive outline. The grand “merit” of the “Constitutions” is, that they lay a foundation and build round about the “hanging garden” of the “Spiritual Exercises,” and sustain the props thereof,—or, like the banian tree, always striking in new roots and striking out new branches. The grand “merit” of the Constitutions. Herein is the focus of my admiration of this wonderful Spaniard. He may never have guessed, imagined, or foreseen that the voluntary beggars of his order would rise to the right hand of princes, sway the destinies of nations, and frighten the world with a new terror. But he has the merit of having laid the foundation of a superstructure that might have permanently benefitted mankind, had he been less of a bigot, less of a soldier, less of a Spaniard, less of a monk. Still he was a shrewd man, yet full of imagination; a calculator, and yet no gambler in human chances. Another Lycurgus he was: but a Lycurgus

¹ Linguet, *Hist. Impart. des Jesuites*, t. i.

of a deeper mould and higher power—since he was a child of Christianity—a child of the Church. He was a man of one idea : too much learning had not made him mad. His was a Spanish will, which means a haughty, indomitable will, that would have bridged the Red Sea, if the waters had not parted. “ If by ordinary means I cannot succeed,” said he once, “ I *will sell myself* rather than disband my German phalanx ! ”¹

The praise of extraordinary *devotion* cannot be denied him : all his practices, his visions and spiritual visitations, his subsequent miracles, attest the fact (to the Catholic) ; but with these excellences he had others. His mind was endowed with the cunning of the fox, (so elegant in his manœuvres,) with the constructiveness of the spider, (so persevering in her toil,) with the sagacity of the elephant, (so clever with his proboscis,) and the cool, sound common sense of Oliver Cromwell, who both knew how to make and manage fanatics, to serve a purpose. Ignatius was no fanatic, nor was Oliver Cromwell. Both had ends to accomplish, and they knew the right way thereto : both had ambition—that of Ignatius merits the greater approbation ; for, after all, he gained what nobody lost, which cannot be said of Oliver Cromwell.

Ignatius made his religion the basis of his monarchy : thus he possessed an appeal to a motive as omnipotent as it is inexplicable. Convince a man that he works for God and with God, and he will believe himself omnipotent. His belief will be the most reasonable in the world—if we assume all that he takes for granted. Now, Ignatius inspired his followers with this belief : Mohammed did the same : Cromwell did the same : and all lived to triumph. They were

Ignatius characterised.

The basis of his monarchy.

¹ Bouhours, &c.

therefore extraordinary men, and by no means stark mad, as people called them, or *simple fanatics*.

See how Ignatius catches at the spirit of his times. His monarchy had talents of the highest order for its rampart and defence. He doubted the general efficiency of universal talent: he would seize the salient point of intellect—the peculiar talent (which every man has) and fortify it by a well-directed and exclusive exercise. What was the result? As a mechanician has a lever for one movement, a screw for another, a wedge for a third, a pulley for a fourth,—so had Ignatius an orator for one enterprise, a statesman for another, (though he eschewed politics), a philosopher for a third, a deep-toned moralist for a fourth, and—observe the important fact—a *gentleman* for all. The novices have rules of politeness to study, and the Jesuits were generally, if not always, conspicuous for their gentlemanly bearing. Frivolous things, no doubt, but ask the world what they think of their *effect*.

How he catches at the spirit of the times.

Such an institution could not fail to be successful. Its success to superficial observers (the unreasonable enemy, and the open-mouthed admirer) would appear to be the result of *mere* intrigue, or *divine* interposition—“so wisely did they charm”—whereas its success was the necessary consequence of genius (which is power), acting against dulness (which is weakness), in the midst of a thousand circumstances which favoured that success. Nor was its *novelty* the least important of secondary aids.

Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules
Ensis, arces attigit igneas!

The world beheld the Jesuit's work, and was astounded. The Jesuit was aware of the admiration he excited. He was also confident of the “good” he effected. Both facts stimulated to greater exertion; achievement

became his *temptation*. And the world—the unreasonable world—taxed his energies with jealous requirements. He was expected to be a pattern of every excellence in the midst of a perverse generation. Enemies sprung up like weeds in a tropic marsh. It is useful to the wise to have enemies; they increase vigilance and redouble exertion. Hence the comparative, if not the positive, superiority of the Jesuits in their observance of the second vow, and the exemplary conduct of multitudes among them, during the space of three hundred years. The watchfulness of their Institute, its system of mutual admonition, its manifestation of conscience, its spy system, effected this in a great measure; but the Argus-eyes of watchful enemies gave vigour to that very system, and lent one more motive to individual integrity. How soon they made enemies! And why? This history will explain most of the reasons—some creditable to them, others disgraceful. Nor must their sudden success be overlooked; nor the secrecy of their Institute. To the *externs*, as every one not a Jesuit was called, the knowledge of the Institute was forbidden without express permission of a superior.¹ The world was unreasonable enough to object to this pertinacious secrecy. Nobody has a greater right to complain of secrecy than the “world.” Soon the foulest imputations were laid to the Jesuits, and they were suspected of entertaining a very immoral system, which they were ashamed and afraid to make public. It was only their vast success that produced this clamour; how far that success was promoted by unfair means is a different question; but assuredly it was unreasonable to make the Jesuits bear all the blame for keeping their Institute secret, since the

¹ Reg. xxxviii.

practice was a standing order among the monks. The Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Barnabites, bound themselves to obey the same injunctions.¹ And yet why not publish the Institute? Why object to show the world both that there is nothing in it of which you are ashamed, or *on* which *other* statutes may be founded to be certainly kept secret? It will be hard to answer these questions without an appeal to other "usual practices"—which leaves the question unanswered—or without resorting to sophistry as flimsy as gauze. In point of fact, however, all the statutes of the Jesuit Institute were not *written* law—or rather not *printed*; for even in the first general congregation decrees were omitted as being "private business"—*privata tantum negotia*.² The consequence is that we stumble now and then into an hiatus, which we cannot help thinking, from both sides of it, must contain some very curious provisions; for instance, between XLVIII. . . . 34 and XLIX. . . . 36; two being omitted; and between CXL. . . . 61, and CXLI. . . . 63, two more are left out; though it is almost evident that in the former the power of the General is concerned, and in the latter the temporalities or possessions of the novices. What a pity to omit such curious topics! Assuredly these decrees would not disappoint our curiosity, so eager for "private business." They would not disappoint us as Adam Contzen, the Jesuit apologist, tells us the heretics were disappointed when they first beheld the Constitutions, brought to light by some speculating Dutch printer, about the year 1605. "Good God!" the Jesuit exclaims sarcastically, "how the preachers exulted, how our enemies shook

¹ Const. Gen. Franc. c. vi. Cleric. reg. in officio præp. Cass. reg. c. iii. p. 8.

² Non quidem omnia, sed pleraque, prætermittis videlicet illa, quæ privata tantum negotia continent. Vide "Ad Lectorem" in Decret. Cong. Gen. Ed. Ant. 1702.

hands congratulating, when in the *trade catalogue* they saw ‘THE CONSTITUTIONS AND RULES OF THE JESUITS!’ What a crush of buyers there were! They boasted of the hidden places of the Society being laid open—her secrets detected, penetrated to the bottom; the most recondite mysteries of Antichrist were brought to light! But iniquity lied unto herself,” says Adam Contzen, “they found nothing but what was holy, pious, religious.”¹ “This edition of truth, that is of the Rules,” continues the Jesuit, “annulled the belief of a thousand lies; whilst the foe prepared to do us harm, he conciliated to us many thousand men.” If such was really the fact, how inexpedient then was it to put under a bushel those Constitutions, and leave it for a speculating Dutchman surreptitiously to show forth to the world, all full of admiration, the “sincerity of the Society, her most holy scope, and the integrity of her laws.”²

In the estimation of the Jesuits, at least, there was nothing wonderful in the fierce hostility they encountered. Long before—during Kenelm Digby’s *Ages of Faith*—St. Basil, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and St. Francis, had the mortification to see their respective monks very roughly handled—simply, we are distinctly assured, because “with their holy life, doctrine, and preaching, they aided souls, and opposed themselves to the torrent of vices and abominations, and supported with their shoulders the Church which seemed menaced with ruin”³—in the *Ages of Faith! O mores catholici!* “And as their manner of life,” continues the Jesuit Ribadencyra, “was

¹ Discep. De Secretis S. J. p. 24. Ed. Mogunt. 1617. ² Ubi suprâ, p. 25.

³ Para que con su santa vida, doctrina, y predicacion, ayudassen à las almas, y se opusiesen al torrente de los vicios y maldades, y sustentassen con sus hombros la Yglesia, que parecia amenazar ruina. Ribaden.—*Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedicacion.*

different to that which was followed and admitted by the other monks of those days, the novelty of their Rule and Institute produced wonder and also indignation in many who persecuted them ; and books, disputations, and sermons censured and condemned that manner of life as an innovation, as suspicious, and pernicious. The Apostolic See was forced to take the thing in hand, and with her authority repress the insolent, and defend the Institutes which she had approved ; and the most holy and most learned doctors, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure sallied forth to encounter the *enemies of all religion and virtue*, and rebut their sophistical and deceitful arguments, as they did with marvellous erudition and prudence, and gained the victory over those infernal monsters—*alcançaron vitoria de aquellos monstruos infernales*" ¹ Brave words, decidedly. Soon he comes to the front of the world's offending : " Now, as the Institute of this our least company of Jesus—*nuestra minima Compañia de Jesus*—has some things different to the other Institutes (although she agrees with them in the essentials of an Institute) it is not to be wondered at that many take offence at them, and for not knowing how well founded they are in reason, in the antiquity and the doctrine of the saints, and how proportioned and appropriate they are to the end which the same Company proposes, find fault with them and deem them out-of-the-way novelties. Some of these reprovers and censors are heretics, and pestilential men, and enemies of all religion, particularly with respect to the points which present to them the greater resistance. As to these oppugners I have nothing here to say—inasmuch as their vituperation is our glory, and their reproach is our praise. There are others

¹ *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedicacion.*

who, although Catholics, do not live as Catholics and faithful Christians, nor conform to the law of God, but are rather buried and overwhelmed by their vices, and abhor religious men who strive to lend them a hand to extricate them from that quagmire in which they remain—men who seek and take occasion to abuse everything which thwarts their passions and desires.” So much for the first and second class of Jesuit opponents. The Jesuit goes on with his classification. “Others are not wanting (and perhaps they are the majority) who easily believe what they hear, and with greater facility tell what they have heard, and without investigating and purifying the truth, blame what they do not know nor understand, and think that evil which they do not know to be good.” The fourth class is more interesting. “But what shall I say of some religious men [monks] who are so satisfied and pleased with their own Institute and manner of life, that whatever in other Institutes differs with what they observe in their own, think it wrong, and strive with the same measure to measure the unequal works of God? Let them be praised for being satisfied with their vocation, and acknowledge to our Lord the mercy he has done them in their vocation, esteeming their rule as the best adapted for themselves; but let them not condemn the things which in the other orders differ from theirs, since neither he who eats has reason to judge him who eats not; nor he who eats not, to condemn him who eats, according to St. Paul; and to do the contrary, is to straiten the divine grace which, as saith the apostle St. Peter, is various and multiform.” It is the *devil* again who is to bear the blame for the opposition to the spirit of Ignatius. “The stratagems of Satan,” says the Jesuit, “are many and very various; sometimes he openly strives to undo the

works of the Lord ; at others, he transforms himself into an angel of light (as saith the same apostle), and, under the colour of religion, impugns religion, to the great detriment of the same religion and scandal of poor simple folk, stimulating some religious men [monks] who with the cloak of zeal and piety, disturb other religious men who are their brothers, and all soldiers and ministers of the same Lord." Having finished his classification, he proceeds as follows : " Wherefore it has occurred to me to write this treatise, and to imitate in it the true men already named, the glorious and most learned Doctors St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and (although with unequal wealth of spirit, learning, and prudence) to give the reason for certain things of our Institute, which some oppugn, for not knowing well the reasons which the Company has for using them. I hope, with the infinite bounty of the Lord, that he will guide us in such a manner, that all those who with clear and dispassionate eyes should read it, may understand that the things which at the present time seem novelties, were *ancient*, and used in the church of the Lord in *past ages* ; and that our Institute has a most excellent end in view, and that the means she uses are most reasonable and fashioned to attain that end. And with this, those who, for not knowing our Institute, think ill of it, will be disabused ; and those who knowingly oppose it, will give way or be confounded ; and the Lord (whose work the Company is) shall be glorified as her author and protector ; and the good will be edified and more kindly disposed to what they shall see founded in reason, in antiquity, in authority, in doctrine, and custom of the holy Fathers and masters of all Institutes." ¹

¹ *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedication.*

Ribadeneyra fulfils his promise. To the Catholic triumphantly he proves all he undertakes. Fathers, Councils, and Catholic Reason fly forth at his bidding, and every distinctive characteristic of the Society is proved to be established, as he promised, in the antiquity, authority, doctrine, custom of the Fathers, and Catholic Reason. By this Jesuit's showing, you will be astounded by the fact (if you did not believe what I said of Ignatius and his Institute, in the first pages of my work)—you will be astounded by the fact, that the essential features of this least Company of Jesus are as old as the sun of Rome. Her name, her absence of any peculiar dress, the absence of a choir, her gratuitous services, *blind* obedience—*obediencia ciega que pide y enseña la Compañía*,—her eschewing of church-dignities, manifestation of conscience ; in a word, all are antiquities, and only revived by holy Father Ignatius. In truth, there's nothing new under the sun !

This establishes the fact that Ignatius and his companions knew what they were about. They worked with an object. We can now believe that before drawing up the Constitutions, Ignatius had read the rules and histories of the religious orders ;¹ and only selected what accorded with his own peculiar organisation. Thus all the mind of Catholic antiquity had a share in constructing the Jesuit. The multiform man is but a patchwork after all. "Legion" is a subscription-devil. The whole mystery is explained. All is quite natural. The "inspiration," the "revelation," the "lambent flame" round about his head, which the Jesuit biographers talk about, is all moonshine for "poor simple folk,"—*la gente simple y vulgar*.

After all,
there is
nothing new
in the Jesuit
Institute !

Still, what a
prospect was
before them !

¹ Bouhours ii. 343.

Neither Christ nor the Virgin Mary has a share in the Jesuit, as the Jesuit Tollenarius affirms in the famous *Imago*.¹ He is the joint-manufacture of the Fathers, the Councils, Catholic Reason, and Don Ignàcio, *ci-devant* warrior, penitent, anchorite, strolling preacher, pilgrim, and now General of the Jesuits, and sturdy right arm of the pope and popedom. Such a man, and such companions, (Ribadeneyra, whom you have heard, was one,) are expressly needed. The pope of Rome, the Catholic kings of the earth, bethought them that such men would be valuable friends to their cause—the subjugation of the masses, at that time set in commotion by the ardent breathings of liberty, civil and religious. Oh! 'twas a glorious prospect—a spirit-stirring something-beyondness! Far across the wide oceans, too, Atlantic and Pacific, millions were waiting, ready to be subdued to the yoke. The sword would compel, but “Christianity” would induce, subjection. The preaching of the Gospel could secure the reign of Mammon. The banner of the cross could sanctify the tyranny of kings. And the kings of the earth made friends with the Jesuits, gave them their hands, and with their hands, right joyously, full purses; and for a time they worked together in amity—friends indeed because friends in need. The first movements of the Jesuits heralded the sublimest epoch of their achievements. They began with hazardous enterprise: they have rarely shrunk from peril. If they become monopolists, they will be visited with the odium of those who cannot cope with them either in the peculiar quality of their commodity, or the price of the article, which was dirt-cheap. For “nothing” you might have the services of men of

¹ Post Christum et Mariam Societatis Auctor et Parens Sanctus Ignatius, p. 78.

action and men of study ; men qualified for daring enterprise, and men capable of profound policy ; men of dauntless resolution, and men of insinuating manners ; men who can win the favour and gain the confidence of the gentler sex, and men who can mingle in all the intrigues of state policy ; men who, with a martyr's zeal, will risk everything for the conversion of the heathen abroad, and men of polemic skill to carry on controversies at home ;¹ but, withal, in mercy, excuse him, if you can, should you find, for ever and ever, in the Jesuit, a complete devotedness, body and soul, to the *interests of his order*, ever ready—nay, eager—at the least sign of holy obedience, to perform any function in that Company, which now undertakes, with papal approbation, that is, *secundum artem*, to drug mankind with what she calls—

A THOUSAND NOSTRUMS FOR ALL DISEASES.²



¹ Baptist Magazine, No. cxi.

² Mille agitent morbi, mille ulcera, mille dolores ;

Illa domus causas mille salutis habet.—Imago, p. 454.

For Man's thousand diseases and ulcerous ills
This Company mixes her doses and pills.

BOOK IV. OR, LAINEZ.

SPLENDID was the prospect before Ignatius and his troop : full of difficulty, but full of hope—for an unconquerable Will impelled them : to dare, was to be victorious. The Vicar of Christ had declared to the disciples, the designs and intentions of the Eternal respecting their leader. Two worlds of virgin-pagans were added to the world of cast-away Christians. The barbarians, as they were deemed, of the East, and the cannibals of the West, were destined to compensate the Church for her losses in this little old world of ours—*nostro piccolo e vecchio mondo*. These barbarians and cannibals were to supply the place of the heretics consigned to perdition. But it was incumbent that a man should arise full of charity, zeal, courage, and Apostolic zeal wherewith to fill a multitude of such heroic workers, ready to sacrifice their labour, sweat, blood, and life, to the preaching of the Gospel and the conquest of souls ; craving nothing in return—stipulating no reward for their labour, excepting only the “merit” of the performance—whithersoever the sign was given to them, thither to rush professionally bound, to do the work of the

The prospect
and the
resolution.

ministry, enlarging the limits of the Church, and God's kingdom, as far as worlds were discovered, and realms could be penetrated by a dashing, headlong apostolate. Nor was the little old world of Europe to be resigned to the heretics without a struggle. Luther and Calvin would find their match in Ignatius and his Jesuits. They would be met by preaching, teaching, writing, disputing. Schools would be planted against schools, pulpits would be raised against pulpits, voices would be opposed to voices, learning to learning, books to books, until the bank of heresy be broken, and its masters ruined for ever.¹

A beautiful prospect—in the issue to the pope and his Catholics: but dismally the reverse for their antagonists. The struggle would be fierce—inhuman passions would be roused—dread calamities, individual and national, would attend—but what mattered that? The end seemed desirable. Let it be attempted. Let the strife begin. God wills it. God has raised up a man to fight his battle. The broken-down knight of Pampeluna is the Mohammed of Christendom. Has not such a deliverance chanced many a time and oft in the troubles of the Church? Rose there ever a “leader of heresy” without “a champion of the faith” to shiver a lance with the monster? Did not the great Athanasius brave Arius to the face? Did not Cyril of Alexandria put down Nestorius? Was not Jerome a match for Vigilantius, and two others besides? Did not Augustin demolish the Manichees? Did not Bernard crush Abelard? Did not Dominic annihilate the Albigenses? And even at this blessed hour—if there be another heresy brooding

What had
chanced
before, and
may chance
again.

¹ Bartoli, *Dell' Ital.* p. 1, *et seq.*

in the breast, biding its time, there will arise, as there will be needed, the heart, the hand, the zeal, the chivalry of some new David to shatter the head and humble the pride of the blaspheming Goliath.¹ And men will suffer, without being bettered in body, in heart, in mind. Civilisation will be retarded. Men will retrograde. It will require hundreds of years to school memory into forgetfulness of the hideous strife, of which there will be ten thousand monuments in every history—in every land—which the minds of our children must learn to remember, to be treasured as a new gospel, but bereft of all charity—all brotherly love—all the sweetest feelings that enable us cheerfully to work through our pilgrimage to heaven.

Ignatius was the new David of the present strife. His nine other Davids demand a short description. Peter Lefevre was the son of a Savoyard goat-herd. Evinced an aptitude and inclination for study, his father took him from the flock and sent him to college. He became a proficient in Latin, Greek, and Rhetoric; and subsequently proceeded to Paris, where, in the college of St. Barbara, he took his degree in 1530. He had just commenced his course of theology when Ignatius entered the same college to commence his hopeless philosophy—but also, as it appears, to gain a proselyte in Peter Lefevre. They became acquainted. “Ignatius could not have found a soul better adapted to his design, nor Peter a companion more to his taste.” Ignatius set his eyes on Peter as a

The ten
first Jesuits.

¹ Bartoli's notion. “E forse hora se ne tiene altri in petto, e trarranneli a luogo e a tempo, secondo le contingenze de' secoli avverine, ove a spezzare la fronte e l'orgoglio d'alcun nuovo bestemmiatore Golia, sia mestieri il cuore, la mano, il zelo, e la gagliardia d'alcun nuovo David.”—*Dell' Ital.* p. 3.

fit “companion of the work he was machining,”—*per compagno dell’ opera che machinava*,—and Peter confided in Ignatius as “a master of his soul, which was beyond his own guidance.” It appears that he had the misfortune to be strongly tempted by the flesh. Scruples of conscience supervened. He found a refuge in the man of the “Spiritual Exercises.” “Against the suggestions of carnal concupiscence, gluttony, and vain-glory, which were so troublesome to him, Ignatius prescribed his own practical method of pulling up, by the particular Examination of Conscience, the roots of those affections, one by one, from the heart, where such poisonous herbs usually sprout.” For two years Ignatius attended the patient, apparently without alleviating the symptoms of the disease. Peter was still in utter perplexity, not knowing what to do with himself, soul or body, when Ignatius, seizing the happy moment, told him, as though in confidence, that he intended to cross the seas for the Holy Land, there to give his labours and his life for the conversion of the infidels. Peter rushed into his arms—his heart was full of affection—embraced him tenderly, and offered to be his companion. The Jesuits call him “the first-begotten of Saint Ignatius”—*il primogenito di S. Ignatio*.¹ Lefevre made himself useful to his patron; he proved himself worthy of the choice by the cultivation of those qualities which were at first evident in the man pre-destined to be a Jesuit, by the founder. He possessed the most peculiar dexterity in throwing spiritual hints into familiar conversation, conversing in a manner so ingenuously familiar, without betraying any artfulness, and yet with such exquisite art, and with such powerful effect, that he seemed to put his hand

¹ Bartoli, Dell’ Ital. 96—100.

into the heart of his hearer; there to stamp the idea and emotions he sought to excite. His method was to fall in cleverly with the conversation of those whom he met, just as if he embarked in the same ship with them for a voyage of their choosing. Then, by degrees, putting his hand to the helm, he turned the argument to his design, which, we are assured, was always the soul's salvation, and he did it so well, that imperceptibly his hearers found themselves where they, at first, least expected. He always took his objects by surprise; his arms were ever invisible; he was never suspected, and, therefore, found no resistance. In the opinion of Ignatius, he had no equal in the management of the "Spiritual Exercises." He won for Ignatius three new companions—Lejay, Brouet, and Codure, three choice spirits, all masters in theology, and two of them priests; the first, a Genevan, said to be an angel in mind and a rare genius; the second, a Frenchman or a Belgian, just as it suited his purpose to declare. "He gave out that he was of Picardy, for a very useful reason," says the Jesuit Damian. "It was lest he should be driven from Paris and France on the breaking out of the war between King Francis and the Emperor, he being born in Cambray, and therefore a subject of the latter. This *dissimulation*," observes the Jesuit, "made up the military band of ten"—*et valuit ea dissimulatio ad Decurie numerum*.¹ Codure was a Frenchman. Francis Xavier was the Founder's second acquisition. In the opinion of the Jesuits, "if Ignatius had made the conquest of no other member, he would not have been at all less fortunate than he who *finds a precious pearl*, and, in order to possess it, gives all he has, becomes fortunately

¹ Synop. Primi Sæc. S. J.—*Prænar.*

poor, and with a single but most advantageous gain, compensates for a thousand small losses.¹ Xavier became the "Great Apostle of the Indies"—the "Alexander of the Missions,"—which last was nearer the truth, as we shall see in due time. Xavier was born in Navarre, at a place of the same name, not far from Pampeluna, where Ignatius received his salutary shot—*il salutevole colpo*. He is stated to have sprung from one of the oldest and most illustrious families of Navarre. He studied at Paris, graduated and professed philosophy for more than three years, with great applause. When Ignatius insinuated himself into the heart of Peter Lefevre, who was Xavier's friend, the latter looked upon him with contempt and loathing. The excessive humility of the man was revolting to Xavier. His spiritual suggestions elicited a joke or a scoff. It was thus evident that a different method must be tried on one who seemed, at the very first, a pearl of great price. Xavier was ambitious. Ignatius resolved to attack him by that ambition itself, just as Judith, says Bartoli, with the love of Holofernes, to gain him first thereby, and triumph over him at last. Xavier was anxious to shine—*cager for literary renown*. Ignatius applied himself to find him pupils and hearers. He won and brought them to him. In every possible way he made himself appear interested in the honour of the young professor. Xavier had a heart : it was touched : it melted at this display of kindness : he began to look on Ignatius with different eyes : the most despicable of men becomes amiable when he shows himself "a friend in need,"—I mean, as the world goes : for, in truth, it is not every heart that would receive a blessing or a gift from the thing it despises.

¹ Bart. *ubi supra*, p. 101.

Ignatius stopped not there : “ he tempted him, he seduced him by the enticement of praise . . . he became Xavier’s admirer : then, by degrees, insinuating himself into his confidence, and mastering his ambitious desires, he led him away.” “ Believe me,” he said, “ the vain honours of earth are too little for a heart so generous as yours. The kingdom of heaven alone is worthy of you. I do not pretend to extinguish your ardour for glory, nor to inspire you with grovelling sentiments. *Be* ambitious—*be* magnanimous : but give your ambition a higher flight, and display the greatness of your soul by despising all that is perishable.”¹ Such is the Jesuit account of Xavier’s conversion. True or false, it exhibits a *method* whose efficacy has its source in a perfect knowledge of the heart. If Ignatius did not win Xavier by a similar method, there can be little doubt that it was practised on many occasions, and for many purposes, by those who so glibly and ostentatiously describe the process.² The youth, only in his twenty-second year, joined Ignatius. Laynez and Salmeron were Spaniards : the former in his twenty-first year, a “ master in philosophy,” the latter in his eighteenth, and yet “ consummate in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.” They were travelling in quest of knowledge, after the manner of the ancient sages, and had a mind to see Ignatius, who is said to have been even then “ in the odour of sanctity.” He met them at the gates of Paris. Their conquest was easy. Ignatius passed them through his Exercises : they emerged accomplished—destined to be famous, both of them—and one to succeed the founder in the Generalate. Bobadilla was also a Spaniard—a man of fire and energy—“ no ordinary genius,”

¹ Bouhours, i. p. 188.

² Bartoli is, as usual, excessively voluminous on the subject. *Ubi supra*, p. 101, *et seq.*

in quest of divinity at Paris : but he fell into debt. Ignatius gave him money and the Exercises, and he remained his perpetual companion. Simon Rodriguez was a Portuguese, concerning whom his father had predicted on his death-bed "that God had chosen him for great things in his service." He joined Ignatius with the intention of preaching to the Turks in Palestine. These were, with Ignatius, the ten first Jesuits, now about to interest us with their attempts and achievements.¹ The reader will not be surprised to hear that amongst the innumerable faults found with the Jesuits, the very *number* of the first founders has been considered portentous. The number Ten, says the Calvinist Misenus, is termed *Atlas* by the Pythagoreans : whence, not without a mystery, the first who formed the Company were ten, for thus the Jesuits support the popedom, as Atlas bears the burthen of the skies—*vertice supposito sidera fulcit Atlas*. It is unaccountable how a Calvinist could assimilate the popedom to the *skies* : but a *Jesuit in disguise* on the contrary, found in the number a presage of the wonders which the Company would perform. With admirable wit, at least, "Florimond de Raimond," (the *Jesuit Richeome*) a staunch opponent of the Protestants, said that "the Company would be that *decuman, or tenth wave*, by which the bark of the pirate Luther would be sunk."²

Scarcely was the Company established by papal mandate, when the ten first Jesuits found themselves in position. Ere the Constitutions were drawn up, the Society was in action. What were they to do? Work. That was the watchword. Anticipating the

¹ Bartoli, Bouhours, Maffeus, &c.

² *Decumus*, i. e. *decimus*, means *tenth*, and also *huge*, in which sense it was

theoretical network of the Constitutions, Ignatius issued a few regulations for the guidance of his soldiers, the sum total of which was, "to have God before their eyes always as much as possible—with Christ for a model—to see God in their superiors—obedience being an infallible oracle—a guide that never leads astray:—mutual charity, silence, except when forced to speak, religious deportment, were enjoined. Wit, eloquence, wisdom, were nothing in comparison of virtue: affronts and reproaches would be their best reward for their services to their neighbour—the only recompense that the world gave to the labours of Christ. Should they commit a fault which might become public, they were not to despair; but rather to give thanks to God for permitting their fault to teach them the weakness of their virtue: let them be more humble for the future, and let others profit by the warning. Let them be neither excessively gay, nor gloomy, nor cast down; but firm in their vocation, ever on their guard against the evil spirit, with his contradictory suggestions to deceive by the propensities."¹

Francis Xavier was despatched to India as Apostolic Legate. Bobadilla had been appointed, but he fell ill, and thus unfortunately lost the chance of being canonised for converting millions to the faith and

applied to a *wave* by the Latin poets—*decumani fluctus*. Ovid, with his occasional affectation, says—

“ Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes :

Posterior nono est, undecimoque prior.—*Trist.* lib. i. 2.

As the storm-wave of humanity, kings and nations, the Society should bear this motto in her “pride of place.” Bartoli quotes those words of “Florimond”; but he takes good care not say that *this* Florimond was no other than the Jesuit Richeome, with a *borrowed name*. See Placcius, Moreri, and Barbier.

¹ Bouhours, p. 295.

innumerable and stupendous miracles ; but he would have given more trouble than Xavier, and thus his illness was a blessed event for the nascent Society. When the man fell ill, Ignatius “thought before God to fill his place” and go himself to India—which would have been, perhaps, more disastrous for the Company : “or rather,” adds the Jesuit, who never flinches at an interpretation, “or rather, he thought before God to choose him whom God himself had elected”—a celestial ray illumined him at once—and Francis Xavier was the man. “Xavier,” he exclaimed, “I had named Bobadilla for the Indies : but Heaven names *you* to-day ; and I announce it to you in the name of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive the appointment which His Holiness lays upon you by my mouth, just as if Jesus Christ presented it himself, and rejoice to find the means of satisfying that ardent desire we had to carry the faith beyond the seas. This is not Palestine only, nor a province of Asia, but immense lands, innumerable kingdoms—an entire world. It is only so vast a field that is worthy of your courage and your zeal. Go, Brother, whither the voice of God calls you, whither the Holy See sends you—and inflame all with the fire within you—the fire divine—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino.*”¹ These last words were the Founder’s talisman on all similar occasions : they fanned the flame of enthusiasm : for

¹ This usual phrase of Ignatius in the original, is taken from Nieremberg: the speech from Boulhours. It is astonishing how diffuse and profuse the Jesuits are in all such matters. However, there is really history in all they write—quite as much as in their deeds recorded. They tell us that Xavier had been forewarned by dreams of his appointment. He dreamed that he carried a huge and very black Indian on his shoulders. You will see the thing engraved in the *Imago*. He also beheld in a dream vast seas, full of tempests and shoals, desert

where is the heart that would not brave every peril whereat humanity shrinks, if but sublimed by that unlimited confidence in its power by those words of fire inflamed. Other posts were filled with equally resolute champions of the faith and popedom. To Venice was sent Laincz, Le Fevre to Madrid, Bobadilla and Lejay to Vienna and Ratisbon, and to Ireland were despatched Salmeron and Brouet, whose mission is somewhat important and interesting.

Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, had, in the twelfth century, made a grant of Ireland to King Henry II. of England, on the simple conditions that the king should pay him a yearly tribute for ^{Ireland.} each house in Ireland, that the Catholic religion should be restored to its former respectability, and the people be made to lead a life of commendable decency.¹ If the first condition proves that there were houses in Ireland, the other two suggest the probability, at least, that neither the religion nor morality of Ireland was then in a flourishing condition. However, a papal grant is not a bird in the hand: though the pope—a man who had been a beggar long enough to feel for others—did not think proper to consult the will of the people, Henry smothered the Bull, biding his time, lest he should burn his fingers. Providence—you may be sure *that* was his interpretation—came to his assistance: an adultery was committed by one of the kings of

islands, savage lands, everywhere hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, with endless labours, bloody persecutions, “perils of death.” Suggested as usual by *desire*, these dreams are possible enough; but the Jesuits *will* have them to be supernatural.

¹ “Titulus ille primùm Henrico collatus fertur ab Adriano IV. . . . eâ lege, ut Sedi Apostolicæ singulos asses pro singulis Hiberniæ domibus quotannis persolveret, ac Catholicam Religionem ad pristinum decorem, et populum ad laudabilem vitæ normam redigeret.”—*Arsdekin, Theol. Trip.* t. i. p. 306.

Ireland: he was expelled: Henry received him with open arms, espoused his cause, and permitted some Welsh adventurers to attempt the conquest of Ireland for himself, which they effected with the greatest possible ease. In 1174 Henry saw himself acknowledged lord supreme of all Ireland. The consequences were most disastrous to the people. A griping aristocracy amongst whom the country was portioned, rioted in their revenues without a thought for the national welfare, the religion of the people, or their morality. Selfishness and oppression swayed the destinies of those Christian *Catholics*—be it plainly understood, for there were no Protestant persecutors in those days of Catholic (or universal) Catholicism. The evils, thus begun under the reigns of orthodoxy, were not likely to cease when “religious” rancour was superadded to national oppression, as a stirring cause of resistance. Men were not wanting to make both causes serve their selfish purposes, whilst the misguided *people* infallibly smarted for their betters. “Roaring bellows of sedition” fanned the flame, and “incendiary Pharisees” stirred up the embers. A “rebellion,” of course, followed, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and the Pope of Rome, Paul III., of Jesuit notoriety, took the Emerald Isle under his immediate patronage.¹ The Irish, who had little reason to be satisfied with English rule and English contrivances for the last four hundred years, were easily brought to abhor, and well they might, the proceedings of

¹ The hopes of the pope were centred in young Gerald, a boy of about twelve years of age. He was conveyed beyond the reach of Henry, and after being chased from country to country by the tyrant's policy or revenge, “he was at the recommendation of Pope Paul III. taken under the protection of the Prince Bishop of Liege, and afterwards into the family of his kinsman, Cardinal Pole.”—*Lingard*, vi. p. 324. Would to Heaven that we could ascribe this “patronage to sympathy for affliction.

Henry VIII., in religion and morality, whilst the Catholic party took care that this "virtuous indignation" should fester into the loathsome ulcer of "religious" rancour. Many circumstances combined to aggravate the question. In every other country society had taken a step in advance. For good or for evil, it matters not here to prove, but still there *was* movement. The hitherto stagnant compound of mind and sentiment was stirred to its uttermost depths. Hopes and fears flamed floating on the surface, and kept it simmering. There was nothing of the kind in Ireland. No hope, no prospect, gave Irishmen a motive to spring from their childhood, when all the world else was grown older, if not better. Civil dissensions, beggarly contests about "dirty acres" and pelf, kept up their natural eloquence, practised their tongues, but their minds slept on—the motiveless inaction of children. Political chaos, moral anarchy, were the products of aristocratical domination; but in the *theory* of their ancient religion there was no mutation. This was, this *is* at the present time, the result of mental supineness. It holds also to the Irishman's nature, his organisation. An Irishman is essentially a man of *outsides*—a man of surface, which is, however, always interesting as a pretty landscape. In depth he is greatly deficient. Over the surface of things he sports and shakes off wit from his active wings. Reasoning fatigues, overpowers, disgusts him. He will grant your conclusions if you will spare him the trouble of following you through your major and minor. But his self-love, his pride, are splendid to behold in every phase of his calamities. These support, these rouse his energies, these constitute his motives of acquiescence or resistance, as the case may be; and these motives were, and are,

the foundation of his clinging to the old religion, even when really of no faith whatever, if tested by the dictates of morality. Hence, a Catholic bishop said that "the Irish believe like saints, though they sin like devils." His country, unfortunately, had not a fair chance to embrace the opportunity of enlightenment when the meteor shot athwart the firmament of Europe in the sixteenth century. Successive attempts had prepared other countries for religious and intellectual reform. In her distant nook of the world, far from the scene of intellectual agitation, how could she learn to think, and reason, and adopt a vigorous conclusion? She knew nothing of Huss, nothing of Wycliffe; she had heard nothing of that booming sound which preluded to every thoughtful ear the bursting of the *Ætna*; and the dense mist above her shut out the bright lightnings of the conflagration which fired the intellect of the sixteenth century. Ireland remained "Roman Catholic." She could neither reason herself out of her faith, nor had she any reason to please her masters by adopting theirs. It did not offer to rid her of oppression. It would not be accompanied by bodily and mental alleviation, to judge from past experience, since what was English and what was oppressive had always been one and the same. The priests took admirable care to deepen the notion. In fact, had Ireland been even inclined to join in the Protestant movement, had she even been able to reason herself into doubt of the old religion, coming from England it was sure to be resisted. In her circumstances it could only be another motive for withstanding the enemy who, not content with forcing his yoke upon her neck, would nail a religion on her mind. Resistance was natural; but,

unfortunately, it was the resistance of a madman ; violence and torture stilled it cruelly. The first suffering, the first shedding of blood, the first " martyrs " established a " party " which would ever " stir," and has always " stirred," the resourceless people to their own destruction—fooling the noble race of Irishmen—ever fooling them as though they were gaping idiots born only for suffering and starvation. And what was the watchword ? Why, the *Authority of the Pope*—that cruel thing which had sold their country to the English invader. Fitzgerald proclaimed himself its champion ; " he took arms in Ireland, in defence of the pope's authority." ¹ His attempt was stifled. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, who followed in his track, had no better success. Henry's power and patronage bore down all opposition. Irish parliaments voted everything he pleased, just like his English convocations. They passed statutes abolishing papal authority, declaring Henry head of the Irish Church, and liberally gave him what did not belong to them—the first fruits of all ecclesiastical livings.² Partial insurrections followed, if party contests can bear the name,—contests without one rational hope of success in a cause which, to triumph, demands unity of council, in the midst of national fixity, industrial energy, and moral perseverance, totally devoid of those freezing, petty motives, inseparable from sacerdotal and papal influence. Partial insurrections followed ; but Henry's power and patronage rose above all. The

¹ " Pro pontificis auctoritate in Hiberniâ arma sumpserat."—*Pole. Lingard*, vi. p. 325.

² " Ignorance of the recent occurrences in the sister island, gave occasion to a most singular blunder. One day the parliament confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn ; and the next, in consequence of the arrival of a courier, declared it to have been invalid from the beginning."—*Lingard*, *ibid.*

Irish chieftains and the lords of the pale outstripped each other in professions of obedience to his authority. A parliament assembled. Ireland from a lordship was raised to the rank of a kingdom. Regulations were made for the administration of justice in Connaught and Munster ; commissioners were appointed with power to hear and determine all causes, which might be brought before them from the other provinces. The aristocracy were gratified, the chieftains were satisfied, the people were unquestionably better off than they are at the present day ; in a word, “never,” says Dr. Lingard, “since the invasion of the island by Henry II., did the English ascendancy in Ireland appear to rest on so firm a basis, as during the last years of Henry VIII.”¹ And that was the very time when Pope Paul III. thought proper to send two Jesuit spies, emissaries, or “envoys,” into Ireland ; and Ignatius, the man of such admirable speeches, and such admirable regulations, as we have read, lent himself to the design—supplied the “incendiary Pharisees—the roaring bellows of sedition.”²

Brouet and Salmeron were the Jesuits appointed : the first a Frenchman, the latter a Spaniard. It appears that Paul III. took the mendicants at their word, and intended them to work their way as well as they could to the “any place” of their vows—
Instructions to the Jesuit envoys. for they were to start, apostolically, *sine sacculo et perâ*, totally dependent on Providence : but a papal

¹ Lingard, vi. pp. 326, 327.

² Read the admirable introduction to “Facts and Figures, from Italy.” Those apt patronymies of the tribe occur at page 10. See also Beaumont’s work, “L’Irlande Sociale Politique et Religieuse.” There is much in that book ; it must suggest useful thoughts, if we pardon the Frenchman his peculiar prejudices.

functionary, Zapata by name, who happened to be thinking of joining the Jesuits, resolved to put on his boots and make the journey his novitiate, and to defray its expenses, as well as to share its peril and fatigues. In September, 1541, the three set out on the expedition. The Jesuits were invested with all the powers of Apostolic nuncios—so important did this “mission” appear to the papal patron of Ireland. As usual, instructions were given to the emissaries by Loyola. They have been handed down for the enlightenment of his posterity :¹ such being the object, they will, independently of their curious structure, be deemed interesting. I must, however, preface them with an extraordinary admission by a modern historian of the Jesuits, whose voluminous work is intended to show up and defend the sons of Loyola. He says: “In these instructions Loyola takes care not to speak of those which the pope has given them ; he keeps aloof from politics. Salmeron and Brouet are the pope’s delegates : they have his confidence. Ignatius endeavours to render them worthy of it, but he does not go beyond. He knows that the new legates are diametrically opposed in temper and disposition—that Salmeron is hasty, petulant ; that Brouet has in his heart something angelical and persuasive ; and so it is Brouet whom he appoints to hold communication with the Great. All is combined by Ignatius so as not to injure either of them, but rather to make them accord for the interest of the Church.”² It is possible to combine “religion” with political machination, and, leaving to the pope, the wily Paul III., the care of instilling the dictates of the latter, “the most wise Father” confined

¹ “Ut Societatis posterì quales ad has expeditiones Ignatii sententiã requirantur, intelligant, non ab re fuerit, quibus ille monitis abeuntes instruxerit, indicare.”—*Orland.* lib. iii. 47.

² Cretineau-Joly, *Hist.* i. p. 137.

himself to the former, but in as political a manner as can well be conceived, and most admirably brought home. It proves beyond a doubt, how well he, or the Jesuit composer of the document, had studied mankind :—

“ I recommend you to be, in your intercourse with all the world in general—but particularly with your equals and inferiors—modest and circumspect in your words ; always disposed and patient to listen, lending an attentive ear till the persons who speak to you have unveiled the depth of their sentiments. Then you will give them a clear and brief answer, which may anticipate all discussion.

“ In order to conciliate to yourselves the good will of men, in the desire of extending the kingdom of God, you will make yourselves all to all, after the example of the Apostle, in order to gain them to Jesus Christ.¹ Nothing, in effect, is more adapted than the resemblance of tastes and habits to conciliate affection, to gain hearts.

“ Thus, after having studied the character and manners of each person, you will endeavour to conform yourselves to them as much as duty will permit :—so that, if you have to do with an excitable and ardent character, you should shake off all tedious prolixity.

“ You must, on the contrary, become somewhat slow and measured in speech, if the person to whom you speak is more circumspect and deliberate in his speech.

“ For the rest, if he who has to do with a man of irascible temperament, has himself that defect, and if they do not agree thoroughly in their opinions, it is greatly to be feared lest they permit themselves to be

¹ Into what disrepute have the Jesuits brought those words of the Apostle ! The perfection of the law of charity and brotherly love in devoting ourselves for the good of each other, is interpreted into copying their manners, tastes, and habits, in order to “ gain ” them first to *ourselves* and then “ to the Lord ” !

hurried into passion. Wherefore, he who recognises in himself that propensity ought to keep watch on himself with the most vigilant care, and fortify his heart with a supply of strength, in order that anger should not surprise him : but rather that he may endure with equanimity all that he shall suffer from the other, even should the latter be his inferior. Discussions and quarrels are much less to be apprehended from quiet and slow tempers than from the excitable and ardent.

“ In order to attract men to virtue, and fight the enemy of salvation, you shall employ the arms which *he* uses to destroy them—such is the advice of St. Basil.

“ When the devil attacks a just man, he does not let him see his snares : on the contrary, he hides them, and attacks him only indirectly, without resisting his pious inclinations, feigning even to conform to them ;—but by degrees he entices him and surprises him in his snares. Thus it is proper to follow a similar track to extricate men from sin.

“ Begin with praising what is good in them, without at first attacking their vices : when you shall have gained their confidence apply the remedy proper for their cure.

“ With regard to melancholy or unsettled persons, exhibit whilst addressing them, as much as you can, a gay and serene countenance : give the greatest sweetness to your words, in order to restore them to a state of mental tranquillity—combating one extreme by another extreme.

“ Not only in your sermons, but also in your private conversations, particularly when you reconcile people at variance, do not lose sight of the fact that all your

words may be published ; what you say in darkness may be manifested in the light of day.

“ In affairs anticipate the time rather than defer or adjourn it : if you promise anything for to-morrow, do it to-day.

“ As to money, do not touch even that which shall be fixed for the expenses which you shall pay. Let it be distributed to the poor by other hands, or employ it in good works, in order that you may be able in case of need, to affirm on oath, that in the course of your legation, you have not received a penny.

“ When you have to speak to the Great, let *Pasquier Brouet* have the charge.

“ Deliberate with yourselves, on all the points touching which your sentiments might be at variance. Do what two out of three persons would have approved [if called in to decide.]

“ Write often to Rome during your journey,—as soon as you shall reach Scotland,—and also when you shall have penetrated into Ireland. Then, every month, give an account of your legation.”¹

The immense importance of political dexterity is much more striking in these Instructions than its pious hints. If it be necessary, or even expedient, for it cannot be lawful, to inveigle minds into piety, that piety must have its foundation in the weaknesses of our nature—our lowest sentiments—those which make flattery a motive. It may be an excuse for Ignatius and the Jesuits that the “ conquest of souls ” was their passion, the destiny to which they deemed themselves called,—that they disregarded the means in the end so beautiful in theory. If it be an excuse, it is no justification. No

¹ Orland. lib. iii. 48 ; Cretineau, i. p. 134.

workers unto salvation were ever placed in more difficult circumstances than the Redeemer and his Apostles ; and yet when did they ever stoop to imitate the devil in his manœuvres, as Ignatius with Basil advise, in order to allure men to virtue and fight the enemy of salvation ?¹

And the pope's Instructions ; what were they ? Results will show their import, whilst we bear in mind Paul's patronage of Ireland. Brouet and Salmeron reached Scotland. James V., father of James V. of Scotland. the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and the *Zerbino* of Ariosto—barring the Scot's amours—was reigning in those times of trouble. Already had the pope negotiated with James when he resolved to publish his sentence of deprivation against Henry VIII. James had promised to join Charles V. and Francis in their efforts to convert or crush the apostate monarch : but the papal Bull was disregarded by Charles and Francis, who soon took the field against each other ; and the Scot wisely resolved to keep

¹ The following is stated to be an extract from a Sermon preached by Dr. Brown, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at the time in question : but the Sermon is said to have been delivered in 1551. It was given to Sir James Ware, and is in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 556 ; in Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 85 ; and in almost every hostile history of the Jesuits :—

“ But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many ; who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish truth, and shall come very near it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms ; with the heathens a heathenist, with the atheist an atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the reformers a reformado, purposely to know your hearts, your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like ‘ the fool that said in his heart, There is no God.’ These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser ; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it ; which will happen from falling from the law of God by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins : yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this Society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them ; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit.”

on good terms with his terrible uncle. Henry was trying to "convert" him. A Catholic kingdom in his flank was the bugbear. He dreaded the machinations of Rome in the haunts of orthodoxy. And he was right in his conjecture. The Scottish king held out. In the very year in question, his parliament had passed laws in support of the old doctrines and papal supremacy. Beaton, his minister, made a cardinal by Paul III., had been at Rome, and the Jesuit envoys arrived with letters from the pope, and confirmed the Scot's determination or deceived him with false hopes—certainly obtained his promise to resist Henry's entreaties. Tired with entreaties, the English tyrant "tried what virtue there was in stones," and sent the Duke of Norfolk with ten thousand men to invade the Catholic kingdom. Doom followed apace: the Scots disdained to fight under the detested Sinclair—the royal favourite—if we may believe their own historians; or believed the number of the enemy greater than it was: the result was, they fled without a blow—men and leaders in irremediable confusion. James sank under the calamity. He sickened and died—because "he could not digest a disaster," says Drummond of Hawthornden—like Napoleon at St. Helena, who silenced his consulting physicians by frankly stating his disease to be, "a Waterloo driven inwards." Thus the Scot kept his promise to the Jesuits, and paid the penalty. He died exclaiming: "By fraud or force my poor kingdom will fall to Henry of England. It came by a lass, and by a lass it will go." But the Jesuits left a Cardinal Beaton where the "merit" in the king's "promise" was shared by that "cruel antagonist of the Scottish Reformation."¹

¹ Orland. lib. iii. ; Crctineau, i. ; Lingard, vi. ; Andr. Hist. i.

From Scotland, Brouet and Salmeron hurried to Ireland. Disguised, almost as beggars, without an asylum, in an unknown land, whose language they knew not, still, we are assured, they gained the confidence of the most faithful, and were soon surrounded by a flock "whom their own audacity rendered audacious."¹ In the short space of four-and-thirty days these primitive Jesuits, according to their own account, visited every part of the island. Rapidity of locomotion will always be the characteristic of Jesuit-angels. Frightful was their account of matters in Ireland; infinitely worse than they expected—religion, morality—all that was Irish at the lowest ebb: the people barbarous, savage, and what was worst of all in their estimation, totally destitute of priests. The chieftains had not only sworn fealty and obedience to Henry, but even to burn all the pope's letters, and to deliver up his men whenever they found them, to the king or his viceroy. The Jesuits despaired not, however. They frequently changed their lurking places, and chose their opportunities. They set to work with Masses, confession, "indulgences of sins," and permutation of vows.² According to their own account, nothing could exceed the joy of the Irish at their advent—or the hopes they conceived at the promises of the Jesuits: "the joy of the Catholics was greater than their discretion," and "from the energy of their glances, from the hopes whose secret their every word betrayed, the sectarians surmised that something unusual was passing in Ireland."³ The Jesuits were known to be there: a price was set

¹ Cretineau, *ibid.* p. 139.

² "Cumulatam peccatorum indulgentiam tribuebant." *Orland.* *ib.* 58.

³ Cretineau, *i.* p. 140.

on their heads ; confiscation and the penalty of death were proclaimed against every family or individual who should harbour Salmeron and Brouet—evidently not confining their mission to *pious* exhortations, to masses, confession, indulgences, or permutations of vows. In effect, another account expands the admissions above-given, stating that the severity they exercised against the people, the heavy sums they exacted from them in confessional mitigation of the least fault, and their machinations against the government, exposed them to such imminent peril that, to avoid falling into the hands of Henry VIII., to whom the people threatened to deliver them, they took flight and went to France on their way back to Rome, to Father Ignatius, and Pope Paul III.¹ But they took Scotland in their flight, and saw enough to make them despair. In vain the pope ordered them back into Scotland : they remonstrated !² The attempt would be desperate. Then it was that they were ordered to return home, and gladly obeying, they had the misfortune to be imprisoned as Spanish spies at Lyons. The Cardinal de Tournon set them free and gave them money and horses for the Roman journey, having found them, as may be supposed, in a pitiful plight after all their adventures.³ Such was the result of the papal scheme in Ireland. The “day of deliverance” was not come. It was deferred to the time when a Gregory should fill the papal chair, and a Philip II. the throne of Spain.⁴

¹ *Hist. de Dom Inigo*, i. p. 210.

² “*Sed illi hæserè tamdiu dum certior Pontifex factus, quo ejus Regni loco res essent.*” *Orland.* ib. 60.

³ *Id. ibid.* 61.

⁴ In spite of the flight of these Jesuits, and their evident dread of the dangers on this occasion, at least, we are actually told that they had conceived, on their departure from Ireland, the daring project of penetrating into the very presence of Henry VIII. in order to plead the cause of Catholicism. “The plan was

Salmeron and Brouet fell back to their General's quarters : they were at once placed in position—new battles were to be fought. Troublous times had supervened. Heresy had penetrated into Italy—scandal was in the priesthood. Brouet and Salmeron rushed to the rescue. The latter was unfortunate : instead of vanquishing heresy, he was himself accused of error, deferred to the Inquisition, but was acquitted and quieted for two years, whilst the angelic Brouet succeeded in reforming the priesthood and monkhood of Foligno, a small, but populous, city in the States of the Church. Its priests and monks were as ignorant as they were depraved : Brouet had to teach them grammar as well as the Ten Commandments.¹ And the nuns of Reggio, too, he reformed : he curbed the passions of these foolish virgins—this excellent Brouet, “with the kindness and look of an angel,” according to Loyola's blessed opinion.²

Heresy was dominant in Lombardy. Ochin, the famous reformer of the Franciscans, and ultimately the friend of Calvin, the Reformer, was the leader of its troops. Brouet became its opponent. What was his strategy ? What were his tactics ? He shunned a pitched battle, but vanquished in detail. In familiar conversations, he talked only of forming charitable confraternities for the benefit of the poor. The poor adopted the idea. From this point he advanced to the moral reformation of his co-operators. The example fructified. Then he discussed the Christian doctrine in public : his charities and skilful catechising carried all before him,

impracticable,” says Cretineau “but that martyrdom was of little consequence in their estimation. They had an end in view—they walked blindly as a soldier to victory.” i. p. 141.

¹ Cret. *ib.* 143 ; Bartol. *lib.* 1 ; Orland. *lib.* iii. ² Cret. *ib.* 144 ; Bart. ; Orland.

and Ochin, the heretic, was compelled to retreat. Brouet remained in possession of the field, and fortified his entrenchments.¹

What could resist that Jesuit method? It begins with providing for the immediate wants of hungry and naked humanity. It gains the heart. The mind must soon surrender. The minds of most men are in their stomachs: a hungry stomach is the universal conventicle of rebellion. Then fill the stomach, and the mind will readily be filled with your sentiments—if you choose to imitate the Jesuits.

Fame's trumpet proclaimed renown to the Society of Jesus. The "New Order" was the theme of every tongue: the infant Society was fondled in her cradle. In 1545, five years after the foundation, William Duprat, the bishop of Clermont, and son of the French Chancellor of that name, came forward as the patron of the Society. He founded a college: he lodged the fathers in his palace, which was afterwards converted into a house of the Order: he bequeathed a portion of his fortune to the Society at his death.

Another Frenchman was dazzled by the brilliant image of the first Society. William Postel played the first entertaining episode under the magic wand of the "Spiritual Exercises."

This "universal genius," as he was deemed, and "wonder of the world," as he was called, offered himself to Ignatius. In addition to his immense learning, Postel was the friend of kings: lords of high repute were his courtiers. He was in the prime of life. He came from the court of France. This conquest seemed indeed a precious boon to Ignatius. He received the novice with exultation.

¹ Cret. p. 144; Bartol. lib. i.; Orland. lib. iii.

The result was afflictingly disastrous. The "Spiritual Exercises" began, and proceeded; but failed in the issue: they were to Postel the proximate occasion of extravagant visions. His mind became disordered: he talked of a new coming of Christ, launched into all the errors of Rabbiniism, and established, on judicial astrology, the principles of his faith.

Ignatius could not undo the work of his Exercises: the ghost was raised, but could not be dismissed. Salmeron, Lainez, a cardinal, tried to cure the learned novice. Ignatius tried: but the saint too failed. Postel was expelled, because "he might have become dangerous to the Society." He was imprisoned for his errors: but he never recovered. He died a visionary, after deluging the world with innumerable works, the most extravagant in conception and execution, issuing from "the soul of Adam," which he said had entered into his body. Such was the effect of the "Spiritual Exercises" on Postel. The tendency to monomania may have been in him before; but had it been apparent, he would not have been received by Ignatius: the "Spiritual Exercises" matured his insanity, if they did not produce that "religious excitement" which Esquirol numbers among the causes of insanity.¹ All his fantastic productions were published after his short experience of the Ignatian method.²

¹ Des Maladies Mentales, t. ii, p. 726.

² Some of Postel's notions were curious. He believed that women would one day sway over men; that all sects would be saved by Jesus Christ; and that the greater part of the mysteries of Christianity might be demonstrated by reason. His life is interesting independently of his connection with the Jesuits, and his numerous and singular productions. He died in 1581, at a very advanced age, after enjoying continued good health, which he attributed to his perfect chastity. The Jesuit Desbillons published a work on this remarkable man, and undertakes to prove his predisposition to insanity. *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Guil. Postel.* Liège, 1773.

The expulsion of Postel produced considerable sensation ; it tended to prejudice the Jesuit cause in France. To this remote event is attributed the feud between the French University and the Jesuits, which has lasted three hundred years. But the cause of the contest was far deeper in the human breast ; the University-men were monopolists, and so were the Jesuits. They could not exist together : they battled anon : they were destined to enjoy alternate triumphs. The battle of life includes trade, politics, public instruction, and religion. Selfishness arms the combatants ; corporate interests point the blade ; short-lived triumphs reciprocate encouragement ; the strife will last for ever.

Victory and defeat are the same to the Jesuit-heart in their result, which is continual effort—the resolve to make the most of the opportunity. Under the watchful eye of the Founder, the Society was struggling for the mastery ; her difficulties will soon be forgotten in her triumphant success.

John III. of Portugal opened his kingdom to Ignatius : Rodriguez marched to the post. Funds were provided, a college rose in Coimbra—the splendid beginning of a terrible end ; but triumphs, not disasters, are now before the Jesuits.

Various establishments. Lefevre and Lejay were in Germany, reforming the Catholic clergy, and doing battle to the Reformation. The desperate hatred of both Catholics and Protestants pursued the Jesuits ; they threatened to throw Lejay into the Danube. The Jesuit smiled, saying : “ What do I care if I enter Heaven by water or by land ! ” The stormy Bobadilla soon dashed into the same field vacated by Lefevre, who was hurrying to Spain in order to found the great college and house of the Professed,

at Valladolid. This achievement was to crown Lefevre's devotedness to the cause. The great and the people received him with exultation. His work was done : he sickened : he was dying : at Rome, in the arms of Ignatius, he expired soon after, exhausted by his labours. It was a sore affliction, a heavy loss for the brotherhood. Ignatius found it necessary to devise some consolation. He had, as the reader remembers, seen the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms ;¹ he had seen the Holy Trinity collectively and in detail ; God the Father had placed him with God the Son ; to the beatific vision he had been introduced, in order to behold, after the fashion of Dante, "in a great circle of the blessed, his companion Hozes, who had just died, all shining with light, and beautiful as any of the celestials."² All these things had happened to Ignatius, or he was a most blasphemous and arrant deceiver to invent them, whatever was his motive. And now, to console his disconsolate brethren, he pretends to prophecy : he pretends to foretell what he knew, as any man might know, was about to ensue. Ignatius told the brothers that at the very same time there was a man meditating to join the Society, who would not only retrieve the loss of Lefevre, but surpass his gains ; alluding

Craft of
Ignatius.

¹ There is something very absurd in this vision. To represent Mary with the Infant in her arms is fair enough ; but for a man to say that he *saw* the veritable embodiment is stupendously absurd. It presupposes the continued existence of the Redeemer's *infancy*. Strange, that the absurdity did not strike the inventor, naturally so shrewd ; but the fact is, in these matters, to gain belief, the most improbable, unnatural, impossible concoction, is always the most successful. The present reminds us of the *two* skulls of St. Patrick, exhibited to the tourist in Ireland. Expressing his astonishment at the duplicate, he was told that the small skull was that of the boy Patrick, and the large one that of the full-grown saint.

² Vide con gli occhi dell' anima il Paradiso aperto, e quivi, in un graa cerchio di Beati, il compagno suo luminoso, e bello, come un di loro. *Bart. Vita.* lib. ii. 37.

to the *Duke Francis Borgia of Gandia*, who had been in constant intercourse with the Jesuit Araoz for the last three years at least ; who had corresponded with the prophet ; whose wife had died two months before, leaving him free to follow out his intentions ; who had founded a college for the company at Gandia, which the *same Lefevre* had organised, not omitting to stimulate the duke with the "Spiritual Exercises," as we are expressly told ; in fine, who took the vows, about a year after, with peculiar dispensations by Father Ignatius, as we shall presently witness.¹ And yet we are told by a Jesuit that "God had some years past revealed to Saint Ignatius the designs he had on Don Francisco ; that Ignatius had affirmed the same at a time when he could have no human knowledge of the thing, during the life of the Duke's wife ; that one day, exhibiting a letter which he had received from the Duke to a certain learned and pious doctor, he said : 'Do you think that he who writes to me is to enter our Company, and is even, some day, to be its General ?'² So much for the "very authentic testimony of this prophecy."³ In truth, these are the contrivances which show forth the character of this wily Spaniard throughout his career. These explain the hold he had on the minds and hearts, the credulity and weaknesses of his followers. As devout as Mohammed, but somewhat altered to suit the circumstances of his advent, spiritual power, domination over minds and hearts, constituted the avarice, the concupiscence of his heart. No apparent immorality could disenchant the mind of his beholders. It was necessary that he should not be, or seem to be, as other men ; but

¹ See Verjus, "Vic de S. Franç. de Borg." i. pp. 78, 79, 88, 93, 96.

² Id. *ibid.* p. 101.

³ Id. *ibid.* ; Bartol. Dell Ital. lib. i. p. 99.

it will require a degree of credulity which we may pray never to possess, in order to induce us to hold Ignatius for anything but a wily practiser on the human heart and mind, in order to gratify the peculiar ambition within him—an ambition which, in its workings, is even like unto avarice of pelf, and concupiscence of lust.

The success of his scheme surpassed his expectations. In 1540, when the Company was established, he had but ten followers, vagabonds like himself, houseless, dinnerless. In 1543, there were His method of training. eighty Jesuits, the pope having consented by a Bull to rescind the restriction which limited their number to sixty. Henceforth the word “Infinite” would be engraved on the Company’s portals : all the world might knock and enter : work would be found for all sorts, all manner of aspirants without exception. Within three years after, the Company possessed ten establishments in various parts of the world ; and in 1549, only nine years from the foundation, there were twenty-two establishments and two provinces¹—spiritual-military divisions, each with its chieftain or superior holding on the skirt of Ignatius with one hand, and directing the march and order of battle to pairs, to decades, and hundreds, to whom he had but to say “Do it”—and it was done. Everywhere the Jesuits were in request ; all were eager to receive the new Apostles—the desperate spiritualists who stuck at nothing. And what a method was theirs for imposing on the people extravagant notions of their extraordinary sanctity and perfections : to what trials did they subject the men whom they destined to uphold those notions. Rodriguez in Portugal, in order to test the firmness of a novice, ordered him to walk the streets

¹ Oriand. lib. iv. 1., et lib. ix. 1.

of Coimbra, and to pray in the churches he passed, without a cloak on his shoulders, or cap on his head, but bearing in his hand a hideous and grinning skull. This man had been a noted musician and singer of Coimbra. A crowd of boys pursued the penitent, hooting, hissing, bitterly gibing, and insulting. He performed the task, and was thereupon received into the Society. The same Rodriguez would send forth, in the dead of night, some of his men to perambulate the streets, awfully roaring, "Hell! hell! for those who are guilty of mortal sin." Others he would cover with rags, and send them to beg in every street. Thus he shamed them—*ad incutiendum ruborem valuit plurimum*. Some he dispatched in the evening to the highways and byways to cry out, "Alas! alas! ye sinners desist from sin, since you must die."¹ The public hospitals were places of trial for the novices. To the dwelling of loathsome disease, the taverns of death, Ignatius would send his future Jesuits on trial. The officials were apprised of his object; they carried out his intentions; and treated the penitents worse than servants, abusing their silence and equanimity. They loaded them with labour and insult. They would command them to dig graves, to bury the dead. By night they made them watch beside the sick, cheating their weary eyes of sleep so hardly earned by their daily labours. On their weak and tender shoulders they placed vessels of water, and wood, and other burthens. It was a ceaseless round of occupation on occupation, labour on labour—nay, even all time for prayer and attending at mass was denied them, except on festivals and Sundays. Thus Ignatius would "mortify" even their pious desires! And why? Because he

¹ Orland, lib. v. 52.

wished utterly to break the human will, to make it "indifferent to all things," except thrice-holy Obedience. Whatever was humiliating in menial offices, whatever was horribly nauseous, whatever was difficult and harassing, the servants of the hospital, glad to find substitutes, consigned to the penitent sons of Loyola. They were stinted in food, and the little they got was of the worst description : even dry bread was denied them. If the probationers happened to be priests, which was often the case, they added to these labours the care of pious exhortation to the sick, and the administration of the sacraments. Ignatius would send to inquire into the conduct of the probationers, to suggest the particular inflictions requisite in particular cases—in fine, to discover who was to be retained or expelled from the Company. Nor was this all. Those whom he thought worthy of his band, he continued to "try" in a variety of ways. He would appoint them not only to one office, but to many at the same time ; and thus, not only to preclude idleness in the house, and to compensate for the fewness of numbers, but also that their peculiar qualifications might be apparent from that variety of occupations, and he might see in what each member could excel. Thus it was that many became fit for many purposes, whilst one was occupied and kept in many functions at one and the same time—*ita multi ad multa evadebant idonei, dum unus pluribus occupatur et distinctetur officiis* : nor was there ever wanting a proper agent for any business, all being trained habitually in almost every function, and in every office—*nec unquam deerat, quem cuique negotio præficeret, omnibus omnium pene functionum usu, munerumque jam doctis*. The consequence was, that even those who were naturally

timid and irresolute, became bold and courageous, when applied to various purposes; for as we pine in longing and inactivity, when we are passed over in the appointment of functions, so are our spirits raised when we are selected. Since nature herself—which is sharpened and polished by long practice—does not make us so inert and sluggish as we are rendered by the consciousness of being thought sluggish and reputed lazy. As an instance of this indefatigable activity, the public secretary of the Company, John Polancus, may be mentioned. Whilst he was the depository of the Company's secrets, he had to preach, to fill the offices of catechist and procurator,—nor did these occupations exempt him from performing the functions of cook and bed-maker to the establishment.¹

In distributing his employments, Ignatius always consulted the *inclinations of the employed*. He insisted on their perfect readiness to execute *any command* whatever:² this was the guarantee of *obedience*. He commanded according to their inclinations; this was the secret of *success*.

For the distant employments of the Society, he selected men of great experience; he chose the inexperienced to govern under his own eye at Rome: he would test their ability, and form them himself, whilst he watched their conduct.³

To the laborious missions he sent only men of tried virtue.⁴

¹ "Itaque publicus Societatis scriba, cui omnia committebantur arcana, concionibus, sacrisque lectionibus simul operam dabat; idemque et Christianæ doctrinæ, et Procuratoris Generalis officium administrabat; nec tamen a culinâ, triclinique muneribus erat immunis." *Orland*, lib. vii. 5.

² "En distribuant les emplois, il avait égard aux inclinations de ceux qu'il employait, quoiqu'il voulût que, de leur côté, ils fussent disposés à tout." *Bouhours*, t. ii., p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

He would spare the weak and imperfect; but his indulgence was sometimes intended to strike them with a sense of their weakness, and in order that *shame* should excite them to become more virtuous.¹

If he gave them somewhat difficult employments, it was only when these were desired, and on the condition that should they be overwhelmed, they would frankly declare it.²

Nevertheless, if he fell in with any of those violent and untractable spirits, whose rough temper is invigorated by a robust constitution, he would give them more work than the rest; and if they chanced to get ill, he did not much regret it, thinking that the infirmity of the body would perhaps promote the salvation of the soul.³

In refusing a favour, he gave his reasons, in order that those who were disappointed might be less dissatisfied; and that he who received a favour might be more reserved in repeating his applications. He seldom refused what he could safely grant, and he would sweeten his refusal with words of kindness, so as to ensure affection. His reproofs were seasoned with mild and polite expressions; or, at least, he would so qualify them that they were sharp and severe without being harsh and acrid.⁴ But he was terrible in his wrath. When a certain member blamed one of the Fathers on one occasion for street-preaching, Ignatius, as soon as he heard of the fact, roused him at midnight, turned him into the street, and expelled him from the Company, in spite of his prayers for pardon.⁵

His confidence in his followers was proof against evil-report; he would cherish them all in such a manner that each deemed himself a favourite. He even

¹ Bouhours.² Id.³ Id.⁴ Id.⁵ Bart. 224.

accommodated himself to the dispositions of all to such an extent, that he seemed to transform himself into them entirely, and all with an air so simple, and so natural, that he might be said to have been born as he affected to appear.¹

An anecdote or two will give completeness to the method of Ignatius.

A rich man, who had been received into the Society, had a well-made and costly crucifix, to which he was much attached. The General permitted him to retain it. Meanwhile, the novice made great progress in virtue, and made great efforts to acquire self-control. As soon as the General perceived this, he said: "Very good! Since the brother is weaned not only from the world, but also from himself, we may take from his hands the image of Jesus Christ crucified, whom he has in his heart." The novice was deprived of his crucifix, and he resigned it without demur.²

His method with novices illustrious by birth or learning, was very curious. He treated them at first with great deference; he would call them *Count, Marquis, Doctor*, until they felt ashamed of the titles, and begged to be spared the distinctions. But when he saw that they relished the "maxims of the Gospel," and walked in the way of perfection, there were none whom he mortified more: he took pleasure in lowering a man of rank, in humbling a doctor; and he ceased not until they had forgotten what they were.³

The following is truly remarkable. A young German, of good talent, was inclined to leave the Society. Father Ignatius, who had received him, and thought him adapted for the ministry of the gospel, did all he could

¹ Boulhours.² Id.³ Id.

to retain him ; but the German would listen to nothing, so strong was his temptation. Father Ignatius, pretending to yield, begged the novice to remain yet a few days in the house, and *to live just as he pleased, without submitting to any rule.* He accepted the condition, and lived at first with all the licence of a man who has shaken off the yoke of discipline. Then he was ashamed of the life he led, whilst he thought of his companions, so modest and so regular, and he at length regretted his inconstancy.¹

If he suspected that some secret sin was the cause of the temptation to leave the Society, he would often relate to the novice, very circumstantially, *the excesses of his own worldly life,* so as to inspire him with candour.²

Ignatius evinced the greatest tenderness in the care of the sick ; he would spare nothing for their benefit, and if money was wanting, he sold the furniture to procure succour.

One of the fathers was tormented with melancholy ; Ignatius ordered some of the novices who could play on certain instruments, and could sing well, to give a concert round the atrabilarian's couch.³

He often inflicted very severe penances for slight faults, in order to prevent the growth of abuses ; he opposed strenuously all innovation in the Society, attempted under the name of improvement ; he insisted on the perfection of his men, but checked the inclinations of his disciples at court, when he imagined they were striving too eagerly to recommend themselves to the favour of the great, which, it seems, was already evident in the case of the Jesuit Araos, at the court of

¹ Bouhours.

² Id.

³ Id.

Spain. He seems already to have divined one of the causes which would be the ruin of his Society—the abuse of courtly influence.

Such is his method, as described by his Jesuit-biographers.¹ Perpetually we have before us alleged spiritual ends effected by natural means,—admirably adapted and unerringly precise. At times we fancy we are reading the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, or the Letters of Chesterfield, adapted to the ends of religious perfection. In every page we have proofs of devotion—of *spiritual* passion as contradistinguished from that whose object is sensual gratification. Ignatius applies in the training of his novice, as we have seen, all the means that the most cunning and crafty of men employ to compass their ends. He naturally succeeds—then calls the result “approved virtue,” “weaning from the world, and from self,” “relish for the maxims of the Gospel,” “the way of perfection.”

All is a splendid piece of machinery—a complicated but regular clock-work, kept in good repair, and constantly wound by a powerful motive, perfectly similar, in its effects, to that which actuates the long-nailed, paralysed, long-haired, dust-covered penitent of Brahma in his hideous transformation. What is that *motive*?

Each novice, each Jesuit, must necessarily differ in motive, according to natural disposition: but its intensity will be the same in all—because every natural disposition is studied, and developed, and appealed to by the same objects (under different names) which roused its energies before. The Jesuit system does not transform a man: it does not stifle the passions.

¹ Bouhours. *La Vie de S. Ign.* ii. pp. 23—34.

It changes the objects of his motive : his hopes and fears are kept alive perpetually, by his rules and regulations, and his work in hand. What is good in a man it does not essentially alter : what is bad (according to common opinion) it permits to remain under a different name : it uses both good and bad, indifferently, to compass an end. The German's frolic in the novitiate, (of which we have read), and the trainer's method to extort a confession, are strong facts : the Jesuits themselves relate them : if untrue, they nevertheless attest an approved system, offered for imitation. Such facts as these—the whole life of Ignatius (that *Cyropædia* of the Jesuits, or model of fact and fiction)—evolve the history of the Jesuits more satisfactorily than the violent denunciations of their enemies, or the gushing laudations of their friends.

There are facts in the life of Ignatius which make us wish to believe that his followers have belied him, in representing their founder in other circumstances, which compel us to believe him an arch-deceiver. By his steady, unflinching perseverance, he merited success. His determined efforts necessitated achievement. His ambition was to gain the whole world by the means he invented or concocted. If there was more policy than human benevolence in his nature, it mattered not, as far as mankind are concerned. Thousands were benefited by his head, if not by his heart. He opened a house of refuge for unfortunate women, and called it *Martha* : he opened another for endangered maidens, and called it *Catharine*. Neither of them did he call *Magdalen*. It seems as though he would delicately spare a blush to cheeks that wished to blush no more, by not perpetually reminding

Ignatius
founds houses
of refuge.

them by that usual name, of what they had been, and what they were required to become in return for—board and lodging. Ignatius actually put himself at the head of the penitent troop, and conducted them to the Martha. He knew how the degraded would feel that honour, and what the world would think of it: it was a fine sight to see, however. It is a wretchedly poor Christian sentiment to feel indignantly scornful of woman's degradation, by way of making her conscious of her iniquity. Full many would rise from the awful mire—the dismal torments of their crime—were they not irrevocably branded for ever—unutterably despised,—whilst he who has caused or shared the crime is not the less unworthy of leading to the altar the fairest, the purest, the richest of the land.

Ignatius founded houses for orphans of both sexes. He touched the hearts of Rome: they opened, and enabled him to be the kind father of the Asylum for orphans. fatherless, the hopeless. He had a predecessor in this noble work, whose example was not thrown away on the founder of the Jesuits. A few years before, famine and disease had devastated the north of Italy. Many an orphan there was hopeless and without a helping hand. Castaway they were; but the million eyes of Providence looked sweetly upon them, and stirred the Bethesda of the human heart. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, made a gathering of these cares of Heaven, received them in his own house—nay, he sought them out, even as the man anxiously seeking his hundredth sheep. His sister-in-law scolded him roughly, talked of his ruining himself, beggary for the comfort of strangers, and what not—the usual predictions that selfishness invents to clutch a copper or a

morsel of bread. Girolamo heeded her not. He was a rich man : he had patronised the arts and the trades by collecting costly plate and the handsomest tapestry ; and now he would patronise the fatherless, and see if he would not enjoy himself more thereby. He sold his plate and his tapestry to get these poor little ones food, raiment, and instruction—food and raiment for body and soul together. A good thought, and a right good method, and most likely to succeed—for a sermon with a loaf is infinitely better than a text without one to the famishing poor and the helpless orphan. Girolamo found encouragement—which speaks a good word for that bad age—and so the good man set to work with heart and soul, and multiplied his charity. Sweet it is to see a good thought and a good deed expanding—even as a drop of cold water to a big warm ocean. At Verona, at Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, he established houses of refuge for the same good purpose. Now, good as well as evil will sometimes find followers, imitators,—and friends joined Miani. A congregation was enlisted amongst the regular clergy, and statutes were drawn up, on the model of the Theatines. The main object of the confraternity was extended from the care of orphans to that of unfortunate women. This was the Society *di Somasca*, founded by the good Miani, and approved by Paul III., in the year 1540, when he established the Jesuits. Here was a great enterprise, a noble speculation. Poor, helpless children its object, degraded but repentant woman its care. It succeeded. Earth and Heaven rejoiced, and blessed the good thought of the good Miani. It cost him his plate, and it cost him his pictures : but these were nothing in his estimation as compared to the joy

he felt when the work was done. That is the time to compute your loss and your gains—and not till then. . . . Ignatius followed in the track of the good Miani, and cared for poor women and orphans. Let not the imitation diminish applause; it were better to cheer the deed, and wish for it a thousand imitators. And behold how, even to the present day, young orphan hearts are grateful to Ignatius. These orphan asylums founded by Ignatius, still subsist, now under the direction of old Girolamo's brethren, the Somasques; and every 31st of July, these children go to the church of the *Gèsu*, and in remembrance of him who furnished an asylum for so many generations of orphans, they serve at the masses which are celebrated on the day of his festival.¹

And the children of Israel, too, claimed his attention. Many were converted. Ignatius founded a house for them, and if he did not hold out mercenary motives for their conversion, as is asserted—
Asylum for converted Jews. so desperate was his zeal—he sheltered, he fed, he instructed, or got them instructed, on their becoming Christians. He induced the pope to issue a mandate, by which Jewish children, who would turn Christians contrary to the will of their parents, should have all the wealth of the latter—*imo vero Judæorum liberis ad Christum contra parentum voluntatem venientibus, bona ipsorum omnia integra omnino essent.*² Bouhours, however, says that they "*en heriteraient*"—would inherit:—but this translation suits the times, not the original.³ All money got by usury—the lawful owners being unknown—should fall to these converts; and a tax for the same object was levied on all the synagogues

¹ Cretineau, i. 189.

² Ribaden. lib. iii. c. ix.

³ Vie, i. 301.

of Italy.¹ Hard conditions for the poor Jews decidedly : but the *end* was good. They had only to be “converted :” its premium would be bodily rest and exemption from taxation. That “only” was nothing to Ignatius, but what a bitter thing it was to the children of Judah. In truth, it was better to be a Jew, with taxation, than a “Christian” converted by such a motive. Not for the Jews alone did Ignatius yearn in his world-craving ambition. The Turks, the infidels of every clime—all were invited to enter the house of the catechumens.

In the midst of these labours, Ignatius followed in spirit all the journeyings of his distant disciples and apostles. At a time when epistolary communication was both difficult and slow, and constantly endangered by the shifting scenes of war, Ignatius found the means of frequent correspondence. His craft and skill triumphed over every obstacle. He constantly knew the exact state of the missions, and could console, direct, and cheer his men in their ceaseless labours.² He was the centre of his magic circle, thoughtful, looking into the future : his every Jesuit was a radius thereof, constantly progressing to the brink of the universe. And he was become the magnet, the motive-power of the moral world in the sixteenth century. As he had his apostles scattered over the world, whose achievements his will and approbation promoted, so had he friends in almost every court of Europe, whose good-will he insured by his extraordinary tact and discretion. He corresponded with John III. of Portugal ; with Ferdinand, the king of the Romans ;³

He is himself
the refuge of
kings and
princes.

¹ Ribaden. *ubi supra*.

² Cretineau, i. 184.

³ This title was given to the prince next in succession to the Emperor of

with Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara ; with Albert of Bavaria, and the notorious Philip II. of Spain, when Charles had flung on his shoulders the gloomy destinies of his kingdom. He "directed" Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V. Meanwhile he watched with the same solicitude over the imperfections of the least novice in the Society, as over the greatest interests concerning which the powers of Europe craved counsel.¹ An example will show the man's boundless influence.

A difference arose between the pope and the king of Portugal. The Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the pope's nephew, obtained the cardinal's cap from An example. Paul III., for his friend, Michael de Silva, a Portuguese, then Bishop of Viseu, in Portugal. The king objected to the nomination, on the score of privilege : the subject was to owe that promotion only to his king. De Silva fled from his bishopric to Rome, where he was publicly and right honourably invested with the cherished purple. Vengeance pursued the ambitious fugitive : he was deposed from his bishopric, and deprived of its revenues, by royal mandate. The Vatican consoled the rebellious subject by investing him with power. De Silva was appointed apostolic legate at the court of Charles V. The quarrel was likely to become conspicuous, serious consequences to the Church, in those ticklish times, were apprehended, and the pope "complained to Ignatius,"—such are the Jesuit's words—respecting the conduct of John III. The universal man wrote to Lisbon, where his advice was well received. He negotiated with the pope and the cardinal. He

Germany. It originated with the eldest son of Charlemagne. Napoleon gave it to his son in the cradle.

¹ Cretineau, i. 231.

was successful: a clever compromise ensued. It is very characteristic. The king restored the episcopal revenues to the ex-bishop, and the pope granted the king considerable privileges in favour of the *Inquisition* established in his kingdom.¹ These external occupations never interfered with his domestic duties: the concerns of kings and queens revealed to him the wants of the age. These it was his object to supply by his method. His credit with the princes of the earth was, therefore, of infinite service to the general of a company, whose men should go forth perfectly trained, and instructed in all matters in which they might be called to take a part. The art of government is based on the knowledge of men and measures.

Already had Ignatius been opposed by rancorous enemies; his men were accused of the foulest practices. They were denounced as heretics; they were charged with revealing the secrets of the confessional; but the accusations were not satisfactorily brought home; the accuser, a priest of Rome, was punished with perpetual imprisonment "for certain crimes at last revealed," says the Jesuit biographer.² The opponents of the Jesuits are invariably represented in the worst light by their historians and friends; an imputation, an innuendo, a slur, a stab in the dark, are freely administered. Whatever foundation there may have been for the charges above named, it is impossible to discover; the Jesuits were acquitted by the papal authorities, and the charges are, in their broad announcement, improbable: they are incompatible with the present views of the Society. It had no leisure for crime: its virtue was high in the market: policy,

Foul charges
against the
Jesuits.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 21—23.

² Ribaden. lib. iii. c. xii.

if no higher motive existed, must have made the first Jesuits chaste, discreet, and orthodox. At all events, strong in papal protection, patronised by the potentates of earth, increasing in strength and numbers, in a word, with their glorious prospect, they could bid defiance to their enemies, whose discomfiture they pictured as the judgment of Heaven.



NO ARROW STRIKES THE SUN.¹

¹ Quisquis es, insanis frustrà conatibus uti
Desine : nam *Solem nulla sagitta ferit.*—*Imago*, p. 565.

Vain are your efforts ! Stay your aims begun—
Fools that you are ! *No arrow strikes the Sun.*

BOOK V. OR, SALMERON.

ITS presiding genius, the vigilant Ignatius, beheld the enlarging scope of his enterprise; events aided in its development. The Council of Trent supervised. An appeal had been made by the Protestants, to a General Council of the Christian Church, for a judgment on the doctrines in litigation. Other motives, in other quarters, as the reader is aware, urged the measure on the pope in spite of his reluctance. He feared for his prerogatives. With regard to the Protestants, the decisions of such a council *must* be condemnatory. There could be no compromise in favour of litigants whose cause of contest—whose *protest* had been already judged, already condemned, by the very authority which would preside in a “Council of the Christian Church.” Pope Clement VII. had announced his acquiescence in 1530; he died and left the fulfilment to Paul III.

The Council opened on the 13th of December, 1545, in the cathedral of Trent. It was destined to prolong its sessions, or sittings, for the space of eighteen years. Its object was to define, from the arguments and opinions of the bishops and other

The Council
of Trent.

Its object.

dignitaries, the fathers and doctors of Roman Catholic Christendom, past and present, the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. Its decisions would be final ; anathema would be superadded to every clause against the presuming dissentient.¹ It would be the utter annihilation of heresy, as was fondly imagined. In a speech delivered at the opening of the Council, Bishop Cornelius Musso told the prelates assembled that they "should come into that city like as the worthy and valiant Greek captains went into the wooden horse wherewith Troy was taken by surprise."²

The infant Company of Jesus had flung into the controversial arena wrestlers of nerve and agility—an earnest she had given of the coming epoch, when her arsenal would send forth the armaments which blazed to the world as fire-ships of equivocal destination : only results would prove whether they destroyed the enemies of Rome, or damaged the cause for which they were fighting. Two Jesuits, Lainez and Salmeron, were selected by the pope as theologians of the Holy See ; another Jesuit, Lejay, represented the Cardinal Bishop of Augsberg. This distinguished honour rivetted the eyes of the "religious" world on the young Society, so fondly rocked and cherished by the Father of the Faithful. Lainez and Salmeron were young ; the former numbered but thirty-four years, the latter not quite thirty-one ; but both were old in experience, and that constitutes the maturity of man. Ignatius gave them a preparatory lecture adapted to the occasion, and similar

¹ See the "Canons" following the Sessions. Each begins with "Si quis dixerit—if any one shall say," and ends with "Anathema sit—let him be anathema."—*Il Sacro Conc. di Trento*.

² Peignot, *Predicat.* p. xix. and elsewhere.

Two Jesuits
sent as the
Pope's guns
to the Council.
Ignatius
primed them.

to that which he addressed to the Irish legates. After becomingly insisting on the standard preliminaries, the greater glory of God, the good of the universal church, and due regard for their own spiritual advancement, he proceeds to display his habitual tact and dexterity as follows :—

“ In the Council you must be rather slow than eager to speak—deliberate and charitable in your advice on matters doing, or to be done ; attentive and calm in listening—applying yourself to seize the mind, intention, and desires of the speakers,—so that you may know when to be silent or to speak. In the discussions which shall arise you must bring forward the arguments of the two opinions in debate, so that you may not appear attached to your own judgment. You ought always to manage, according to your ability, so that no one leaves, after your speech, less disposed to peace than he was at first. If the matters which shall be discussed are of a nature to force you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and serenity.

“ Always conclude with these words : Better advice, or every other equivalent, excepted.

“ In fine, be well persuaded of one thing, which is, that befittingly to treat the important questions of the divine and human sciences, it is very advantageous to discourse seated, and calmly, and not hastily, and, as it were, superficially. You must not, therefore, regulate the order and time of the discussion by your leisure and convenience, but take the hour of the party who wishes to confer with you, so that he may more easily advance to the point to which God wishes to lead him In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be published on the house-tops.

By way of penance, enjoin them to pray for the Council. In giving the Exercises speak as you would in public.

“ You will visit the hospitals by turns every four days,—each once a-week, at hours not inconvenient to the sick. You will soothe their afflictions, not only by your words, but by carrying to them, as far as you will be able, some little presents. In fine, if to settle questions, brevity and circumspection are necessary, so to excite piety, we ought, on the contrary, to speak with a certain degree of diffuseness and in a kindly manner.

“ The third point remains, which concerns the care of watching over yourselves, and guarding against the shoals to which you will be exposed. And though you ought never to forget the essential of our Institute, you must nevertheless remember, above all, to preserve the strictest union and most perfect agreement of thoughts and judgment among yourselves. Let no one trust to his own prudence: and, as Claude Lejay will soon join you, you will fix a time every day to confer on what you shall have done during the day, and on what you are to do on the morrow. You will put an end to your discussions either by the vote of the majority, or in any other way. In the morning you will deliberate in common on your line of conduct during the day: moreover, you will examine your consciences twice a-day.

“ You will put these points into execution, at the latest, on the fifth day after your arrival at Trent.”¹

The conclusion of this document reminds us of those haughty mandates of Spain's proud royalty, signed with the whelming YO EL REY—I the king—the sign manual of the kings of Spain. Nothing but this is

¹ Cretineau-Joly, Hist. t. i. p. 252; Orland. v. 23.

wanting to prove how fully Ignatius began to feel his sovereignty. These documents are useful : they are the full-length portrait of Ignatius, displaying, as the documents of Cromwell, that deep shade of religionism which renders more striking the prominent light of policy. And how completely is the general convinced of his power, his influence. He defines the conduct of his men as though he were dangling and adjusting the limbs of a doll. Again, mark the curious injunction that they should make "small presents" to give more effect to their spiritual consolations—one of those trivial facts in appearance, which we overlook, until the knowledge of mankind and the secret of success flash on the mind from the eyes of experience. In truth, seldom have the Jesuits said to the needy—A *pater-noster* you are welcome to, but neither gold nor silver : seldom have they said so, because seldom it was that they could afford to lose an opportunity of making friends. From first to last, I unhesitatingly assert, they have given some real or seeming equivalent to the body, the brain, or the stomach, in return for the soul of their proselytes. "All these things I will give you if ——" said the Jesuits ; and poor humanity, ever fooled, ever wretched, ever guideless, could scarcely be expected to say : "Get thee behind me, Satan." The Jesuits made them happy, comfortable in body and soul, at least they thought so ; and men were justified in being grateful to their benefactors, as long as they believed them such—until they discovered the tail of the devil somewhere protruding.

The general's instructions were fulfilled to the letter. Surrounded by princes, ambassadors, prelates, and abbots—all in gorgeous habiliments, with prodigal display,

each striving to maintain the reputation of unapproachable magnificence—the three Jesuits applied themselves to more important matters, as the case required—to the work in hand. They preached, they heard confessions, and catechised. They begged alms, and distributed it to the poor. They gave their services to the hospitals. By these offices of charity they prepared the way for expressing their opinions with effect and consistent dignity; and conciliated to themselves among all ranks the greatest authority and favour.¹ Faithful to the letter of their vow, they were wretchedly dressed; the pope's theologians appeared in rags. Imagine the effect in that proud assembly. They inspired contempt in many, and struck horror into the Spaniards—*erant plerisque despectui, et ipsis quodammodo Hispanis horri.* Display and proud magnificence were the simplicity of God's ministers. Outward pomp was the representative of inward humility. Had Paul the tent-maker lived,² he might have made a canopy for some great bishop, and stood outside, to hear his Epistles "wrested," as Peter complains (2 Peter, iii. 16), for the sake of orthodoxy in pomp triumphant. And he would have seen how his successors, the magnificent dignitaries of the church, took umbrage at the rags of long-headed, deep-witted Jesuits, who knew what they were about. The Jesuits could not be endured in their selected, if not select accoutrement. The delicacy of episcopal pride turned up its nose, fairly revolted at wisdom in rags. The Jesuits were quite "indifferent" to the thing: *they* could sacrifice to the Graces as well as to expediency, and so they made themselves decent,

¹ "His videlicet caritatis officiis certam sibi viam, &c."—*Orland.* vi. 22.

² See Acts, xviii. 3.

corporibus suis est adhibitus cultus, and put on new dresses presented to them by one of the cardinals. Thus they acquired dignity in the Holy Council of Trent—*quo majore cum dignitate prodirent*.¹

Layneze and Salmeron at once took a high position in the Council. Ignatius had commanded them never to pledge themselves to an opinion verging on innovation: they stood forward the champions of rigid orthodoxy. The thorny, interminable doctrine of Justification mystified the first sittings. Seripando, the general of the Augustines, attempted a modification of the papal dogma, distinguishing between Justification indwelling and inherent, and Justification applied and imparted—asserting the latter alone to be the Christian's confidence—man's righteousness being only inchoate, imperfect, full of deficiencies.² The Jesuits opposed the Augustines with all their might. Layneze was engaged to analyse the whole subject. With prodigious labour he produced a volume of heads and arguments.³ The majority gave into his decisions: his commentary was enrolled in the acts of the Council; and he was thenceforward appointed to sift in like manner all the topics in discussion.

Layneze makes a grand display of learning.

Vast must have been the labours of this Jesuit. On one occasion, with characteristic audacity, Layneze exclaimed:

“Since the dogmas of the Faith cannot be defined but according to the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, I shall not cite in defence of my opinion, any text, either of Father or Doctor of the Church, without having read his *entire work*—without extracting every passage,

¹ Orland, vi. 23; Crotineau, i. 256.

² See Ranke, b. ii., for an account of the matter, and a curious note to the above; also Sarpi and Pallavicino in their antagonist histories.

³ Orland, vi. 27; Crotineau, *ubi supra*.

proving to demonstration the real opinion of the author."

This was but the prelude to an overwhelming display. On that very day was mooted the subject of the Eucharist. In the midst of the most profound silence, made deeper than usual by the general curiosity produced by his promise, and the desire to entrap a Jesuit, Laynez spoke, and brought forward the opinions of *six-and-thirty* Fathers, or Doctors of the Church! Among the rest he cited Alphonso Tostat, whose writings were so voluminous, that, it is said, the whole life of a man would not suffice for their perusal.¹ Laynez had, however, studied them so well, and so perfectly seized their meaning, that the theologians were forced to accept his conclusions, deduced by a method of discussion so extraordinary, at a time when the art of printing had not multiplied books and scattered manuscripts. Laynez established his fame, but ruined his health : the result of his efforts was a fever, which compelled him to absent himself from the Council. This casualty proved the estimation in which he was held. The Council suspended its sittings until his recovery. At least, so the Jesuits assure us.² No greater honour could be reflected on the Society than that one of her members should be deemed absolutely necessary to the General Council of the Christian Church. Meanwhile, urged by the solicitations of the Catholics, Charles V. declared war against the Protestants, who refused to acknowledge the

¹ He was a Spaniard, Doctor of Salamanca and Bishop of Avila, A.D. 1400---1454. An edition of his works, published at Cologne, 1642, extends to seventeen volumes in *folio*. Bellarmine called him "the world's wonder." His epitaph was—

"Ille stupor mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

"Wonder of earth, all man *can* know he scanned."

² Orland. xi. 38 ; Cretineau, *ubi suprâ*.

authority of the Council. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and William, Landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, marched against the imperial forces, with an army of more than eighty thousand men. The city of Trent was menaced : the Council was suspended. At its re-opening we shall again witness the triumphs of Laynez. Other heroes, other exploits of the Jesuits have arrested the world's admiration.

We have beheld the first struggles and the first triumphs of the Society. Man, grateful man, but ever alive to what he conceives his "best interests," was eager to reward his masters or his servants—for the Jesuits were ready to be either, as circumstances permitted or expediency required. Man offered all he had to give : the Jesuits insisted on choosing for themselves. The bishopric of Trieste fell vacant. The "honour" was offered to a Jesuit. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had the nomination : he cast his eyes on the Jesuit Lejay. A famous man was this Lejay. At Ratisbon, at Ingolstadt, at Nuremberg, he had scattered terror in the camp of the heretics, whence he had snatched many a convert to recruit the papal army. Trieste, situated on the very brink of the heretic land—Luther's Germany—could not have a bishop too Catholic nor too vigilant. Such a warrior of the Faith would be a Samson against the Philistines of Protestantism—doing battle for the chosen people. Thence he could point his left, *heart-wise*, to Rome aslant the Adriatic, whilst his right could "shake a dreadful dart" against Tyrol and the hills beyond. Lejay must be the man—so the Catholic cause seemed to demand. Such a champion was imperatively required. The *Church*—so dear to Father Ignatius and Paul III.

Lejay refuses to be made a bishop—why?

—seemed to crave the boon of the Jesuit-bishop—seemed to crave it wringing her hands. The Jesuit declined the honour, notwithstanding. His general declined it: it was contrary to the Constitutions of the Society: it was manifestly inexpedient to the Company. For, should the precedent be once established, the Society might, in the process of time, be deprived of her best men, her most brilliant members. It would be the death of the Society.¹ Ignatius reminded the king, in a determined letter, that the Company had been formed with but one object fixed in the mind of each member, namely, to scour every region of the globe at the nod of the pope, in behalf of the Catholic faith. The pope had approved their efforts, nay God himself had done so. Let him look at the results of their enterprise. To remain as they were was a guarantee to the duration of their Company: to permit an innovation in the original conception would be its ruin. Hence he might clearly see what a plague, what a pest it would be if the Company undertook to make bishops—*quanta nobis pestis Episcopalibus recipiendis impendat.*² With such and similar arguments, Ignatius got rid of the disastrous honour, which he begged to decline; and gave occasion to the sarcastic pope to exclaim: “This is the first time that a prince has heard such a request”³—thus keenly insinuating, perhaps for all times and churches, a rebuke to ecclesiastical ambition. But Ignatius knew what he was about. A Jesuit was to march from city to city, from province to province, was to fly from pole to pole at the first sign of Christ’s vicar: such was the founder’s

¹ “Quam ea res Societati noxia, quamque periculosa foret.”—*Orland.* vi. 33.

² *Orland.* vi. 34. There are fifteen reasons discovered by Orlandinus why the Society should eschew dignities. *Loc. cit.*

³ *Cretineau*, i. 281.

idea,¹ and we may add, *he* was perfectly right in believing that the Society best deserved her best men—particularly in the hour of her struggle for the palm. Hereafter she would give from her superabundance—*when expedient*. In the following year, 1547, Bobadilla, the bolt of controversy, refused a similar honour—the bishopric of Trent.

Bobadilla was the indefatigable opponent of Protestantism in Germany. He accompanied the pope's nuncio to the court of Charles V. Controversy ran high: all Germany was intent on the "religious" question. There was a conference at Ratisbon: Bobadilla rushed to the encounter. It availed little. Nothing could be decided where all was at stake, and nothing would be conceded on either side. The Jesuit pleased the Catholics, and Charles resolved, in the same conventicle, "to silence with the relentless sword the iron mouth of the Protestants, which neither imperial majesty nor the holy authority of the council could break or stop—*ferreum os Protestantium pertinaci ferro subigere*, and to crush with severity those whom he could not bend by *his* clemency. The emperor's indignant energies were stimulated by the salient earnestness of the pope, who, resolved to spare neither expense nor anxiety in crushing those plagues,

Charles V.'s
Interim, and
the Jesuit
Bobadilla.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 47. This Jesuit puts also the following blast in the mouth of Ignatius on this occasion, addressed to the pope, "whilst recalling his ancient military notions—*en rappelant ses anciennes idées de guerre*:"—"I consider all the other religious societies as squadrons of soldiers who remain at the post assigned by honour; who keep their ranks, who front the enemy, always preserving the same order of battle and the same method of fighting; but as for ourselves, we are scouts who, in alarms, in surprises by night and by day, ought to be ever ready to conquer or die; we ought to attack, to defend according to circumstances,—to throw ourselves on every point, and keep the enemy everywhere in watch."—*Bouhours*, ii. 46.

had sent a large army, under his grandsons Octavius and Alexander Farnese, to join the imperial forces. So far the Jesuit historians; but they omit to state that the same crafty pope *recalled* those troops at the very moment when they were most needed, and left the emperor "in the lurch."¹ Thus, to suit his own purposes, he virtually became an ally of the Protestant cause. The interests of Catholicism were in his *head*—his own interests, and those of his family, were in his *heart*. The emperor's increasing success might spread encroachment to the papal throne: private interests decided the pope's neutrality on that remarkable occasion. But the emperor's good fortune baffled the wily pontiff. The victory of Muhlberg consoled the emperor for the pope's treachery. The pope's grandson did not share the laurels of Orthodoxy: but the son of Loyola—the Jesuit Bobadilla—in the foremost ranks fell wounded in the head. The thickness of his head-gear broke the violence of the blow, which had otherwise been mortal.² A few days after the battle, he preached at Passau. In a Protestant city the bold Jesuit announced a solemn thanksgiving to the "God of Armies" for the victory of the Catholic cause. Then through Germany he hurried,

¹ See Ranke, p. 66, and Robertson, Charles V. iii. 112, for the pope's political reasons. Caepifigue also omits the fact—*La Ref. et la Ligne*, 146. So, also, Orlandinus, Cretineau, &c. Amongst the prodigies related as occurring during the battle, the Spaniards said that "the sun stood still, as at the command of Joshua." You will find a most amusing discussion, and refutation of these prodigies by the Jesuit Maimbourg, in his "*Histoire du Lutheranisme*," ii. p. 55. The Jesuits are great sceptics in other people's inventions, probably because they diminish the wonder of their own.

² Bobadilla's post was to attend the wounded; but the ardent Jesuit would mingle in the fray, *quippe res gerebatur ardens*, with his exhortations, and promises of victory. The day before the battle of Muhlberg, or Mulhausen, he was in the foremost ranks at the crossing of the Elbe. Boucher, in his "dramatic" history of the Jesuits, shows us Bobadilla mounted on a splendid charger, crucifix in hand, and dashing over the dying and the dead.

preaching controversy as he went. His flaming eloquence was heard at Augsburg, Cologne, and Louvain, where flourished a college of the Company, founded by Lefevre. At length, proud in unconquerable zeal, Bobadilla reached the imperial court, to be taken aghast by the compromising *Interim*, just published by the emperor. *Interim* means *meanwhile*, and it was the name given to a theological treatise, whose *temporary* regulations, pending the final decisions of the Great Council, were intended by the framers, Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, as a pacification sanctioned by the emperor, a healing to the religious mind of Germany, wounded, torn, ulcerated by its interminable polemical discussions.¹ The pope's late

¹ Luther was no more : he died in 1546. Orlandinus, the Jesuit, celebrates the reformer's death with horrible intensity. He says : " But whilst the Emperor, by the terror of arms, and the Pope by the General Council, are defending the ancient religion from the fury of the heretics, God as it were joining with them in a certain conspiracy, snatched from among men that portent of the universe, the sower of all evils, the anti-christ of these times. I am ashamed to call this infernal monster by his name *piget infernum hoc monstrum suo nomine nominare*. That renegade of the Catholic religion, I say, that deserter of the cloister, renewer of all heresies, that detestation of God and men, in the twenty second year of his falling off, after having supped sumptuously and splendidly, and sported with his jests as usual, on that very night, gripped and strangled by a sudden malady, vomited forth his most ungodly soul, a most savoury victim for Satan, who delights in such dishes, wherewith he satiates his maw—*repentino morbo correptus, jugulatusque sceleratissimam animam vomuit, gratissimam Satanae hostiam, qui se talibus oblectat cæcis, unde ejus saturetur ingluvies*. At this announcement, the Catholic religion might have taken breath, being relieved of such a weight ; all good men, all the orthodox, might celebrate a holiday—*diem festum agere*—if he had utterly perished ; but the venomous chieftain left behind his viper-progeny over the whole earth, to the huge detriment of the Catholic interest—*rei catholice labe*—and he lives still in his seed, not less destructive to the human race, now that he is dead, than when he was alive. For where do not exist the impressed footmarks of his enormous crimes ? We behold, with mighty grief, altars overturned, cloisters demolished, all that is sacred polluted ; in fine, the uttermost devastation left by him in the widest kingdoms of Europe, and its provinces. WHEREFORE, our men must work the more vigorously, in order to kill and extinguish, as much as in them lies, all the disseminators of this fury, by throwing together the defences of the most excellent sanctity and doctrine ; and let them

conduct towards the emperor threw the whole burthen of the war on the emperor's shoulders : he was anxious to get rid of it, and was probably disgusted with the thought that he had been fighting for a cause which the wily pope made a convenience. Whatever were his motives in putting forth the *Interim*, it had the usual effect of toleration among men utterly maddened by the strong drinks of their "religious" opinions. In the estimation of the Catholics its concessions went too far : in the opinion of the Protestants it did not concede enough. In fact, all the essential doctrines and rites of Catholics seemed to be retained, but softly expressed, or set off with scriptural phrase, and muzzled by ambiguity. Certainly it permitted priests who had married, to retain their wives, and it indulged communion in both kinds, where the practice was established—and all only for a time, *until* the voice of the Great Council should boom like the last angel unto judgment. It was no finality—nothing to depend upon—nothing that you could sleep on for ever, and could leave for your children to appeal to, as a *Magna Charta* of freedom, civil and religious. It was only a temporary concession—a mere musty morsel flung to a ravenous mastiff until he can be gagged completely. Protestants and Catholics, then, inveighed against the *Interim* : the former as against a deception, the latter as a cowardly concession. At Rome, by Paul III., it was denounced as a deed of rashness in the emperor, who was likened unto Uzzah, whose unhallowed hand touched the Ark of the Lord. Papal and Church pride was shocked to think that the

be entirely persuaded that, with refractory men, and the enemies of the Catholic name, they have undertaken an eternal war—*sempiternum bellum sibi esse susceptum.*—Lib. vi. 59. It is only fair to state that the Jesuit Maimbourg does not "go to these extremes" on Luther's exit, i. 299.

emperor should dare to meddle with articles of faith and modes of worship. The pope had an emissary near the emperor—a man, a Jesuit, a host in himself, left behind when the pope's troops and grandsons deserted the emperor. Bobadilla's zeal knew no bounds. He attacked the Interim with his pen, and poured against it the flood of his eloquence. He struck hard, even in the imperial presence: *he* feared no man. Only one thing could be wisely done by the emperor at this bravado. He did *not* throw him into prison, starve, and stretch him on the rack, in order to make a martyr of an insolent, hot-headed, intolerant Jesuit, for universal admiration and worship. He quietly drove him out of court, and ordered him to leave the kingdom without a moment's delay. Proud of his banishment—he probably *expected* a more brilliant penalty—the Jesuit hastened to Rome, in hopes of a general glorification. What was his surprise to find a frown on the face of his general, Ignatius, who closed the door upon him, yea, shut him out from the House of the Professed, and turned the hero on the street “with his martial cloak around him.” Soon, however, he understood the whole matter, when the pope caressed him with “tacit approbation,” and when his astute general spoke loudly of the “Majesty of Kings,” but cleverly threw in a distinction that the hero “had at least sinned *formally*,” leaving the casuist to discover, if he could, the meaning. On the other hand, however, Ignatius was really anxious to give some little satisfaction to the emperor, who evidently had it in his power to injure not only the Society, but even the popedom—Rome herself—as had chanced before. Hence the seeming disgrace of the really triumphant Bobadilla. The emperor remained hostile to the Company: but it

was still a fine occasion for such a display, and the Jesuits have never lost such an opportunity to captivate the minds of men. On one occasion, when the Marquis d'Aguilar, in conversation with Ignatius, alluded to the reports against the new Society, and told him that he himself was suspected of concealing great ambition under a modest exterior, and that public rumour alleged a cardinal's cap or a mitre as the motive of his journey to Rome, Ignatius made no reply, but a sign of the cross: then, "as if suddenly inspired by God, he made a vow before the Marquis to accept no Church dignity unless compelled under penalty of sin, by the pope, and he repeated the vow some time after, in the presence of a cardinal."¹ The man who loses not an opportunity is only second to him who can make one.

Only seven years had elapsed since the foundation of the Society: they had sufficed to render her name famous among men; blessed by the majority of the Catholics, and detested by the Protestants. We have witnessed the exploits of her light troops in their rapid evolutions. In the defence of the faith she had hitherto battled with success. At the court of princes she was in favour. Priests and doctors of universities were crowding to her novitiates. Her arsenals, her numerous and flourishing colleges in many kingdoms, were filled with men skilfully, though bitterly trained, ready, eager for work. One thing was hitherto wanting, great in itself, but greater still in its endless consequences to the Company and to men—I allude to the *public instruction of youth*. On this founda-

The Jesuits
begin public
instruction.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 47. For all the facts of this section, see Orland. vi. 53, *et seq.*: ib. viii. 35; Cretineau, i. 284, *et seq.*: Bouhours, ii. 68, *et seq.*: Maimbourg, ii. 97, *et seq.*: Robertson, Charles V. iii. 172; Mosheim, ii., &c. &c.

tion the Jesuits will build their fortress of influence. Youth will be trained to love, to admire their teachers, and the Company to which these teachers belong ; for the Jesuit method will be one of fascination—a heart-penetrating, bewitching inculcation—full of sweets and flowers, natural and artificial—all that the young love dearly, and parents love to see ; all that all men would wish to achieve for the sake of partisan triumph, if not for the love of God and humanity. The standing motto—the ceaseless effort of the Jesuits will be “to conciliate the parents of their pupils to the Company,” and when this is accomplished, they will say : “It is good—it is well—parentes discipulorum nostrorum conciliare Societati :”¹ for the result hoped for, from all the works of charity which the Jesuits will perform, shall be an engulfing monopoly—“the result will be, that all will gladly run to us—hoc enim faceret, ut omnes ad nos libenter concurrerent.”² The rising generation will thus be in her interest ; and, therefore, in process of time, the risen generation will not be against her, but will rather fill her schools with another, and so on for ever ; as Ignatius prophesied, the Company will flourish, influence generating influence, as experience testifies, and as flies swarm in the shambles ; for *admiration*—look to it ye lions of a day—for admiration is a matter of *fashion*, as well as a lady’s habiliments. In the glorious day of Jesuit monopoly, let those beware who attempt to compete with the party. In all other hands white *must* be black, and it will be “godless” to give education—“godless” to teach a gulled nation, except

¹ Instruct. iv. 3.

² Ibid. Observe, I do not quote from the *Monita Secreta*, or Secret Instructions of the Jesuits, but a part of the *Institute*, edited by the General Aquaviva, and resolved in the Fifth Congregation.

by the Jesuits.¹ In possession of this immense fulcrum—public instruction according to the Jesuit method—should the Society ever lose her lever, it will prove, perhaps, that there is some radical defect, or positive error, in the conduct of her members, or their inculcations, or their system in general. It may turn out to be an abuse, say a partial abuse of what is good; if so, then there may be a hope that dispassionate men will acknowledge, adopt, and rejoice at, the discovery. The opportunity to commence public instruction was vouchsafed to the Jesuits in 1546. It was an interesting beginning.

The Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, gave Ignatius the opportunity to enter upon an enterprise so useful, and just then the subject of his thoughts.²

Gandia is a city in the south-east of Spain, in sunny Valencia. It looks upon the Midland Sea, and only Murcia separates it from Grenada, its Alhambra,—the Generaliffe,—its orange groves, crystal fountains, transparent pools, and memories of the past, those deathless thoughts of the wretched. The Duke of Gandia had a number of baptised Moors on his estates. They had been baptised, but the sacred water was no Lethe to *them*. They still thought of Grenada, its cruel fall, and sighed in their hearts: "Praise be to God! There is no God but one, and Mohammed is his prophet; and there is no power but from God."³

¹ I quote from the biting author of "Facts and Figures," and cannot avoid the pleasure of repeating his most vigorous stanza in full:—

" 'Tis 'godless' to give education,—
 'Tis 'godless' to teach a gulled nation,—
 But 'GODLIKE,' oh call it, to shoulder your wallet,
 Swelling huge in this hour of starvation!"—p. 17.

² Bouhours, ii. 48.

³ An inscription on one of the pillars of the Gate of Judgment, at the entrance to the Allambra.—*Jacob's South of Spain*.

The greater part of these Moors had not cordially renounced Mohammedanism; the Duke of Gandia wished to insure the salvation of their children, the young *Moriscoes*.¹ For this purpose education was thought necessary, and the Jesuits were invited to commence operations. The children of all his vassals should reap the benefit. The first public college of the Society in Europe arose in the city of Gandia. The Duke applied to Ignatius; Lefevre, then at Valladolid, was ordered to transact the preliminaries, according to the general's views and intentions, and forthwith professors of five or six languages, learned men all, and selected by the general himself, took possession of the benches, and opened the classes, each with a Latin harangue before the duke and all his court.²

The first idea (the duke's) was to instruct the children of the Moors and those of his vassals, in the first elements. For this excellent purpose, huge professors of six languages, with Latin harangues, were surely not necessary; but they *were* necessary for the expanded idea (Ignatius's), which arose therefrom like the great black column from the sea (in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments"), advancing, winding about, and cleaving the waters before it—then appearing what it was, a giant of prodigious stature,—and from the great glass box on his head (shut with locks of fine steel) leading forth a lady magnificently apparelled, of majestic stature, and a complete beauty—the lady of an hundred gallants, whose hundred token-rings she complacently dangled. The "first elements" were soon interpreted into "poetry,

¹ The name given to the Moors who remained in Spain after its restoration, and to their descendants, till expelled by Philip III., 1604. See, for an interesting account of this cruel expulsion, *History of Spain and Portugal*, "Library of Useful Knowledge," p. 141, *et seq.*

² Bouhours, ii.

rhetoric, philosophy, and theology ;” and by the duke’s application to the pope and the emperor, the college was raised to an university—the rival of Alcala and Salamanca, with all their privileges, rights, and immunities. The professors were to adopt the best methods that could be devised, and in each faculty the solidest authors. Ignatius (who seems to have learnt enough by this time to become critical) appointed Aristotle for philosophy, and Saint Thomas in divinity. He recommended the masters vigorously to cultivate the memory in those pupils whose judgment was unformed ; to accustom them betimes to a good pronounciation in reciting what they committed to memory ; to rouse the youthful minds by continual disputations, in stimulating them with emulation, and sometimes pitting the most advanced and the cleverest with those who were less so, in order to animate some by glory, and others by shame.¹

The idle and licentious were to be punished, but the masters themselves were not to whip the boys. This prohibition would preserve their religious decorum, and prevent anger in the correction. There was to be a public corrector : if one could not be had, some means of castigation must be devised—either administered by one of the scholars themselves, or in some other convenient manner.²

The most refractory or scandalous scholars were to be expelled not only from the schools, but even from the very city, or imprisoned. Royal powers to that effect

¹ “ Qu’on éveillât ces jeunes esprits par des disputes continuelles, en les piquant d’émulation, et opposant quelquefois les plus avancés et les plus capables à ceux qui le seraient moins, pour animer les uns par la gloire, et les autres par la honte.” —*Bouhours*, ii. 51.

² Bouhours, the Jesuit, omits the last suggestions, which are given in the Constitutions, Part iv., c. 7, § 2, & D.

were to be obtained.¹ Such was the method by which the Jesuits proposed to cut admirable statues out of the roughest rock, the hardest marble.



THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH.²

The morals of youth were formed and promoted as follows :—Ignatius expressly forbade any Latin or Greek classic to be read, without being expurgated of its impurities :³ the pupils were to hear mass daily, and go

¹ “Si scholasticus aliquis rebellis, vel sic offenculi causa aliis esset, ut non solum scholiis eum, sed etiam civitate expelli, vel in carcerem conjici conveniret,” &c.—*Const.*, part iv., c. xi. B.

² Πλάττετε τρισμάκαρες, καὶ γλάπτετε, ὃ νοογλύπται,
Ἐν τοῖσιν κεκρύβη θαύματα πλεῖστα πόνοισ.—*Imago*, p. 468.

Then carve on, and fashion, O thrice-happy sculptors of mind,—
In labours where thousands of wonders lie hid and confined.

³ If they cannot be thoroughly expurgated, such as “Tercence,” they were not to be read at all. Everybody knows what Byron said of the Delphin Classics with the objectionable passages at the end ; but an expurgated book, in the true

to confession every month (communion would, of course, depend upon their state of conscience).¹ At the commencement of class-hours, all should recite a devout prayer, to beg the grace of profiting by their studies.² Once a week they should be catechised in the doctrines of faith, and the principles of morality. In addition to this, the masters were to take every opportunity, in and out of class, to converse familiarly with their pupils on religious matters.³ The Jesuits represent the formal

sense, is one of the queerest looking things imaginable—lapped, blotted, scratched, and pasted over—giving the idea of a leper with his sores. Think of “Lemprière’s Classical Dictionary” expurgated for the use of Catholic students! Every page, every column disfigured with the plague-spots—heathen gods crippled in their wickedness, and goddesses cut short in their evil ways—heroes made decent by black ink, and kings justified by a penknife. These books are temptations to the young mind: its curiosity yearns to read what is denied. I do not speak from my own experience only. The look, the manner, a striking remark of a master on such passages, would obviate all the danger which curiosity prolongs in their absence. It has been thought that Christian works might be substituted for the classics—and La Croze accused Hardouin and the Jesuits of the intention—but the preference will always be given to the beautiful lepers of paganism. Jouvençy the Jesuit, substituted passages for those expunged in Horace—for instance, Book i. Ode xxii., instead of the two last lines—

“ Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,”

he printed—

“ Sola me virtus dabit usque tutum,
Sola beatum.”

¹ A Catholic must go to confession, but it is for the priest to judge whether he is in a fit state to receive absolution, which is the necessary preliminary to communion. A state of habitual mortal sin is the usual impediment.

² School hours conclude also with a prayer, preceded by an anthem to the Virgin. Every theme, translation, or other class-paper, is headed “To the greater glory of God,” in the respective languages, and at the end, “Praise God always.” All these regulations were in operation at St. Cuthbert’s college, where I studied about six years. It is *not* a Jesuit college, as some have asserted: but a Catholic secular college, organised on the Jesuit system of education. The history of this place is a monument of determined perseverance. The founder (Bishop Gibson) began to build with fourteen pounds only, and in about thirty years after the first stone was laid, the college was flourishing and funded. Like Stonyhurst, it is now affiliated to the London University.

³ Bouhours and Coust., part iv.

devotion which resulted from their moral training by the following image of

A MONGREL EARNING HIS SUPPER.¹



Herein, at length, is the mighty hope fulfilled! The Society has now the means of selecting from the infinite varieties of human character, intellect, external appearance, and dispositions—from the youth of all ranks—from the peasant up to the noble—vigorous, talented, handsome recruits, for self-expansion and faith-propagation.

“For as much,” say the Constitutions, “as good and learned men are comparatively but few,—and most of these are of an age to look for rest from their labours,—we conceive it to be extremely difficult to increase our Society by the accession of such men, seeing how great labours and self-denial its Institute

¹ “Nec capit ille cibum, dominas nisi supplice gestu
Et sibi munificas hæserit ante manus.”—*Imago*, p. 478.

“Nor shall he have his supper, till
He sits and prays against his will.”

requires. Wherefore all we, who desired its preservation and increase, for the greater praise and service of our Lord God, thought fit to pursue a different course, namely, to admit youths of a promising character and abilities, who are likely to become good and learned men, fit to cultivate the vineyard of Christ our Lord : also to admit colleges upon the terms set forth in the Apostolic letters, both in universities and elsewhere ; and if in the universities, whether they be placed under the charge of the Society, or not.”¹

Then, the indispensable “Spiritual Exercises” will fulfil their object—will enable the students to choose *a state of life*—for, “it may be truly said, that our Society has by *this* instrumentality, for the most part, come together from the beginning, and subsequently increased.”²

“*Licite moveri*,³ it is lawful to be influenced” to enter the Society, though heaven must confirm the impulse : here, then, is the field open : vigorous, talented, handsome youths stand in array—*licite moveri*—they may be influenced, *et cum merito*, and there’s merit in the thing.

Such was the beginning of Jesuit academical instruction. The University of Gandia was founded in 1546. Barcelona, Valencia, and Alcalá, soon had colleges of the Society. Some were getting rich ; but others were poor, by the number of pupils which increased disproportionately to the revenues.⁴ Of course the Jesuits taught gratuitously.

¹ Const., part iv. Procem. Dec. A.

² Direct. Exerc. Spir. Procem. § 7 :—“ut verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maximè medio et initio coaluisse, et postea incrementum accepisse.”

³ xam. Gen. c. iii. § 14. “Si affirmet se fuisse motum” [scil. à quopiam de Societate], quamvis licite et cum merito moveri potuisset, ad majorem tamen, &c. . . . Creatori et Domino suo se totum commendat, perinde ac,” &c.

⁴ Cretineau, i. 283.

We shall soon see the effects of these extensive operations ; once begun, their onward march was imperative ; and if jealousy envenomed the hearts of rival establishments, if it was but natural that the locust-like spread of the Jesuits should frighten the old established dignitaries of the Preceptorate, it is certain that the Jesuits cared little for their fright and jealousy. The Society's motto, " For the greater glory of God," the favour of the pope, the love of pupils, the admiration of parents, the support of kings and nobles, and, above all, their own determined energies, pushed the Jesuits onwards in their career, with more blessings than maledictions, consoled and rewarded for their labours, culling from each event the idea of another, which they soon produced. Le Sage observes that the virtues and the vices of men in authority do not escape the notice of the public ;¹ of this the Jesuits were always aware ; and endeavoured to provide against the rumour of vice by the scrupulous integrity of their men in authority, and the primitive fervour of their rules and regulations. The greatest discretion was becoming necessary to defend the characteristic boldness of the young Society ; but Ignatius was its vigilant guardian, always able to devise an escape from peril, to modify disaster, and, above all, to avoid unnecessary hazard in the Society's unlimited avocations, which were now becoming somewhat multitudinous.

A pious lady is on her way to Rome. The reader remembers the good Isabella Rosello, who was so kind to Ignatius in his troublous times at Barcelona. Female
Jesuits.
No stranger to the fame of her protegé was
Isabella. Woman remembers more intensely those whom

¹ *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*, t. ii. p. 23.

she has favoured or befriended than those who have claims on her own gratitude; and to see the whole world honouring what she has honoured, loving what she has loved,—that is her soul's delight.

The holy man's exhortations, when he dwelt where she lodged him,¹ had fructified in his absence; she brings the fruit to the sower. She has resolved "to leave the world, and to live according to the evangelical counsels under the obedience of the Society."² *Obedient women! Obedient after the Jesuit fashion!*

This was certainly a fine idea. Female Jesuits! What a vista opens to the imagination at this idea! And Isabella was in earnest too, for she had gained two companions, "Roman ladies, very virtuous," and had even "obtained the pope's permission for herself and for her companions to embrace that kind of life."³

"The Puritans owed much of their success to female agency," says Bishop Lavington,⁴ "and the influence of the ladies is equally recognised at the present day. The result of experience has satisfactorily proved that the executive duties of Bible Associations are *best conducted by FEMALES*. Their example is powerfully interesting, and their exertions in this good cause have already been productive of a happy effect."⁵

But Father Ignatius was not to be entangled in this silken net; it promised nothing but confusion to the man of steady order and plain cause and effect. Brilliant as the scheme appeared at first sight, and so likely to be snatched up by your speculators—men of mere

¹ Bouhours, i. 126. "Où apparemment Isabelle Rosel l'avait mis."

² Id. ii. 52.

³ Id. ii. 62, *et seq.*

⁴ Methodists and Papists compared, Introd. sec. 29.

⁵ The Southwark Report, &c., pp. 55—67, quoted by the *Bishop*: the italics and capitals are *his*.

desire without judgment—it did not suit the man of the Constitutions.

Nevertheless, he was grateful to his benefactress, and the small number of these would-be Jesuit-nuns induced him to take care of them.¹

“Ladies, devout by profession,” says the Jesuit Bouhours, “do not always follow the advice given them, or do not yield in all things to the views of their Directors when these do not coincide with their own.”²

Ignatius had got into trouble before by devout ladies. Whilst engaged in his itinerant predications, two ladies of rank, among his followers, had set out on a penitential pilgrimage, dressed as beggars, on foot, and living by alms, to the shrine of Our Lady at Guadaloupe, in Estremadura, a journey of forty days, which they performed, and returned to exculpate the preacher and get him out of prison, into which he had been thrown to expiate their freak, which he seems not to have approved of.³

This was sad experience to begin with, and the result was naturally unfavourable to Isabella and her companions. “He repented of his acquiescence, and once observed, that the government of three devout ladies gave him more trouble than the whole Society; for, in a word, it was an endless task with them, and it was necessary, every hour, to resolve their questions, cure their scruples, hear their complaints, and even to settle their quarrels”!⁴

Compelled by these strange manifestations, he explained to the pope how such a charge would injure the Society, and how important it was that his Holiness should grant his deliverance, for he saw plainly that

¹ Bouhours, ii. 53.

² *Id.* i. 144.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Id.* i. 53.

this little community, now only consisting of three individuals, would in time become very numerous, and would multiply in other towns ; but the respect he felt for the Catalonian dame, from whom he had received so many favours, and who entreated him not to desert her, induced him to treat her respectfully, and he wrote her the following letter to get rid of her politely :—

“VENERABLE DAME ISABELLA ROZELLO,

“My Mother and my Sister in Jesus Christ.

“In truth, I would wish, for the greater glory of God, to satisfy your good desires, and procure your spiritual progress, by keeping you under my obedience, as you have been for some time past ; but the continual ailments to which I am subject, and all my occupations which concern the service of our Lord, or his Vicar on earth, permit me to do so no longer. Moreover, being persuaded, according to the light of my conscience, that this little Society ought not to take upon itself, in particular, the direction of any woman who may be engaged to us by vows of Obedience, as I have fully declared to our Holy Father the Pope, it has seemed to me, for the greater glory of God, that I ought no longer to look upon you as my spiritual daughter, but only as my good mother, as you have been for many years, to the greater glory of God. Consequently, for the greater service and the greater honour of the everlasting Goodness, I give you, as much as I can, into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, in order that, taking his judgment and will as a rule, you may find rest and consolation for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty. At Rome, the first of October, 1549.”¹

We can fancy the chagrin of the disconsolate Isabella. But we are assured that “this letter, which is full of the Saint’s spirit, and in which the words, which he had always in his mouth, are repeated so often, disposed the dame to receive with submissiveness the pope’s determination.”²

“Paul III., having well reflected that the missionaries destined for all the world, ought to have no engage-

¹ Bouhours, ii. 53, *et seq.*

² *Id.* ii. 55.

ment, expedited Apostolical letters, whereby he exempted the Jesuits from the government of women who might wish to live in community, or single, under the obedience of the Society.”¹

Not content with this, Ignatius obtained in the following year, a mandate from the pope, by which the Society was, to all intents and purposes, exempted from the direction of nuns, which he prohibited to his Order, permitting the Jesuits, however, “to aid in their spiritual progress, and sometimes to hear their confessions for special reasons.”²

Persisting in this unconquerable repugnance to the conscience of the fair sex, Ignatius refused the direction of a convent of nuns, although the request was made by Hercules d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, “the declared protector and faithful friend of the Society;”³ and, possessed by a similar terror, the seventh Congregation enacted that no Jesuit was to hear the confessions of women until he had two years' practice, at least, in confessing the other sex—the thing was not to be attempted before great labours had imparted maturity and fitness; and even then there was to be no superfluous conversation beyond the mere confession, even on spiritual topics, in the confessional. If special consolation or advice were required, it must be administered sitting, or standing, briefly and modestly, with downcast eyes: there should be some open and appropriate part of the church selected, whither women might go to speak with the Jesuits, and that briefly and seldom *so as to give no cause for scandal, &c.*—and that all opportunity [of sin?] may be cut off, *ut omnis occasio præcidatur.*

¹ Bouhours, ii. 55.² Id. ii. 56.³ Id. ii. 57.

“If the penitents pretend scruples of conscience, the confessors are to tell them” not to relate tales and repeat trifles, and sometimes they are to silence them at once; for if they are truly disturbed by scruples of conscience, there will be no need of prolixity. If they want meditations, and spiritual exercises, give them the spiritual works of Grenada,¹ and others: the superior must be consulted in other cases. The same woman is not to be allowed to come to confession twice on the same day. *Visits to women are severely restricted.*—1st. They must be confined to women of rank and consequence.—2nd. These must have rendered important services to the Society.—3rd. The visits must be agreeable to the husband and relatives, &c.”;—and the following abuses must be sedulously extirpated, namely, “to give many hours to a few women, so that others lose the opportunity of confessing—to hinder others who desire it, from confessing, lest their *own spiritual daughters*, forsooth, (as they are wont to be called), should be compelled to wait”!²

The infringement of the rules respecting the confessing of women was to be followed by suspension from the function, and it would be a serious matter for consideration whether the delinquents were to be retained in the Society, after infringing “in a point so grave, perilous, and severely enjoined.”³ A *socius*, or companion, was always to be present at every visit—and he was to report to his superior if aught happened

¹ Louis of Grenada, a Dominican, author of approved ascetic works (“Sinners’ Guide,” “Memorial of a Christian Life,” “Treatise on Prayer,” &c.) His writings are still in high repute with the contemplative: there is no reading him without swimming in a sea of world-forgetting devotion. He died in 1588.

² “Ne filiae propriae spirituales (ut vocati consueverunt) expectare cogantur.”—*Inst.* iii. *pro Conf.* 1, 3, 6, 9, 12.

³ *Inst.* iii. § 7.

amiss,¹ and the same spy was to denounce any infringement of the confessor's rule, to the superior.² The confessionals were to be in exposed parts of the church, and so constructed that one confessor might be, in a manner, the *socius* of another ; and the superior was to see that they were not removed from their places, and that the *grates* were *entire* and *narrow*. Neither early in the morning, nor late at night, nor in the afternoon, were the priests to go to the church, unless expressly called for. The confessors were not to contract too great a familiarity with poor women, under pretext of assistance : their alms-giving must be with the consent of the superior, and rather by the hand of others than their own. "For, although originating in charity, the thing may be, in the course of time, full of peril, or obnoxious to certain slanders."³ A Jesuit "of advanced age and ancient probity" infringed one of these rules by hearing a woman's confession without a visible witness ; Ignatius got eight priests together and made the old Jesuit scourge himself, on his naked back, in the midst of them, until each of the priests had recited one of the penitential psalms.⁴

These enactments were issued at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is significant how the primitive objection to the guidance of women has changed its motive. It is not now the difficulty of "resolving their questions, curing their scruples, hearing their complaints, and settling their quarrels"—but the terrible peril of soul, and reputation.

And yet what precautions are taken—what insurmountable difficulties are heaped round about the

¹ Ordin. Gen. p. 37.

² Instr. iii. 7 ; Inst. xv. 2.

³ Instr. xv. 4, 5, 6.

⁴ Bouhours, ii. 186.

licentious heart. By these severe enactments it seems that a Jesuit's purity is the centre of a circle whose circumference is clogged and clogged with a thousand obstacles, to prevent escape.

There must be good reason for the awful warnings that ascetics have, in all times, fulminated against the allurements, involuntary as well as voluntary, of women, whom to flee is the greatest triumph—*quas opimus effugere est triumphus!*

“ Know that a beautiful woman,” exclaims Socrates, “ is a more dangerous enemy than the scorpion, because the latter cannot wound without touching us, whereas beauty strikes us at a distance : from whatsoever point we perceive it, it darts its poison upon us, and overthrows our reason.”¹ St. Jordan rebuked a Friar very severely, for only touching a woman's hand. “ True,” answered the Friar, “ but she is a pious woman.” “ No matter for that,” answered St. Jordan, “ the earth is good, water is also good—but when these two elements are mixed they form nothing but mud.”²

“ A woman burns the conscience of him with whom she dwells. Let women know thy name—but not thy face—nor do thou know theirs,” says St. Jerome, the mortified in the wilderness.³

“ Be it said, once for all :” cries St. Cyprian, “ the conversation of women is the devil's bird-lime, to catch and enslave men.”⁴

“ Paul does not say, *resist*, but *fly*—because victory is better secured by flight than by resistance,” exclaims St. Austin.⁵

¹ Xen. Mem. Soc. lib. i.

² Quoted in *Le Miroir des Chanoines*, a collection of sentences against female company—Paris, 1630.

³ D. Hieron. Ep. ad Nep., *ibid.*

⁴ D. Cypr. de Sing. Cler., *ibid.*

⁵ D. Aug. Ser. 250 de tem., *ibid.*

The mechanical contrivances of the Jesuits were therefore to the purpose.

But these, it seems, were not sufficient, if we may credit the ex-Jesuit Hasenmüller, who left his Order and turned Lutheran, in the *sixteenth* century: "I have seen some (Jesuits) who would not eat anything which they knew was dressed by a woman. I have heard others say, whenever I think of a woman, my stomach rises, and my blood is up. Another said, it grieves me, and I am ashamed that a woman brought me into the world, *dignus certè cui vacca fuisset genitrix* Others again assert that there is no good at all in the whole substance of a woman; and if there be some amongst them who pretend to excel the rest in these calumnies against the fair sex, these expectorate at the bare mention of a woman, and they keep some slanderous verses, injurious to the female sex, composed by Baptista of Mantua engraved on a plate, continually before their eyes, that they may thus perpetually stir up in themselves a hatred of women."¹

That these rather severe sentiments were in repute among the Jesuits, is probable for two reasons: First, Ignatius, in the Constitutions,² positively recommends his followers "to prevent temptations, by applying their contraries." Pride is to be overcome by lowly occupations conducive to humility—*et sic de aliis pravis animæ propensionibus*—and so of the *other* depraved

¹ Hasenm. Hist. Ord. Jesuit—published at Frankfort in 1593, and again in 1605, about the very time the foregoing enactments were issued, by the 6th and 7th Congregations. He also says: "For their meat and drink they use herbs and drugs, by which they enervate the strength of nature, and these man-haters," &c. &c. For some curious details on *aphrodisiacs*, and *anaphrodisiacs*, see Demangeon's *Génération de l'Homme*, p. 148, *et seq.*—also Virey, *Nouveaux Elémens de la Science de l'Homme*.

propensities of the soul.¹ Thus, the studied contempt for woman would, to a vast extent, moderate the fires of concupiscence, for disgust is the cure of desire. Besides, the slighting, if not contemptuous, expressions of the rules before quoted, seem to evince a similar spirit : Secondly, Ignatius himself, in his famous “Spiritual Exercises,” records the most abominable opinion that can positively be entertained of woman, for he positively compares the *devil* to woman, saying : “Our enemy imitates the nature and manner of woman, as to her weakness and frowardness ; for, as a woman, quarrelling with her husband, if she sees him with erect and firm aspect, ready to resist her, instantly loses courage, and turns on her heels : but if she perceive he is timid and inclined to slink off, her audacity knows no bounds, and she pounces upon him ferociously—thus the devil, &c.”²

Such then were the Jesuit means “to prevent temptations.” They were necessary in the awful circumstances. For we must consider who and what these Jesuits were, if we would form an adequate idea of their temptations. Then, by the Constitutions, as well as by history, they were vigorous, talented, handsome men. They were men of insinuating manners and honeyed speech, and they were unapproachable by profession, bachelors by necessity—two painful facts, and tending to excite the liveliest sympathies in those whom they were compelled to dragoon in the confessional, and abuse in the hours of recreation.

The vigilance of the rule on this point perpetually defended Jesuit reputation, and the comparatively very

¹ “Antevertero oportet tentationes adhibitis earum contrariis,” &c.

² “Nam sicut femina cum viro rixans, si hunc conspexerit erecto et constante vultu sibi obsistere, &c. . . . itidem consuevit *damon*.”—*Exerc. Spir. Reg. in fine*, xii.

few cases of impeachment against it are such as may charitably and readily be forgotten. True it is that the power of the Society, in the days of her glory, could render impossible every criminal conviction, and could stifle fact with fact and fiction, as in the case of all its accusers, from the Roman priest who denounced Ignatius and his companions, down to De la Roche Arnaud and his "awful disclosures" of Mont Rouge.¹ But, by their exploits in every region of earth, the vast majority of Jesuits must have been men who could inspire love and passion, and yet stand aloof from the grovelling things of sensuality.² The Jesuits were too constantly engaged in bodily and mental work to be much molested by the common propensities of man, which idleness (the root of all evil) makes exuberant. Nature suggests an explanation. In the voracious animals the preponderance of the nutritious functions paralyses, as it were, the faculties of their external vitality, and thus, correspondently, in *man*, the excess of labour, whether intellectual, sensitive, or muscular, enervates and debilitates the internal functions of nutrition and reproduction. All is antagonism in man—the predominance of one energy perpetually and necessarily stifles its correlative.³ And

¹ Mémoires d'un Jeune Jesuite ou Conjuraton de Mont-Rouge.

² Hasenmüller says that the Jesuits of his time used to tell a most curious tale to illustrate the integrity of one of their Josephs. This Jesuit seemed to consent, only asking permission to leave the room for a moment. He returned with his face most disgustingly besmeared, and the lady's "love" was changed into hatred.—Hist. chap. vi. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Hasenmüller brings the foulest charges against the Jesuits on this score; but he was a rancorous enemy, and therefore we should only believe one-half of what he says, as was Lord Chesterfield's practice, who, on some one complaining as to the charge of having had *twins*, affirmed that he never believed more than one *half* of reports.

³ See this most interesting subject thoroughly investigated in Virey's admirable work, *Philosophie de l' Histoire Naturelle*, lib. ii. chap. vi. The motto of his

good for the cause of Jesuitism was that effect. It has been observed, by Cardinal De Retz, I think, that few ever did anything among men until women were no longer an object to them :¹ nor can we see why the renowned of old were called *heroes*, unless the name's derivative be *impetus*, strong and elastic impulse towards the pinnacled object of ambition.²

The consciences of nuns were a terror to Ignatius, not so the propensities of kings. Hercules d'Este was denied a Jesuit for his nuns, but was vouchsafed one for himself ; "having formed the design of a Christian life, he would have a Jesuit near his person." Lejay was pointed out, demanded, and conceded to govern the duke's conscience. His refusal of the bishopric of Trieste had made him famous,³ the counsels of his general will make him an excellent confessor. Having consulted Ignatius on the course of conduct he was to pursue, the general told him, "that being destined by the Vicar of Jesus Christ to the service of one of the most prominent benefactors of the Society, it was necessary that he should consecrate himself to him entirely, even so far as to perform, externally, no good deeds without the participation and consent of the prince, who was to be to him, in some sort, his Superior and General."⁴

book is *In nova fert animus*, and unquestionably there never was book so suggestive and consolatory by its interpretations of God's beautiful creation.

¹ "This is the reason," adds *Bulwer*, "why people seldom acquire any reputation, except for a hat or a horse, till they marry." Heloise, in one of her letters, dwells with great eloquence on the same subject : she instances the errors of Adam, Samson, Solomon, and *Abelard* as the consequence of this perverse infatuation.

² Hero, from the Greek Ἡρώς, heros, derived by Lennep from ἔρειν, to be forcibly and violently impelled and joined to something else, but not to woman, as it would appear. ³ The result is significantly stated by Bouhours, ii. 57.

⁴ Id. ii. 58.

The duke went through the “Spiritual Exercises” as a preliminary. This “method whereby chiefly the Society was begun and increased,”¹ was now extensively applied, even amongst persons of the highest rank. But there were thoughtful and good men who deemed the “Spiritual Exercises” objectionable ; among the rest, no smaller dignitary than the Archbishop of Toledo. Conforming to the times, doubtless, he taxed their *doctrine* as dangerous : this charge, in the land of the Inquisition, was most likely to set public opinion against the Jesuit method of propagation. It was of no avail. Doctors of Divinity gave them their sanction, and Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the Society’s friend, obtained a Bull from the pope whereby the “Spiritual Exercises” were approved, praised, and confirmed by Apostolical authority ; “having regard, as in duty bound, for the great good which Ignatius, and the Society by him founded, were incessantly doing in the church, amongst all sorts of nations ; and, moreover, considering how much the ‘Spiritual Exercises’ subserved to that purpose.”²

Ignatius was permitted to have the book printed, but an injunction was laid against the reprinting of the same without the author’s consent.³

This papal approbation, and the publication, rendered the “Spiritual Exercises” more famous than ever, and greatly increased the reputation of the Society’s founder.⁴ The archbishop was silenced—the Jesuits triumphed—and we have an idea of Jesuit influence eight years after their foundation.

¹ “Verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maximè medio et initio coaluisse, et postea incrementum accepisse.”—*Proem. in Direct.* § 7.

² See the Bull *in extenso* : Bouhours, ii. 60, *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bouhours, ii. 62.

Glorious success, splendid events delayed not: the star of Ignatius was in the ascendant. Hitherto he had constantly resided at Rome. Thence he had directed, as we have seen, the councils of kings by his valuable advice; thence he had reconciled a pope, a king, and a bishop; it remains for him now to leave his habitation in order to arrest the bolts of war.

Father
Ignatius at
Tivoli.

The inhabitants of Sant-Angelo and those of Tivoli had a difference—arms clashed—Ignatius threw himself into the skirmish at the pope's request. He brought the belligerents to an arbitration (appointing a *cardinal* for the same), and the war was at an end—the citizens shook hands—*pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt*.

Ignatius was rewarded for his journey. He had lodged at the house of a rich man, the Signor Louis Mendozze by name, and this signor gave him a comfortable house, with pleasant gardens attached, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, near the magnificent ruins of the villa of Mécænas—a classical fact of which the Jesuit historian pleasantly reminds the student.¹ *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*,—classic Tivoli beheld Ignatius the spiritual father of the Jesuit Hardouin, who would *disprove* the authenticity of almost all the classics, which the critic fathered on middle-age monks!²

City of the Augustan age, graced by the residence of Mécænas, and his Horace (one of the spurious classics), of Brutus, Sallust, Propertius,—all Rome's genius and

¹ Bouhours, ii. 63.

² He will appear, this interesting Hardouin, in his niche, as we build up the temple of Jesuitism.

gentility ;¹ and now, after the lapse of wonder-working time, Father Ignatius, the general of the Jesuits, has a villa at Tibur ! Imagination, lend us thy wand ! Let Pope Paul III., the patron of Ignatius, be Augustus, who exclaimed on his death-bed, "Have I not played my part well ? Clap your hands then, the farce is over !"² And let Ignatius be the new edition of Mæcenas—a man of tact, prudence, and patron of all that is clever, *if* he can only do with them what he likes. Let Horace cease to be a vile sycophant for the nonce, and resolve to examine the matter—*lentus spectator, sedulus instet*. He prepares—*condo et compono*. And now imagine the flimsy shade of the biter paying Ignatius a visit, in one of his evening walks—*vesper-tinumque pererro forum*—and, after the first salutations—(*Quid tibi visa Chios*—How do you like Tivoli ?) coming nearer to the point, saying : *Assisto divinis*, I have seen your men at work. . . . Here's a trifle for you—*sic leve, sic parvum est* ; and thereupon reading his eighth satire to the broken-down knight of Loyola, now General of the Jesuits, beginning :

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum—
 Cum faber, incertus scammum faceretne Priapum,
 Maluit esse deum³

¹ This city was famous in the age of Augustus. Its pleasant situation induced many of the rich and voluptuous Romans to build villas at Tibur and the vicinity. Augustus himself often visited Tibur ; and the poets, of course, swore by its name, thronging to the levees of their patron Mæcenas, his friend.

² "So true it is," observes the Jesuit Feller, "that the sages and heroes of the world do themselves look upon the picture of their actions as a farce that ends with them !"—*Biog. Univ.* i. 312.

³ I was a cut-down fig-tree, useless wood :

"For what," exclaims the joiner, "art thou good ?

For bed-steps ? or ——" then with a wink and nod,

"I have it—thou shalt be a scare-crow god."

Serm. lib. i. sat. viii. *In supersticiosos et veneficos.*

I find that the poet Oldham applies the same Horatian verses to Ignatius. I was not

This establishment at Tivoli was followed by two more colleges erected at Messina and Palermo, under the immediate patronage of the Viceroy of Sicily, Don Juan de Vega, an intimate friend of the General.¹

Ignatius selected some of his best men for this new help to development ; among the rest, Peter Establishments in Sicily. Canisius, a German, famous for his controversies with the Protestants, termed by the Catholics, “the scourge of the Protestants,” and by the Protestants, “the dog of Austria.”²

Before dispatching his labourers, Ignatius passed them through the ordeal. Those who were to be engaged in tuition were made to give a specimen of the method they would pursue.

They had been selected with his usual caution : he had “sounded their souls ;” they were the elect of all the children of obedience. For, to test the obedience of his inferiors at Rome, he had commanded all of them to give him a written answer to the following questions : 1. Were they indifferent to going to Sicily or to remaining at Rome, and would the determination of their general, who held the place of God in their regard, be the most agreeable ? 2. If sent to Sicily, would they be ready to teach and perform other functions requiring intellect and knowledge, or to be employed in domestic offices ? 3. If appointed to study and tuition, would they be disposed to study whatever science that might be required, and to teach whatever class the superior might appoint ? In fine, did they believe that all which

aware of the fact when the application was suggested to me by the Jesuit's remark, and by *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*. The *percant malè qui ante nos* may be here applicable, but it is certainly not expressed.

¹ Bouhours, *ibid.* ii. p. 64.

² In allusion to his name, *Canis*, a dog. Feller, *Biog. Univ.* iv. 434.

obedience would prescribe to them, would be the best for them, and the most conducive to their salvation ?”¹

All of them delivered in their answer on the appointed day ; every man of them (there were more than six-and-thirty) declared that he would go, not only to Sicily, but to the Indies ; and that he would engage himself all his life to perform the meanest offices, as soon as their good father and venerable master in Jesus Christ would give them the least sign.²

Then Ignatius led the chosen ones to the pope, who received them very kindly, and dismissed them with an exhortation vigorously to oppose the new heresies.³

The general dispatched them to the work as follows :—

“ Go, brothers, inflame and burn up everything with the fire that Jesus Christ has come to fetch upon earth !”⁴

The reader must be told that there were *twelve* of these Sicilian apostles, and then he will comprehend the force of the obtestation, its meaning, its probable effect.

Almost at the same time Ignatius dispatched two other Jesuits to Fez and Morocco, at the request of the King of Portugal, for the redemption of slaves and their confirmation in the faith.

Other establishments, and reflections.

Charles V. dispatched an army into Africa against the famous corsair Dragut ; Laynez accompanied the expedition by command of Ignatius. Four Jesuits had gone into Ethiopia, sent by John III. of Portugal ; and South America received the Society with the Spanish fleet under Don Soza, penetrating Brazil. Asia had long before been occupied by the sons of Ignatius ; and every kingdom in Europe beheld them at work. But

¹ Bouhours, ii. 65.

² Id. ii. 66.

³ Id. ii. 65.

⁴ Id. ii. 64.

for every one that went forth, tens and twenties entered the Society, as the bees on a fine summer's day, to and from their busy hive, and many that entered were laden with wealth and honour, as the bees with honey.

All is fascination—inexplicable attraction, unless we remember how Law's Mississippi scheme, and the South-Sea Bubble, led away captive thousands and tens of thousands; or how Mohammed walked his appointed path, gathering followers as he went, until he had more than he could satisfy without war and plunder.

The rich, the great, the learned, all knocked at the gates of the Society, humbly craving admission. "The Society of Jesus" was the ark at the last hour when men ceased to doubt; all rushed to the gates of salvation; but this ark would never be closed: its voyage was to be long and difficult: it needed all sorts of "hands;" every trade, every profession, every disposition, every talent, would there find employment.

If we look around in life and mark the beginning of every enterprise, how powerful appears the imitative propensity of man! A few great names lend the spell, rumour spreads the magic circle; those who are affected or infected become as many points of attraction, and the scheme is established. The Jesuit scheme triumphed in like manner. The Society was in fashion.

In 1552, Don Antonio de Cordova, the rector of the University of Salamanca, was about to be invested with the Roman purple, when suddenly a thought of Glorious accessions. self-abnegation entered his soul. He was but three-and-twenty years of age; but his talents exalted him enough in the eyes of Rome to place him amongst the princes of the church. Young, rich, a favourite of Charles V., he turned a deaf ear to those who would

speak of the honours which he had deserved ; he renounced the dignity, and, on the following day, Don Antonio de Cordova, the cardinal elect, was a simple novice of the Society of Jesus !¹ How vast must have been the exultation at the Jesuit college in Salamanca ; behold the golden fruit of the spreading tree : “ the Society erected houses and gained many proselytes.”²

A more touching illustration of that strange fascination which distinguished Jesuitism had been given in the case of an old Dutchman, Cornelius Crocus, rector of the Latin Schools at Amsterdam ; he resigned his appointment, and, in his fiftieth year, journeyed to Rome on foot, begged admission to the Society, and was received by Ignatius.³

And Francis Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the great friend of the Jesuits, “ the handsome, generous, wise and brave,” as he was called, turned Jesuit ! Grief at the loss of his wife, we are assured, was the beginning of his conversion : “ in order to assuage his anguish, he rushed into religion.” Other causes had conspired to prepare the way. He had formerly been sent to convey to Grenada the body of the Empress Isabella. When the coffin was opened for his attestation, the awful change which death had produced in that “ prodigy of beauty” made a lasting impression on his mind ; and it is said he lived as a saint in the midst of the world.⁴

¹ Cretineau, i. 292.

² “ Elle formait bien des maisons, elle gagnait bien des prosélytes.”—*Ibid.*

³ As an illustration of the times, it may be stated that Crocus undertook to banish from the schools the grammatical works composed by the Reformers. To Melancthon's Grammar, Erasmus's Adages and Colloquies, he opposed a Grammar, Adages, and Colloquies, after his own fashion. Feller, Biog. Univ. *Crocus*.

⁴ See La Vie de St. Fran. Borgia, by the Jesuit Verjus, 2 vols. It is alleged that the example of Borgia induced Charles V. subsequently to turn monk. How *did* he escape the Society ! Imagine Charles V. a Jesuit. But he was half a heretic.

Allied to the most illustrious families of Europe, (a *natural* grandson of Pope Alexander VI., and of Ferdinand V., precisely in the same way, by his mother,) Borgia sought the companionship of the voluntary beggars, whose minds were swaying the destinies of earth. We shall find him the third general of the Jesuits, and a saint.

It becomes us to penetrate into the method of this world-absorbing fascination: it is of importance to understand thoroughly the Jesuit method, if we would form right judgments on their deeds—their history. The Jesuits themselves minutely display their method of witchery: the Life of their model, Ignatius, was not written in vain. What, then, was *his* method? A few cases, given by the Jesuits, will answer to a certain extent.

One of his followers, Rodriguez, conceived the design of turning hermit. He fled from his companions, resolved to perform his resolution. A man so Curious method. skilled in the “discernment of spirits” as Ignatius proves himself to be in his “Spiritual Exercises,” could not fail to perceive the soul-workings of this would-be hermit; but he was not to be resigned. Scarcely had Rodriguez left the city, when “a man of terrible aspect, superhuman stature, appeared before him, sword in hand. Terror seized him at first; but, regaining courage, thinking his eyes had deceived him, he continued to advance,—when the portent, transported with fury, cast terrible glances at him, threatened him with his sword, and seemed ready to pierce him. Bewildered and trembling, he turned on his heels, fled back to the city, and met Ignatius, who, with arms outstretched, and smiling sweetly, exclaimed, ‘*Man of little*

faith, why hast thou doubted?' These words shamed Rodriguez : but they confirmed him in his vocation, and made him perceive at the same time that God had revealed all to Ignatius."¹

What commentary can add to the significance of this ensample ?

Ignatius once visited a doctor of divinity. He found him playing at billiards. The doctor invited Ignatius to play a game. The latter excused himself, affirming that he could not play at billiards—as if he had not learned this accomplishment among the many which graced the page at the court of Ferdinand. The doctor *urged* him, we are told : this was unnecessary, if the doctor really believed Ignatius.

"What shall we play for?" said Ignatius to the doctor. "A poor fellow like myself can't play for money, and yet there's no fun in playing for nothing. Here's my notion : if I lose, I will serve you a whole month, and will do exactly all that you shall command me : and if you lose, you will only do one thing that I will tell you."

The doctor, liking the fun, accepted the condition. They played : Ignatius won the game ! He had never touched a cue, adds the Jesuit-biographer.

And the doctor, recognising the miracle, resolved to obey Ignatius. The Spiritual Exercises were enjoined ; and the doctor "profited so well by them, that he became an '*interior man*.'" What more he became, is not stated.² This reminds us of "the devil playing a game at chess with a youth for his soul."

We have read of those who crossed the seas to gain a proselyte ; Ignatius plunged into a pond for the same

¹ Bouhours, i. 242.

² Id. i. 164.

end. He had tried in vain to convert a libertine : he resolved upon a stratagem. Knowing the road the libertine would take in his disreputable visits, Ignatius went and waited for his approach, near a pond almost frozen over, for it was winter. He undressed. As soon as he saw his friend in the distance, he jumped in, up to the neck, and cried out, "Whither are you going, wretched man? Whither are you going? Hear you not the thunder rolling over your head? See you not the sword of divine justice ready to strike you? Ah well!" he continued, with a terrible voice, "Go and glut your brutal passion. I'll suffer here for you, until the wrath of Heaven be appeased."

Terrified by these words, and ravished with Ignatius's charity, the man "opened his eyes, was ashamed of his sin, returned with the resolution of entire self-reformation,¹ and probably became a Jesuit—a St. Augustine, from grovelling vice to soaring sanctity.

We remember how he practised on Lefevre and Xavier, and with what striking results.

Enough surely has been detailed to throw some light on the influence of the Jesuits, operating with the founder's example before them, trained under his own eyes, and sent forth perfect in all arts, human and divine. Let their end be all that a Christian may desire, or the contrary : be their motives good or bad : be they hirelings of evil, or angels of good—whatever they were, to all intents and purposes the Jesuits went the "right way to work," whatever they did.

"Permit me," exclaims Cardinal De Retz (just after describing one of his youthful duels)—"Permit me, I beg you, to make a short reflection on the nature of

¹ Bouhours, i. 182.

the human mind. I do not believe that there was in the world a better heart than my father's, and I can say that his disposition was that of virtue. Nevertheless, these duels and these my gallantries did not hinder him from making every effort

Cardinal
De Retz's
elucidation.

to bind to the church a soul perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the universe! "His preference for his eldest son, and the prospect of the Archbishopric of Paris, (which was his family-right) produced that effect." *He* did not believe it, and was not himself conscious of it—I would even swear that he himself would have sworn in his inmost heart, that his object in this step was nothing but what was revealed to him by his apprehension of the perils to which the contrary profession would expose *my soul*. So true it is, that *there is nothing so liable to illusion as piety*. It consecrates all sorts of fancies; and *the best intention is not sufficient to enable us to avoid its abuse.*"¹

It were charitable to apply this reasoning to the conduct of Ignatius, and consequently, to that of his followers.

There were men—men of standing—men of virtue (as the Jesuits are forced to admit)—churchmen, high and dignified, who thought otherwise,—who denounced the Primitive Jesuits as men exactly after De Retz's *own* heart, which he describes as follows.

"After six days' reflection," says the Cardinal, (then Archbishop of Paris), "I took the resolution to do evil on set purpose (*par dessein*) which is incomparably the most criminal before God, but which is, without doubt, the wisest before the world: both because in doing evil thus, we set before it certain acts which cover a part of

¹ Mémoires, 1. 5.

it,—and because by this set purpose we avoid the most dangerous ridicule incident to our profession, which is, *to mingle preposterously sin with devotion.*"¹

Melchior Cano, a Dominican monk, and Doctor of Salamanca (where the Jesuits were in full swing) denounced the Jesuits in spite of their conversions.

Melchoir
Cano and
the Jesuits.

No heretic was Melchior—no renegade ;—
but a true believer.

Nor was he a man who repeated "idle tales in circulation." He had met, and conversed with, Ignatius.

"When I was at Rome," says he, "I took it into my head to see this Ignatius. He began at once, without preliminary, to talk of his virtue, and the persecution which he had experienced in Spain without deserving it in the least. And a vast deal of mighty things he poured forth concerning the revelations which he had from on high, though there was no need of the disclosure. This induced me to look upon him as a vain man, and not to have the least faith in his revelations."²

The doings of the Jesuits terrified this good Christian : he apprehended the coming of Antichrist, and believed the Jesuits to be his forerunners.³

He was alarmed at the novelty of the Institute, which was totally different to the ancient Orders : he believed that the secular dress of the Jesuits was adapted to conceal their licentiousness : that from their intercourse

¹ Mémoires, i. 41.

² "Cum aliquando Romæ essem, Innicum istum videre mihi lubuit : qui in sermone, sine ullâ occasione, cœpit suam commemorare justitiam, et persecutionem quam passus esset in Hispaniâ nullo suo merito. Multa etiam et magna prædicabat de revelationibus quas divinitus habuisset, idque nullâ ejus rei necessitate ; quæ fuit occasio cur eum pro homine vano haberem, nec de revelationibus suis quicquam ei crederem."—*Apud Bayle*, vii. 186. He also hits the Jesuits for the aspiring title of the Company. De locis l. iv. c. 2.

³ Bouhours, iv. 71.

with people of the world, and at the courts of princes, they lived according to the world's maxims: that those "retreats" which they caused to be made after the method and spirit of their founder, were nothing less than abominable mysteries.¹

Such was the Dominican's opinion of the Jesuit. His reputation was great: he was a man of virtue: he seemed to speak from conviction.² He published all he thought: his reputation gave so much credit to his words, that the people treated as impostors and rogues those who before appeared to them as men descended from Heaven.³

Ignatius thanked God for the "persecution," and took his measures accordingly.

He ordered the Spanish Jesuits to show Cano the pope's bull confirmatory of the Institute, and to explain to him modestly the following very conclusive facts against him: 1. The kingdom of Heaven would be divided if the Vicar of Jesus Christ approved a Society opposed to Jesus Christ: 2. That of those pretended forerunners of Antichrist, Paul III. had chosen two for his Theologians at the Council of Trent, and that his Holiness had named another for his Apostolic Legate in the Indies.

Ignatius also sent documents attesting in favour of the Society, and a papal brief constituting the Bishop of Salamanca protector of the Society's reputation.⁴

He did more: the general of the Dominicans was induced to interfere: doubtless representations were made to the general respecting his dangerous subject. The general issued a charge to all the Dominicans commanding them "to love that holy Order (of Jesus),

¹ Bouhours, iv. 71.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

and forbidding them to speak ill of it under any pretext whatever.”¹

“We believe, it is true, that all of you,” wrote the good general, “that all of you, as friends and well-beloved of the Bridegroom, far from murmuring against the variety with which the Bride is adorned, will embrace her and cherish her in the charity which rejoiceth in truth.”²

A doctor of Salamanca threw in an apologetic manifesto for the Society.

Glory to the Jesuits issued from the sea of trouble. But the redoubtable Melchior still winnowed the waves. He continued his invectives in defiance of papal bulls, documents, arguments, and the bridal soft impeachment of his general.

Melchior’s “hostilities held in check the Society of Jesus at Salamanca. His success was likely to stir up new aggressors in the other Spanish universities.”³

What was to be done with this bad subject—this accuser, who was either in the right or in the wrong—who either spoke the truth or falsely? Let the result answer the question.

The Jesuits made a *bishop* of Melchior but they sent him to the *Canaries*. It was an idea worthy of Ignatius and his method with Xavier.

“If this was a revenge of the Society,” says its latest historian and admirer, “it could not be more sweet, nor, above all, more *ingenious*,” he very significantly adds.⁴

¹ Bouhours, iv. 72.

² Cretineau, i. 288, where the letter is given *in extenso*.

³ Id. 289.

⁴ “Si ce fut une vengeance de la Compagnie, elle ne pouvait être plus douce, plus ingénieuse surtout. Melchior accepta ces honneurs, mais jamais il ne s’en montra reconnaissant.”—Cretineau, i. 289.

Melchior accepted the honour, but he did not evince his gratitude in the manner contemplated. From afar, as when near, he attacked the Jesuits.

He probably "smelt a rat." At the Canaries he could not grasp the foe. He resigned his See, returned to Spain, and renewed the war.

To the day of his death his conviction was unchanged. In 1560 he wrote to a monk, the confessor of Charles V., saying: "Would to God that it should not happen to me, as fable relates of Cassandra, whose predictions were not believed till after the capture and burning of Troy. If the members of the Society continue as they have begun, God grant that the time may not come when kings will wish to resist them, and will find no means of doing so."¹

The most extraordinary point in this affair is that the pope should consent to make a bishop of a man who would not be silenced by a bull; and that the Society should positively exalt disobedience! These considerations have great weight: Melchior was strong in some position, was determined in all his attitudes; and conciliation is always the method of Party till it can silence by pains and penalties.

Cano lived in honour, and died respected, in 1560, as Provincial of Castile—another fact in his favour.² He was the first important opponent of the Jesuits, and the first bishop they gave to the Church: the occasion is remarkable.

¹ Cretineau, i. 290.

² Feller, Biog. Univ. This Jesuit says that Cano never took possession of his See; meaning, probably, that he did not *remain* in possession. He also slurs the character of Cano, but refers to a single trait, and that related by another Jesuit (Bouhours), to the effect that Cano set a priest to accuse Ignatius of heresy in the doctrines of the "Spiritual Exercises," keeping himself in the back ground, through fear of Rome. This is scarcely in unison with his usual boldness.

Another opponent appeared in the person of the rector of the University of Alcala, where the Jesuits were progressing. A tribunal was appointed to examine the affairs of the Jesuits—they were honourably acquitted, though the tribunal was appointed by Casa the belligerent rector, and composed of “three most determined adversaries of the Institute!” Casa rejected the decision: he even attacked the bull of Paul III., establishing the Society,—which was going to the fountain-head at once and effectually, and also into the jaws of the tiger. To the Inquisition at Rome he was cited: but Villanova the Jesuit official at Alcala, who was in the secret, gave Casa the hint in time, and Casa “thought himself fortunate in redeeming, by holding his tongue, the pains and penalties which he had incurred.”¹ There was no necessity for making him a bishop.

An archbishop then took the field against the troop of Loyola. At Toledo the Jesuits availed themselves of their privileges: these were deemed encroachments on archiepiscopal authority: Don Siliceo, the archbishop, fell upon the papal squadron, mandate in hand. This manifesto set forth bitter complaints against the usurpations of the Society on episcopal jurisdiction, and forbade all his spiritual subjects to confess to the Jesuits,—empowered all curates to exclude them from the administration of the Sacraments,—and laid an injunction on the college of Alcala.²

The Jesuits bestirred themselves: their friends lent them a hand. The pope’s nuncio at Madrid interceded in vain; the Archbishop of Burgos (who was then planting the Jesuits in his city) offered himself as

¹ Cretineau, i. 291.

² Id. i. 292.

surety for his friends ; the pope addressed a letter to the exclusive dignitary. Don Siliceo was as flint to their prayers and entreaties.

Ignatius determined to bring down the archbishop with a stone, as soft words had failed. He applied to the royal council of Spain. Bulls and privileges were produced ; the archbishop was condemned, the injunction taken off, and the Jesuits pursued "the even tenor of their way" exulting.

Then Ignatius came forward with the cream of consolation in a spoon of silver : "he thanked the archbishop in the most humble terms of gratitude and submission, to such an extent, that in order to gain him over entirely, he promised him that the fathers of Alcala should not use their privileges, and would not even receive any person into their society without his grace's consent."¹

Thus did this admirable diplomatist fulfil his own prophecy ; for, at the first intelligence of the affair, he observed to Ribadeneyra : "This new tempest is of good omen ; and it is, if I am not mistaken, an evident sign that God wishes to make use of us in Toledo. For, after all, experience teaches us that contradictions prepare the way in every direction for the Society, and that the more she is thwarted in a place, the more fruit she there produces."² Thus Ignatius cheered his followers.

In my youth I heard of a house-breaker who, upon effecting an entrance, would place a small pebble under the door, saying to his men : "'Tis *charmed*, and as long as that is there, the folks will *sleep*—but set to work *softly and quietly*." He too was a Spaniard.

¹ Cretineau, i. 292 ; Bouhours, p. 115. ;

² Bouhours, p. 114.

Meanwhile the Duke of Gandia (his probation ended, his training complete) is become Father Francis, Jesuit.

Borgia as a Jesuit. A contemplative life was his choice; but action, agitation, was the “order of holy obedience.” Ignatius sent him forth; Spain should behold the duke Jesuit.

“Father Francis sets out, visits the great, all the branches of his family; he teaches the people; he stops at the court of Charles V., converts sinners, edifies the faithful, lays in every town the foundations of a college or a house of the Society.”¹ His success induced Ignatius to appoint him the head of all the missions and houses in Spain and Portugal.

Already was Spain divided into three provinces,—Arragon, Castile, and Andalusia.

In the space of two years Father Francis gave to these provinces such expansion, that the houses and colleges seemed to rise as by miracle, in every city. At Grenada, at Valladolid, Medina, San-Lucar, Burgos, Valencia, everywhere—cardinals, bishops, magistrates, and the most distinguished of the Dominicans, united to second the efforts of the Society.²

“Father Francis has but to desire, and his wish is accomplished even before it is made known. He stamps on the Spanish ground, and houses rise up for the Society. His voice calls workmen to the vinyard of the Lord, and workmen run from all sides.”³

From east to west, from south to north of the Peninsula, the Jesuits roughed and smoothed their way to the

The Jesuits at Saragossa. fruitful plains of Saragossa. To these “plains of Moab” they come rejoicing, as if it had been said unto them: “And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants

¹ Cretineau, i. 302.

² Id. i. 303.

³ Ibid.

of the land and dwell therein ; for I have given you the land to possess it."

"Privilege," old, prescriptive, exclusive, bigoted rights of privilege met them at the gates of Saragossa—they must not enter.

Bishops and monks were always their Sihon of Heshbon and their Og of Bashan ; but these "remnants of giants," with their nine-cubit-bedsteads-of-iron-privileges were as "untempered mortar" to the Jesuits ; "a stormy wind shall rend it," or "the foxes in the deserts."

A difficulty arose ; the Jesuits could not find a house. Some explanation is here necessary. According to the customs of the old church there was a law which prohibited the construction of a chapel or a convent too near parishes and convents—a charitable law for the satisfaction of the jade "Privilege," who ought to have no "meddling neighbours."

Now Strada, the Jesuit leader, was a man of whelming eloquence, which "opened to the Jesuits a great many habitations," says the historian :¹ but the number of convents and churches was so great at Saragossa, that all these habitations were obnoxious to the aforesaid law ; and the monks and clergy of the town stuck to their privileges.

At last, in 1555, the Jesuits managed to pounce on a spot, just without the limits prescribed by privilege. At once they began to "do the rest," as the good Father Boulanger expressed the method.

It was Easter Monday—a grand holiday in the good old time—the day before the inauguration of the Jesuit chapel—the day appointed by Ferdinand, the

¹ Cretineau, i. 304.

Archbishop of Arragon, himself: all the grand and imposing ceremonies were arranged; the "effect" was a certainty, the "cause" would be triumphant. Strada was ready with his sermon; and so was Lopez Marcos, the Vicar-general of Saragossa, with his detestable *injunction*!

This man of privilege positively commanded Father Brama, the appointed superior of the House, to put off the ceremony. The Augustinian monks would not have the Jesuits near them. Their convent was in the vicinity, and they pretended that the chapel was built on land debateable.

Father Brama begged to be excused. He could not comply with an injunction so frivolous. But Brama was wise: he consulted the lawyers—the canonists (the scribes of the new law), and they said, "It is corban:" the Jesuits were "free:" they might push forward:¹ and they determined to proceed.

The superior of the Franciscans threatened them with excommunication. Brama waved his hand, appealed to the pope, and began the ceremony.

Lopez, at the mass, published a decree, forbidding the faithful, under penalty of excommunication, to frequent the Jesuit chapel. Anathema and malediction were hurled against the Fathers.

Then was the jade Privilege in her glory. The clergy and the Augustinians paraded the town, chaunting the hundred and ninth psalm, the mob repeating the verses of reprobation,—they roared forth:—

"As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.

"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his

¹ "Ils déclarent que l'on peut passer outre."

garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.

“Let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually.”

Privilege was not satisfied : she is insatiate.

The whole population had been attracted to witness the inauguration : the vicar-general pronounced the whole town profaned and infected with heresy by the mere presence of the Jesuits within its walls. In other words, Saragossa was excommunicated—an awful matter in those times—and in priest-ridden, monk-ridden Spain.

The Augustinians sent round the streets horrid pictures, in which the Jesuits were represented as being pushed into hell by legions of devils, varied in hideousness, up to the climax of horror.

At the thought of the excommunication, rage took possession of every soul. Of course the Jesuits were the cause—so said Privilege. The mob rushed to their House, smashed the windows with stones : then went forth a funeral procession, with songs of death, and a crucifix muffled in a black veil, round and round the proscribed habitation, for the space of three days—“Mercy ! Mercy !” resounding from time to time, as if to do violence to heaven, shut up by Privilege-Lopez !

A regular siege ensued : a blockade of fifteen days—during which the monks exhausted their stage tricks and clap-traps of horror.

Brama was a Jesuit. If he cannot rule the storm, he can pipe all hands to quarters, ’bout ship, and put back into port—some harbour of refuge. He retired with his crew under the lee of his patrons, the Archbishop of Arragon, the pope’s nuncio, and the Queen Jane, the

mother of Charles V. Terrible names these for Privilege! Her quarrel was examined: she was condemned: censures, interdict, excommunication, all went as chaff before the wind, and the philosophical mob gracefully changed sides, believed the Jesuits no longer devils, but saints; recalled them; and the Jesuits re-entered Saragossa triumphant. Magistrates, clergy, nobility, Privilege-Lopez himself, ran to meet and escort them to their House. There they found the viceroy in attendance. The viceroy presented them the keys; and from that day forward the Jesuits applied to their "Spiritual Exercises," and other works appointed, unstayed, unmolested by Privilege, which will never cope with the Jesuits.

It is evident that Borgia's influence was powerful enough to effectuate this splendid reaction at Saragossa. In effect, we are assured that the opposition to the Society in Spain was stifled by the great name of the Duke in the person of Father Francis.¹ Two essential conditions have always been the necessary props of the Jesuit-lever—a great patron and an impressionable people. They enjoyed both of these in Spain, and broke down all opposition.

The case was different in France. Opposed from the first, the Society was never secure in France—if the multitudinous operations of the Society were calculated to ensure her security anywhere. Privilege again was the mainspring of the opposition: the monopoly of public instruction was the cause: ostensible motives were soon alleged: events superadded a *veil*, at least, of justice to the determined proscription of the Jesuits by the French University, and, afterwards, by the French Parliament.

The Jesuits
in France.

¹ Cretineau, i. 306.

Some success had, however, attended the first colony of the Jesuits in France. The Bishop of Clermont continued his patronage ; and, from the establishment which he founded, Ignatius was able to draft the materials of a new college in Sicily, as early as 1549.

There even seemed to be encouragement in other quarters : the University gave a Jesuit an appointment in the College of the Lombards ; the nomination was confirmed at Court. ¹

Most men, if really desirous of doing good for its own sake (as far as human nature is capable of this purity of intention) would have hailed this favour, this honour, as a boon of the present, and a promise of future utility in a noble cause. It seems that Ignatius was too cunning to give others the credit of pure intentions. He forbade the appointment, commanded Viole to throw up the engagement, and ordered his scholars at the University to resign all the pensions they enjoyed. The thing was done. And now for his motive. He was convinced that the object of the University was "the hope of enticing to herself the Brothers of the Society, and thus render impossible its establishment in the capital !"²

Without appealing to the prominent feature ascribed to Charity by the apostle, we may remark that the men least given to suspect others, the most confiding men are, doubtless, those who cultivate their intellect : so true it is that moral strength is in proportion to the greatest development of the intellectual faculties. The insane are suspicious, mistrustful ; the like may be said of savages in general.³

¹ Cretineau, i. 307.

² Ibid.

³ The remark is Esquirol's. "Des Maladies Mentales," t. i. p. 15. Every psychologist should study this admirable book of facts.

The one idea of Ignatius, hedged in by an unexpanded intellect, was incapable of self-abstraction : it was a magnet without variation. Cromwell and Napoleon were men of the same stamp : the perpetual terrors of Cromwell, the restless, suspicious temper of Napoleon (witness his uniform conduct to the admirable Berthier), point to the identical cause—and in the three, conscience was not, doubtless, cradled on a halcyon wave.

This contemptuous rejection of a friendly hand could only madden that hostility which seemed willing to slumber. But Ignatius had his idea ; it promised independence, perhaps superiority ; he might, therefore, safely reject copartnership.

Previously to this event, Charles de Guise, the celebrated Cardinal de Lorraine,¹ was at Rome. Ignatius obtained an interview, explained to the cardinal (minister of Francis II., of *Charles IX.*, and one of the prime movers of the religious wars in France) the object of his Institute, to which the University so much objected. The cardinal engaged to protect the Jesuits in his country.²

The same cardinal subsequently proposed to establish the Inquisition in France, alleging that it had constantly preserved Portugal, Spain, and Italy from civil wars into which heresy had plunged the rest of Europe. Implacable war with “the revolted fanatics” was his motto : he believed that all peace, every truce with them were useless and dangerous ; he was the terrible exponent of religious unity—its determined champion.³ To say the

¹ Talk of pluralities ! This worthy was archbishop of Rheims, of Narbonne ; bishop of Metz, of Toul, of Verdun, of T rouane, Lu on, and Valence ; abbot of St. Denis, of Fecamp, of Cluny, of Marmantier, &c. // for thus stops short Feller. —*Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247.

² Cretineau, i. 308.

³ See Feller, *Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247, *et seq.* Ch nier, in his tragedy “*Charles IX.*,” supposes the cardinal to have participated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew’s day. This is denied by Feller, alleging the cardinal’s absence

least, Ignatius, in his intercourse with the cardinal, could not have weakened his predilections.

With such a friend, and such a mind in his cause, Ignatius had certainly good reason for rejecting a pull at the oar when he might probably sit at the helm.

Henry II. was then on the throne of France. The cardinal faithfully kept his promise to Ignatius. Immediately on his return, he enumerated to the king all the advantages which the new Order promised to Religion and the State. Henry II. was anxious to find a remedy against the troubles which Protestantism was "sowing in the kingdom," as it is expressed. The king was aware of the successful opposition of the Jesuits (as it seemed) to the Reformation in Germany. "The princes, his rivals and his neighbours, laid hold of the Jesuits, either as a buckler against the innovators, or as a lever for the education of youth: he did not consent to remain in the rear of the movement which he saw advancing."¹ Such are the motives advanced in all simplicity. It is astonishing how the Jesuits themselves unwarily admit the real motives that everywhere planted them in power. Reasoning mortals that we are, can they complain if we seek in *history* and not in the *Gospel* for the secret of their wonderful success—so sudden—and—so fleeting?

In the month of January, 1550, Henry II. expedited letters patent, whereby "accepting and approving the Bulls obtained by the Society of Jesus, he permitted the

from France, being then at Rome. This is certainly no *proof* in his favour, for his concurrence would be enough to justify the poet's impersonation. The same Jesuit flings in an approval of the cardinal's principles, thus: "His maxim was that of Plato, and the most famous philosophers, ancient and modern, that there should be in a state but one religion, and that this religion should be true," &c. There's the rub, unfortunately, which neither Plato nor the philosophers, ancient and modern, can level—nor the *Inquisition* either, God be blessed!

¹ Cretineau, i. 303.

said Brothers to construct, raise, and cause to build, out of goods which should be given them, a House and a College in the city of Paris only, and not in the other towns, for to live therein according to their rules and statutes ; and commanded his Courts of Parliament to verify the said letters, and permit the said Brothers to enjoy their said privileges.”¹

The power of the French Parliament at that period was somewhat similar to the British. The royal will was a suggestion, not an imperative mandate. Louis XIV. had yet to reign.

The Parliament objected to the registration of the “said letters patent.” The alleged motive was, “that the new Institute was prejudicial to the monarchy, the state, and the order of the Hierarchy,”² an opinion decidedly suggested by the Constitutions of the Society, if judged without remembering the fact that the Jesuits invariably supported their supporters, that is, whilst they deemed them such.

A contest ensued, of course. The Jesuits had friends at court ; the Parliament was backed by the clergy, with some exceptions, but, as may be expected, by the University *en masse*, every man of the learned walls.

The Cardinal de Lorraine, William Du Prat, and many of the bishops sided with the Jesuits.

The king ordered his privy council to examine the Bulls and Constitutions. The council declared that in all the documents submitted to them, nothing was contrary to the maintenance of order, ecclesiastical and civil ; which was, again, an opinion that might be drawn from the Constitutions.

The king being, from the first, a party in favour of

¹ Cretineau, quoting the document, i. 315.

² *Ibid.*

the Jesuits, naturally could count on this declaration ; and, on receiving it, proceeded accordingly. He commanded the Parliament to register the letters patent.

Sixteen days afterwards, Seguier, the President of the Parliament (a man of uncommon intelligence, as a Jesuit¹ admits) gave in a declaration in which "he persists, according to his aforesaid conclusions, that remonstrances be made to the king."²

Two years of indecision elapsed. The Bulls and Constitutions could not decide the contest. Intrigue on both sides was set in agitation. The Jesuits met their opponents with their own weapons, which was a pity, considering their motto: "For the greater glory of God."³

The Jesuits agitated and excited their partisans to agitate in their behalf.

This admitted fact must have injured their cause in the minds of the dispassionate.

The Parliament appealed to the Archbishop of Paris. Eustache du Bellay⁴ pronounced against the Jesuits. His dissentient declaration, under eleven heads, thus curiously concludes :—

"Finally, the court will consider that all novelties are dangerous, and that therefrom ensue many inconveniences unforeseen and unpremeditated.

"And because the fact which is pretended of the

¹ Feller. Biog. Univ. t. xviii. p. 310.

² Cretineau, i. 315.

³ "On metait en jeu la ruse ; ils firent jouer les mêmes ressorts. On agissait contre eux par tous les moyens ; ils agirent, ils excitèrent à agir en leur faveur." —Cretineau, i. 316.

⁴ Cretineau debits the usual Jesuit disparagement of their opponents on the character of Du Bellay. His relative, Cardinal Du Bellay, had been persecuted by the *Guises* (now the friends of the Jesuits) ; consequently it is pretended that Eustache "inherited resentment with his mitre," making the Jesuits the *scape-goat* ; and moreover, that the bishop "was fond of a row"—*aimait la lutte !* It is little to the purpose : all the heroes of this conflict may be much on a par : the sad moral is, nevertheless, strikingly evolved.

establishment of the said Order and Society (that they shall go and preach to the Turks and Infidels and bring them to the knowledge of God) would require (under favour) the establishment of the said Houses and Societies in the places near the said Infidels, as in times of old has been done by the Knights of Rhodes who were placed on the frontiers of Christendom, not in the midst thereof ; moreover, there would be much time lost and consumed in going from Paris as far as Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey.”¹

The Faculty of Theology in the University crowned the archbishop's “eleven heads” with a wreath of scorpions. On the first of December, 1554, they drew up a famous “Conclusion,” which they respectfully presented to his Holiness.

This document is highly interesting for many reasons. It is the opinion of Orthodox Catholics—Doctors of Divinity. It was submitted to the pope himself. Lastly, it dwells heavily upon charges brought against the Jesuits only fourteen short years after their foundation. Here it is :—

“As all the Faithful, and principally the Theologians, ought to be ready to render an account to those who demand the same, respecting matters of faith, morals, and the edification of the Church, the Faculty has thought that it ought to satisfy the desire, the demand, and the intention of the Court.

¹ “Pour la fin pesera la Cour que toutes nouveautés sont dangereuses et que d'icelles proviennent plusieurs inconveniens non prévus ne préméditez.

“Et parce que le fait que l'on prétend de l'érection dudit Ordre et Compagnie, et qu'ils iront prêcher les Turcs et Infidèles, et les amener à la connaissance de Dieu, faudroit, sous correction, établir lesdites Maisons et Societez ès lieux prochains desdits Infidèles,—ainsi qu'anciennement a été fait des Chevaliers de Rhodes, qui ont été mis sur les frontières de la Chrétienté, non au milieu d'icelle : aussi y auroit-il beaucoup de tems perdu et consommé d'aller de Paris jusque' à Constantinople, et autres lieux de Turquie.”—*Cret.* i. 318. *Cout.* i. 40.

“Wherefore, having perused, and many times re-perused, and well comprehended all the articles of the two Bulls, and after having discussed and gone to the depths¹ of them during several months, at different times and hours, according to custom, due regard being had to the subject, THE FACULTY has, with unanimous consent, given this judgment, which it has submitted with all manner of respect to that of the Holy See.

“This new Society, which arrogates to itself in particular the unusual title of the name of Jesus,—which receives with so much freedom, and without any choice, all sorts of persons, however criminal, lawless, and infamous they may be; which differs in no wise from the Secular Priests in outward dress, in the tonsure,² in the manner of saying the Canonical Hours in private, or in chaunting them in public, in the engagement to remain in the cloister and observe silence, in the choice of food and days, in fastings, and the variety of the rules, laws and ceremonies, which serve to distinguish the different Institutes of Monks; this Society, to which have been granted and given so many privileges and licences, chiefly in what concerns the administration of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, and this without any regard or distinction being had of places or persons: as also in the function of preaching, reading, and teaching, to the prejudice of the Ordinaries and the Hierarchical Order, as well as of the other religious Orders, and even to the prejudice of princes and lords

¹ Cretineau, in his translation, uses that bottomless French word, “*approfondis*,” which I have taken the liberty to paraphrase as above.

² The “tonsure” is a circular shaving of the crown of the head, usual with priests and monks on the Continent: the “Canonical Hours” have been already explained; its representative in the Church of England is the daily service in use. The Common Prayer-book is made up of the *Roman Breviary and Missal* or *Mass-book*.

temporal, against the privileges of the universities,—in fine, to the great cost of the people : this Society seems to blemish the honour of the monastic state ; it weakens entirely the painful, pious, and very necessary exercise of the virtues, of abstinences, ceremonies, and austerity. It even gives occasion very freely to desert the Religious Orders : it withdraws from the obedience and submission due to the Ordinaries. It unjustly deprives lords, both temporal and ecclesiastical, of their rights, carries trouble into the government of both, causes many subjects of complaint amongst the people, many law-suits, stripes, contentions, jealousies, and divers schisms or divisions.

“ Wherefore, after having examined all these matters, and several others, with much attention and care, this Society appears dangerous as to matters of Faith, capable of disturbing the peace of the Church, overturning the Monastic Order, and more adapted to break down than to build up.”¹

In addition to this withering censure, Eustace Du Bellay, the Archbishop of Paris, came down upon the Jesuits with an interdict prohibiting them from the exercise of the sacred functions.

The high respectability of the accusers—a Catholic Faculty of Theology—a Catholic Archbishop—seems to give resistless weight to the charges—all pointing to facts then before the world—open to investigation, confutation, or justification. Had this respectable Faculty, and this respectable Archbishop, instead of a condemnation, issued a manifesto of approval and laudation to the Society, the Jesuits themselves would not fail to remind us of that respectability of their approvers. The *laudari*

¹ Cretineau, i. 320 ; Coudrette, i. 42.

à laudato, praise from the praiseworthy, would have clanged in our ears trumpet-tongued, down to the most distant posterity, and reaching the uttermost limits of earth—*indomitâ cervice feri, ubicunque locorum!*

They cannot therefore think it unreasonable if dispassionate men should lay some considerable stress on this theological and archiepiscopal condemnation, and that Protestants should point to it as a “column of infamy” commemorating their unworthiness, their dangerous and destructive character.

On the other hand, dispassionate men will at once perceive the fangs of inexorable Privilege at her remorseless meal—Monopoly, with her thousand arms, all-grasping

—————“ extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round.”

Facts suggest this painful proof of that selfishness which renders the preaching of the Truth a mere scattering of Dead Sea apples, which cannot satisfy the poor soul's hunger. The Faculty had pronounced; the Archbishop had interdicted: *there*, and there only, duty ended. Then jealous Privilege, clutching Monopoly, took up the cudgels and dealt away roundly at the Jesuits. A right glorious theological tempest shot lightnings of Orthodoxy from the four corners of heaven together.

“Down with the Jesuit Institute” was the gospel preached in the pulpits. The Clergy attacked the Jesuits in their sermons: the Professors of the University held up the monsters to their clapping scholars. Placards and libels were hung up in the cross-ways of the Sorbonne, hawked about in the churches, flung under the doors of houses, scattered in the streets.¹

¹ Cretineau, i. 321.

That was the method of Privilege and Monopoly,—and their method is everlasting.

The resident Bishops of Paris followed with interdictions: the Jesuits, however, would not admit themselves vanquished. They crossed the river and begged hospitality from the Prior of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The abbey was out of episcopal jurisdiction: the Jesuits were sheltered, and permitted to work on the left bank of the Seine.¹

In this affair the conduct of Ignatius was remarkable. The reader remembers how he managed the Archbishop Silicio, how the monks of Saragossa were silenced. This method would have been abortive in France, where the Parliament (the enemy of the Institute) was omnipotent: Ignatius checked every movement of retaliation—silenced his men who deemed it necessary to notice the books written against them, and the Archbishop's decree. The Inquisition and Bishops of Spain had done enough for the present: they had condemned all the decrees as “false, scandalous, and injurious to the Holy See.”

In the following year his friend, Cardinal de Lorraine, went to Rome, bringing four doctors of the Faculty of Paris, in his suite; Ignatius appointed a conference, the cardinal presiding. Four Jesuits, Lainez, Olave, Polancus, and Frusis, defended the Institute—the doctors gave in on being “pressed by the cardinal,” and “declared that the decree had been published without a knowledge of the cause.”²

In the present circumstances this was enough (admit-

¹ Cretineau, i. 321.

² Cretineau, quoting Orlandinus: but the fact is rather doubtful, unless the “recantation” was a mere compliment to the Cardinal. There it is; the reader must judge for himself.

ting the fact on Jesuit authority)—the time was not come for Jesuit rule in France. That fulfilment was one of the very few denied Ignatius on earth : but if he did not live to see it, he left the spirit which effected it—destined, however, like the fondest desires of the heart gratified, to involve at length the ruin of the Society.

A laborious life is drawing to a close ; its last years are as remarkable as any in the life of a man whose destiny it was to achieve wonders, and to transmit his wonder-working mantle to his followers in life, and his worshippers after death. The domestic concerns and commotions of the Society arrest attention during the period immediately preceding the demise of Ignatius.

The influence
of Ignatius
among his
followers.

To create, and to hold what he made, have ever been the characteristic praise of the hero,—and that praise is due to Ignatius of Loyola.

He was not always one of those heartless, rigid zealots who turn all they touch into ice or tears.¹ It was by the feelings, by the sentiments, by the heart, that he penetrated to the soul. The man who possesses the power to excite, has the resistless magic of influence—and its results are submission, willing, eager compliance in the human heart.

It mattered not how his end was accomplished,—if it seemed good to Ignatius it *must* be accomplished ; and it was rarely unaccomplished. With individuals, as with parties, his method was the same : he tried every means, and submitted not to defeat unless compelled by necessity.

¹ "O der herzlosen, steifen Eiserer ! was sie berühren, wird Eis oder Thräne."—*Spindler, Der Jesuit*. In one of the ephemeral pamphlets against the Jesuits this work is denounced as *favourable* to the Jesuits. The writer could never have read Spindler's book.

On one occasion a Jesuit was resolved to return to the world. His motive is not stated; probably it is omitted because he did *not* return to the world; in that case it would have been, necessarily, bad. Ignatius “went to him during the night, and using supplications and threats, all together, he made such an impression on his heart, that the father threw himself at the general’s feet, and offered to undergo the penalty that might be imposed. One part of your penance,” exclaimed Ignatius, embracing him, “will be never again to repent of having served God: as for the other part, I take it on myself—I will perform it myself.”¹

With the young, as may be expected, still greater was his influence. Ribadeneyra was young, and not very prudent: his extravagance went so far as to shake off the yoke of obedience, and to feel so strong a repugnance to Ignatius, that he could not bear the sight of the holy father! Ignatius sent for him one day, and only said *three words to him*. In the instant Ribadeneyra threw himself at his feet, and bursting into tears, exclaimed—“I will do, Father, I will do whatever you like!”²

Whence was that influence, that power over the human heart? Let those answer the question who have come into contact with a man of strong feelings and mental vigour—a man of passion and yet a man of reason—combining all that is so seductive in the flesh with what is most thrilling in the spirit. Calm reason traces the result to a great endowment: fanaticism ascribes it to supernatural agency—to a superhuman spirit—the *daimon* of Socrates, believed in and venerated

¹ Bouhours, ii. 28.

² Id. ii. 282. The “Spiritual Exercises” were in question, and the youth was reluctant to the operation.

by his followers. "Lainez, one day, asked Ignatius in confidence, if it was true, according to report, that he had an *archangel* for his angel guardian? The saint (Ignatius) made no answer, but he flushed, and to use the words of Lainez, he was disconcerted, somewhat as a modest girl would be, who, being alone in her chamber, were surprised by a strange man at an improper hour."¹

His followers believed him to be a "great saint." He was told so, on one occasion, and he enhanced their admiration by reprimanding the party, saying: "that to see sanctity in so great a sinner as himself, was to debase and dishonour it"—superadding that "such words were true blasphemy."²

And yet, all the wonderful things—the private wonderful things which we have recorded of Ignatius, were divulged by *himself*: his visions and his dreams are recorded from his own lips—unless his followers have invented the curious and edifying facts.

Notwithstanding all they have recorded—as necessarily from the lips of the saint—the Jesuits still boast his virgin modesty, and even render his charity doubtful in a fact whereby they would prove his bashfulness. One of his seven confessors (too many could not be witnesses of his supernaturality) "could not so well contain himself, but that some words slipped from him, imparting something which he durst not speak out," and he desired to outlive Ignatius, "at least some few hours, that he might without scruple reveal what he knew; and he said he

¹ I translate literally, and therefore, clumsily—"Une honnête fille, qui étant seule dans sa chambre, serait surprise par un inconnu à une heure indue."—*Bouhours*, ii. 272, et seq. In the "Life of Ignatius," published in Dublin, 1841, the fact of the blushing is retained, but the startling comparison is omitted. P. 85.

² *Ibid.*

had things to tell which could not be heard without astonishment." A brother, complying with the Jesuit rule, reported these words to the general. The father-confessor "died some days before Father Ignatius," and "it was the opinion of the fathers, then alive, that the saint had begged God that Eguia's (the confessor's) wish might not be accomplished."¹

The reader may imagine that these are the most wonderful things told of the first Jesuit; but let him peruse the "Life of Ignatius," by any of his biographers—even the cheap Dublin publication—and he will see how every page iterates the sublimely-ridiculous, the ridiculously-sublime.

The barefaced effrontery with which the Jesuits relate the impossible miracles of Ignatius and Xavier, has rendered extremely doubtful the narrative of their wonderful missions in all parts of the world.

But, in that age of superstition and fanaticism, it was difficult to stretch human credulity beyond its given elasticity. Besides, the high renown of the founder and his associates claimed somewhat of the wonderful. It is therefore not surprising that heaven should be made to exalt him whom earth beheld with a well-fostered admiration—since men have only to feel convinced that a thing is good, and they will find a place for it in heaven.

On the pinnacle of this adoration, Ignatius astounded his followers by *abdicated the Generalate*. "Having considered the matter maturely, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I renounce, simply and absolutely, the Generalate." Such were the clenching words of the letter

He abdicates
the Generalate.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 273.

which he wrote to the assembly of the fathers, imparting the abdication.

Praises of his humility, astonishment and tender emotions are described as attending that announcement. All but one member opposed the offer. Oviedo, with characteristic *naïveté*, gave his opinion, that Father Ignatius should be allowed to have his own way. "And why?" was the general question. "Because," said Oviedo, "he who is a saint, has lights which we have not."

It appears that he spoke these words with his eyes closed, for we are told that, "opening his eyes forthwith, and recognising that the saints are sometimes unjust towards themselves, he condemned his first thought, and gave into the common opinion." This opinion was made known to the general: he remonstrated: they would not listen to him: he was forced to submit.

His agitation was so great, that he had a fit of illness: but he recovered to rule with more vigour than ever.

A heretic was detected amongst the Roman novices, actually sent by "Philip Melancthon, and another heresiarch, with orders to counterfeit the Catholic." ¹

A heretic
among the
novices.

The man of divine lights was unable to detect the trick: this Protestant emissary actually deceived Ignatius, and began to propagandise amongst the novices. He was of course reported, carried before the Inquisition, and condemned to the galleys. This Jesuit fact speaks for itself, and needs no commentary, even for the sake of the virtuous Melancthon. And it is significant. Ignatius connived at the scandalous conduct of the young German in the novitiate, in order to gain him

¹ Bouhours, ii. 111.

over, but sent this heretic at once to the galleys. It shows how *faith* will cover as many sins as charity. In aftertimes the Jesuit-casuists and confessors were as indulgent to vice, and, of course, as severe to heresy.

If heresy was foiled in the attempt to corrupt the novitiate, glory was thwarted in endeavouring to weaken the Society. Charles V. would invest Borgia with the Roman purple! The pope eagerly consented. The whole Sacred College unanimously approved the nomination. Ignatius opposed it with all his might. "If all the world fell at my feet, begging me not to oppose the investment, I would not yield!" Such was his exclamation, after three days' reflection in solitude. Pope, emperor, cardinals, strove in vain: the Spaniard was inflexible. The utility of the Society and Borgia's reputation were more important than the glory of Sacred College. At length he suggested a subterfuge. The dignity was to be offered to Borgia, and, if he refused it, his Holiness would not enforce the acceptance. The result need scarcely be stated: Borgia remained a Jesuit.

It was not to the honour that Ignatius objected, but the certain loss that the Society would sustain. Honour, combined with the Society's advancement, always found him open-hearted. The King of Portugal, John III., pitched his eyes on the Jesuit Miron for a confessor. Miron declined the honour, conscientiously it would appear, and certainly agreeably to the letter of the Constitutions. His answer was sent to the general. Ignatius "condemned it absolutely," and gave the most satisfactory reasons to the Jesuit's conscience for stifling its scruples.¹

¹ Douhours, ii. 130.

Inflexible in his resolutions, he could wreath the rod of iron with roses until it became invisible. He appointed Lainez to be Provincial of Italy at Padua. Lainez refused the dignity, alleging, "that he did not as yet know enough how to obey in order well to command." In truth, an active life suited best that energetic spirit. But Ignatius told him "it was the will of God, and he was forced to yield."¹

Lainez and
obedience.

Lainez became provincial. Matters did not please him. Ignatius drew all his best workmen to Rome. He complained, as well he might, since he had a right to some share in "the greater glory of God;" it was but natural that he should wish to fire the guns which he loaded.

Ignatius replied that Rome was the focus of the Order; that there it should shine in all its splendour, since it was from the Pontifical City that the greater number of the fathers went forth.²

Lainez proved that he was not a perfect adept in obedience; he ventured to reply. It was a hard matter. Then came the talisman: Ignatius wrote back as follows:

"I am annoyed by your continuing to write to me on the same subject, after my answer that the common good is to be preferred to the particular, and a greater interest to a less. Reflect on your conduct; then let me know if you acknowledge your fault,—and, in case you find yourself guilty, let me know what penalty you are ready to undergo for your fault."

Lainez saw at once what was impending. Never did Spartan convey more meaning in a laconic than the redoubtable general in that brief epistle. Here is the effect:

¹ Bouhours, li. 132.

² Cretincau, i. 334.

“ My Father, when your Reverence’s letter was delivered to me, I began to pray to God ; and having made my prayer with many tears (which happens to me rarely), here is the resolution I have taken, and take again to-day, with tears in my eyes. I desire that your Reverence, into whose hands I place and abandon myself entirely,—I desire, I say, and I beg by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in order to punish my sins, and to tame my disordered passions, which are their source, your Reverence would withdraw me from the government, and from study, even so far as to leave me no other book than my Breviary ; compel me to go to Rome begging my way, and that there I may be occupied till death, in the lowest offices of the House ; or, if I be not suited thereto, that your Reverence should command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first elements of grammar, having no regard of me, and never looking upon me but as the scumber of the world. This is what I chose for my penance in the first place.”

Then he offered to submit to these penalties only for a term—two or three years, according to the general’s wish. Thirdly, he proposed several scourgings, a fast of four weeks ; and that every time he wrote to the general, he would first pray, and would consider well his letter ; and, having written it, he would read it over with attention, taking care not to say anything which might cause the least annoyance to his good Father, and even striving to use only such expressions as were calculated to give him joy.

“ This single example,” observes Bouhours, “ shows the authority that Father Ignatius had in his Order, and how he wished that the superiors should be sub-

missive to the general." He also adds another remark. "Hence we may also judge how great was the humility of a man who had been admired at the Council of Trent, and how docile great minds are when they have truly the spirit of God." The reader will decide for himself on the relative value of both explanations; certainly the general's authority is clearly established.

Ignatius, of course, did not ratify the penance; but he gave him one, however, which was, to compose a *theological work*, "to serve as an antidote to the books of the heretical divines;" as if he clearly guessed the source of all the provincial's discontent, his probable displeasure at being withdrawn from the stirring battle of controversy.¹

A more important domestic difficulty filled the mind of Ignatius with anxiety, and gave the Company a significant warning. Occurring even in the twelfth year of her existence, it demands notice and remembrance. Amongst the first establishments of the Society was that in Portugal. Under the tropic sun of royal favour it had grown rapidly and rank, and now, under its own weight, was sinking to decay. Poverty, persecution, or resistance, all manner of difficulties had, in other places, given strength and elastic energy to Jesuit establishments; but, in Portugal, royal patronage and the nation's benevolence produced results quite contrary. The prospect of extending the Society over the wide possessions of Portugal in the East, blandly tempted the Portuguese Jesuits to multiply their operations; the king stimulated them with his lavish bounties and flattering exhortations. These prospects, and this glorious prosperity, or the example of

Internal
decay already
apparent.

¹ See Boulhours, ii. 132, *et seq*; Cretineau, i. 334, *et seq*.

the first fathers, if we agree with the Jesuit historian, enticed numbers to the Society, and very many were received. In 1551 there were no less than one hundred and fifty Jesuit-alumni in the college of Coimbra.¹

Most of these were youths of rank, and glowing passions. Rodriguez was their superior, but they were become the masters. Discipline was almost at an end : the regulations of the establishment were exceedingly few, or a dead letter. Obedience was obsolete, poverty took flight, it is not stated what became of chastity. Dress they attended to assiduously ; the study of spirituals languished ; worldly notions prevailed. They indulged in jokes and wrote sarcastic verses. In short, the life they led was luxurious and expensive ; they enjoyed the blessings of Mammon whilst they laid claim to the merits of religious poverty.² Rodriguez, the superior, was blamed for these disasters : he did not copy the severe example of the founder, in ruling the Society. His mild government was stated to be the cause of the misfortune. A man of miracles, he had cured a leper by making him lie in the same bed with him, and other foul patients by embracing them : but

¹ "In Lusitano regno Societas, non iisdem quibus in aliis fermè terris orta et adulta principiis, molâ jam suâ (ut præfestinatione assolent) laborabat. Quippe cum firma alibi fundamenta fore in rerum penuriâ, insectationibus, et omnibus ærumnarum generibus jacta essent, in Lusitaniâ pro benignitate Regis ac gentis humanitate evererant plane contraria : cumque messis amplitudo totum late per Orientem blande se offerens, ad multiplicandas operas invitaret, Rexque sive subsidiis affatim conferendis, sive benignis verborum hortatibus incitaret : ac primorum exempla Patrum ad Dei famulatum allicerent plurimos, recepti sunt sæpe permulti."—*Orland.* xii. 54.

² "Tyrocini disciplina penè nulla dum erat constituta : leges vero domesticæ omnino perpaucæ solvi paulatim obedientia, curari studiosius corpora : frigere studia divinæ sapientiæ ; contraque sic terrenæ vigere, ut nec deesset, qui scommata jacere, et mordaciores condere versus auderet. Manabat latè malum in victu, cultuque subreperere supervacancas commoditates, et alicubi sumptus fieri religiose paupertati minimè consentaneos."—*Id.* xii. 55.

he could not, it seems, dispel the foul diseases of the soul from the embryo-Jesuits of Coimbra. He permitted them to live according to their inclinations ; or if he sometimes reprimanded them, he did it so gently that he only strengthened them in their bad habits. Ignatius took the thing in hand vigorously. He sent the Jesuit Miron to displace Rodriguez, giving the disgraced provincial the option of an *Apostolate* in Brazil or the administration of another province. This was, we are assured, "to save his reputation." Having no longer *Portuguese* to govern, his conduct would not be so mild and relaxed ; and as the general knew that the Spanish fathers felt but little sympathy for the Portuguese fathers, by the natural antipathy between the two nations ; and as he desired nothing more than to unite them "in Jesus Christ," he destined Rodriguez for the province of Aragon, and Miron for that of Portugal.¹ At the first intimation of the event the whole court of Portugal was in excitement. They could not do without the gentle father. The mild Rodriguez was the balm of their wounded conscience. Still greater was the stir among the interesting young Jesuits,—the hope of the Eastern missions,—the apostles of the West,—the future restorers of ancient Religion, and the Ages of Faith. These noble striplings of obedience positively declared that they could not obey any one but good Father Rodriguez, and actually talked of "leaving all," not for the sake of gaining Christ, but in case they lost Rodriguez.²

Ignatius held the reins of the restive steeds. He

¹ Bouhours, ii. 140, *et seq.* "Comme le General savait bien que les Peres Espagnols n'avaient pas trop d'inclination pour les Pères Portugais, par l'antipathie naturelle que est entre ces deux nations," &c. p. 142.

² Id. ii. 149.

wrote letters all round, dealing argument, expostulation, and admonition. He carried the point ; Miron was installed, and he set to the work of reformation in right good earnest. He was as severe and rigid as his predecessor was mild and relaxed. The children of obedience loudly complained as the rod fell heavily on their pampered backs. So great was the commotion that Ignatius was on the point of proceeding in person to Portugal to quell the rebels. He contented himself to try first what a substitute might do, and dispatched Torrez as a visitor to the field of battle. His first order was to send Rodriguez out of Spain, where he remained as Provincial of Arragon, and this eye-sore being at a distance, the youths of rank and obedience grew calmer ; but all was finally adjusted by Miron's change of conduct, according to Ignatius's commands.¹ Thus Ignatius yielded to the weakness of noble students, as to that of the young German ; but brought down the pride of Lainez by stern opposition, and sent a heretic to the galleys. Already, too, we see, in the whole proceeding, the immense difference between the letter of the Constitutions and the local spirit of Jesuit-practice. In truth, we shall not fail to find almost every promulgation of the Institute belied in practice or dispensed with, on emergencies. Wrench up old nature by the roots, still you will find her offsets sprouting up again. The Jesuits made too much use of *nature* not to find her their mistress at last—yielding for a time, but, in the moment of conscious power, rushing upon them with teeth and nails triumphant.

The new provincial yielded to the storm, as directed by Ignatius, who traced him the line of conduct he was

¹ Bouhours, ii. 147.

to pursue with the young rebels of Coimbra. Success crowned his efforts, even beyond his expectations and desire. A strange revolution ensued. Many had seceded, and rumour made the most, or rather the worst, of the transaction. It was a desperate hour for Jesuit-ascendancy in Coimbra—in Portugal. Something must be done to retrieve all-powerful influence. A glorious self-devotion was required, some striking example to agitate the minds and hearts of humanity. Godinius, the rector of the college, resolved to play the scape-goat or the *hazazel*, and take upon his bare shoulders the burthen of iniquity. On the octave of All Saints, he summoned his fellow-Jesuits to the chapel, and conjured them to put up prayers to God fervently for a certain man—meaning himself—much in need thereof, and for the sins of the whole Society, particularly the province of Portugal, and also for the sins of the seceders. He enjoined them not to stir from the chapel until dismissed. Thereupon he bared his shoulders, seized a scourge, and rushed into the street. Through the whole city he ran lashing himself without mercy, and at twelve of the most frequented resorts, falling upon his knees, with a loud voice, with tears and sobs he exclaimed: “Ye nobles and people of Coimbra, pardon me for the sake of the scourging of Christ the Redeemer; pardon me, whatever offence the College of Jesus has given you. Behold, I am the man whose sin is the offence, whatever is the offence. This wrath of God has been deserved by my transgressions.” Having thus scoured the whole city, he enters the chapel suddenly once more, with the reverberating crash of the strokes as he laid them on his shoulders, *cum magno verberum fragore repentinus ingreditur*. The Jesuits at prayer were confounded at

the sight and the sound. He told them what he had done, and why, and all with copious tears. Example is catching, and they caught it with a vengeance. Instantly the same fury seized the rest of the Jesuits—'twas such a capital idea. One of them, Quadrius by name, who had shared the administration of the guilty college, protested that he shared the fault,—*si qua esset*—if there was any, for the Jesuits cling to innocence to the very brink of the precipice, and beyond, for aught we know to the contrary. All took fire—all cried for an expiation,—*ut concedatur piaculum*. Godinius reflected for an instant, and resolved to second their heated minds,—*calentibus animis ratus obsecundandum*; he ordered them once more into the chapel. “Here,” he cried, “together assembled, in order that your service may be acceptable to the most divine Trinity, unite it to the sufferings most acceptable of Christ the Saviour, who offered himself for us to God and the Father in the odour of sweetness. Then, set before your eyes that sight in which, all over blood, with the bristling crown of thorns, he was led forth in mock purple to the people: and listen to the President exclaiming, Behold the man. Let us spend an hour in the contemplation of this spectacle, and then, with the aid of divine grace, we will march forth into the streets with our cross. Scarcely had the hour elapsed, when all inflamed and angry with themselves, —*accensi omnes iratique sibi*, and breathing a certain divine ardour, and being admonished not to be so much intent on lacerating their bodies, as on following, in thought, the Lord burthened with his cross, as though they went to aid Him, they sallied forth, more than sixty in number, lashing themselves to desperation,—*validè sese cadentes*. There was borne before them a

mighty banner, representing Christ hanging on the Cross ; and two of the younger Jesuits went before, singing the Litanies, to which the rest of the troop, chiming in between the crash of whips in mournful mutterings, responded. An immense mob of Coimbra gathered at the sight and followed in admiration.



FLAGELLANTS.

They reached the House of Mercy. The rector prayed awhile on the steps, and then turned to the surrounding multitude, with his fellow-Jesuits gathered around him, ascribed it to his own sins, if any offence had been given, begged pardon as a suppliant, and moreover conjured them to join their prayers to his in order to propitiate the Almighty. He spoke so sorrowfully, and so tearfully, that the people too began to cry. They crowded to the altar : the rector recited some prayers, and then all with one accord, shouting and weeping, cried " Mercy for the fathers "—*omnes cum clamore, et*

lacrymis, misericordiam comprecantur. Nothing remains to be translated but the remarks of the Jesuit-historian on this astonishing Epiphany. "Some there were who thought these holy things absurd. Certainly such an example was not necessary: but it was nevertheless wonderful how it embalmed the minds of the citizens, ulcerated by the calumnies of the seceders from the Society; and renewed the hearts of the brethren, filled by a certain horror as it were, and deeply agitated, to receive once more the seeds of divine wisdom."¹ The wayward students of Coimbra rushed to the opposite extreme. Fervour became in fashion. Every man chose his own method with regard to his spiritual edification. Some consumed their bodies with austerities—lacerating their persons and scourging themselves to death: others, charmed by the sweets of contemplation, passed days and nights in spiritual communion with God, without scarcely thinking of study.²

It was on this occasion that Ignatius wrote his famous epistle on the Virtue of Obedience.

He begins with stating that obedience is the only virtue which produces and cherishes the other virtues; that, properly speaking, it is *the* virtue of the Society, and the character which distinguishes its children: that, thus, other religious Orders might surpass them in fastings, in watchings, and in many other austere

¹ Orland. xii. 62, 65. This is one of the awful facts omitted by Bouhours and Cretineau-Joly. The reason is obvious. It is, however, absolutely necessary to *account* for the mighty change which *all* the modern historians fail not to put forth. If I stopped to notice the tricks of the Jesuits, and of their foes, in the manner and matter of their facts, each volume would be swelled to two or more. I have been utterly disgusted with the experience. Probably there was some *other* cause for this disgrace in Portugal, but where are we to find it recorded? In the archives of the Jesuits. They alone can write a perfect history of the Order in its worst light.

² Bouhours, ii. 149.

practices which each of them observes piously, according to the spirit of their vocation ; but as to what concerns obedience, they ought not to yield the palm to them ; and that their vocation obliges them to render themselves perfect in that virtue.

He then establishes, on reasons deduced from the Scriptures and the Fathers, three degrees of obedience. The first and lowest consists in doing what is commanded : the second is, not only to execute the orders of the superior, but to *conform our will to his*. The third is, to consider what is commanded as the most reasonable and the best, for this only reason—that *the superior considers it as such*. In order to attain this degree so elevated, which is called “the obedience of the understanding,” he says that we ought not to care whether he who commands is wise or imprudent, holy or imperfect ; but consider in him only the person of Jesus Christ, who has placed His authority into his hands, in order to guide us,—and who, being wisdom itself, will not permit His minister to be mistaken.¹

This letter was despatched to every province of the Society, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America : it was the new gospel of the Jesuits.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Rodriguez was somewhat persecuted and annoyed by being reproached with the disorders of Coimbra. This pious man “felt a little resentment at not being sent back into Portugal.”² He had reasons for complaint, as he thought, and “his annoyance induced him to demand justice from the general.”

Rodriguez
punished.

Ignatius complied, appointed a tribunal of the Professed to investigate the charges. Rodriguez was

¹ Bouhours, ii. 151.

² Id. ii. 183.

condemned on two heads : 1. For having cared little to establish in Portugal the manner of life prescribed by the common father, Ignatius, for the whole Society. 2. For having shown too much mildness and indulgence in his government. Rodriguez submitted "with profound humility," and asked a penance. He was only forbidden to return into Portugal, lest his presence might again stir up the ardent nobles of the Jesuit-college ; "and he was permitted," in other words, ordered to go to Palestine, where Ignatius thought of founding a college of the Society. Rodriguez departed, but fell ill at Venice, whence he was sent to Spain, and had the pleasure of subsequently dying in his dear Portugal, at Lisbon, in 1579, at a very advanced age, and was called "the most sweet and amiable."¹ Miron, his successor in the province, was charged by Ignatius, never more to conceal any divisions among the brotherhood, nor the men who said "I am for Paul," "I am for Cophas." Unless they humbly submitted their necks to "the yoke of Christ," he must expel them from the Society ; or if there was hope of amendment, he must send them to Rome, where the father himself, although otherwise much engaged, would endeavour to make them fructify. In consequence of this charge, it appears that the brother of the Duke of Braganza was sent to Rome. His royal blood produced such spirits in this Jesuit, that, unless they were moderated, they might prove no small detriment to the Society.² Gonzalez Camera was chosen by the king as his confessor in the place of Rodriguez. This Jesuit declined the honour. Ignatius ordered him to yield to the king's

¹ Bouhours, ii. 133, *et seq.*; Feller, Biog. Univ.; Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 118.

² Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 35.

desire, and not to leave the court : if he had done so already, to return forthwith.¹ The Jesuits invent reasons for this determination of their astute law-giver : the best, however, is the most obvious : he wanted a handle at court. His Society would have many such hereafter—and certainly not to their best interest. Royal favour in its brightest day would herald the downfall of the Company.

These internal commotions were followed by troubles more threatening to the Society. An edict was issued by Charles V., compelling the residence of ecclesiastical incumbents. The Jesuits had, More troubles. or were accused of having, a share in the edict : complaints were made to the pope, who was induced to object to the measure. The Jesuits were banished from the Apostolical palace. The storm lowered—men began to predict a downfall. Father Ignatius was ill—the danger increased ; but, as soon as he could move, he went to the Vatican, without an introduction, and managed to pacify the pope, who dismissed him with assurances of perfect good will and protection.²

This fortunate turn of affairs saved the credit of the Society on a remarkable occasion which followed. A young Neapolitan had been received into the Child-stealing. Society, and was called to Rome by the general. His father, a man of standing, came to Rome and demanded back his son, alleging that he had been taken from him unwillingly. He appealed to the pope ; and the Archbishop of Naples, one of his friends, and opposed to the Jesuits. The pope referred the matter to the Cardinal Caraffa, a sort of rival of Ignatius, being the founder of the Theatines.

¹ FRANC. SYNOPSIS. ANN. S. J. p. 34.

² Douhours, ii. 191.

The boy's mother came express from Naples to join in the solicitation. It does appear that there was some trick or concealment on the part of the Jesuits; as if they had removed the youth from place to place, until discovered at Rome in the bosom of Father Ignatius. It was painful to behold the mother's grief at her bereavement. She ran about the city distracted, in tears, imploring God's justice, and that of men, against the ravishers of her son.

Caraffa took the mother's part, and passed sentence commanding Ignatius to give up the youth, threatening him with the Church-censures if he disobeyed.

Ignatius appealed to the pope, and gained him over: the sentence was annulled, and the Jesuits retained the youth.

The cold-blooded Jesuit did more; he induced the pope to establish a Congregation of Cardinals to take cognizance of such matters for the future—"because the same case might revert more than once, in order to confirm the vocation of the young Jesuits against flesh and blood which might attack it."¹

Caraffa subsequently became pope. He was thought to be opposed to the Jesuits, because his judgment in the late affair was annulled by Julius III. Paul IV. and the Jesuits. Ignatius, too, had formerly refused to unite the Society with the Theatines founded by Caraffa. All the fathers were alarmed at his election. Indeed, at the successive accession of every pope, the Jesuits seem to have trembled as men engaged in a cause itself not its own defence, as men who placed no more than human confidence in their extraordinarily divine announcements and pretensions. On the present occasion

¹ Bouhours, ii. 193, *et seq.*

Ignatius put himself in prayer, and, “knew clearly that Paul IV. (Caraffa) would be but too favourable to the Society”—in other words prophesied the result by inspiration. Caraffa was certainly kind to the Jesuits. He even proposed to invest Lainez with the purple; but, of course, the proposal was rejected. He then gave him an appointment in the Vatican; but the restless Jesuit only held it one day, when he ran off, and took refuge with Father Ignatius once more:¹ it was impossible to separate a Jesuit from his cause—union of body and soul was ever the characteristic of the Jesuits.

In the events which signalised the life of Ignatius, the whole history of the Jesuits has its representative. It would seem that he designed a model for every possible contingent; or that his followers have built their system round about his name as the canonised guarantee of its efficacy and success. One peculiar feature of the scheme remains to be sanctioned by the holy founder—academical display to captivate the minds of men.

His Roman college was designed as a model to all others. He spared no pains to render it flourishing. Besides Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, it taught all the sciences, and was provided with good professors. At every hour, he would make enquiries respecting the studies; and to animate the scholars and masters he would often appoint intellectual contests in the classes, at which he assisted, bringing with him cardinals and other men of rank. On one occasion these disputations lasted eight days; and he got the theses printed and circulated in all directions.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 197, *et seq.*

“In order to give still more reputation to the College, he ordered the professors to begin the terms with public harangues ; and at the end of the academical year, the scholars performed theatrical pieces, to attract men of talent by the beauty of the composition, and the people by the splendour of the performance.”¹

He obtained permission from the pope that the scholars of the Roman College should pass Masters of Arts and Doctors, after due examination :—thus nothing more was wanted to give perfection to the scheme.

He insisted upon the cultivation of the vernacular language, and gave the example, by requiring Ribadeneyra to correct his own grammatical errors in speaking Italian, to which he had applied on becoming general ; he ever insisted upon having his “bad words and bad phrases” written down with the view to their correction—“so fully was he convinced that the Jesuits who, by their Institute, have to do with the world, ought to possess a perfect knowledge of the country’s language.” The Constitutions require this accomplishment.² “Hence,” observes Bouhours, “it follows, that a Jesuit who neglects to speak correctly, keeps his rule badly ; and those who pretend that a Jesuit deviates from the character of his profession in studying to acquire purity in his mother-tongue, know not what they say. These people ought to remember that the heretics, having from all times professed polish in their language, to gain over the people, and to instil their venom, the Society of Jesus, which is destined to give them battle, ought to employ all sorts of arms, even the study of the living languages ; and should, if possible, know them perfectly, were it only to make a diversion and deprive the enemies of the

¹ Bouhours, ii. 213.

² Part IV. c. 8, § 3.

Church of the advantage which they arrogate to themselves sometimes, of speaking and writing more elegantly than others.¹

The twelfth year of the Society, whose remarkable events we have just contemplated, was made memorable by the death of Francis Xavier, the “Apostle of the Indies,” “the Alexander of the Mis-^{The “Foreign Missions.”}sions.” The most astounding events of his “mission,” were the inventions or concoctions of a later epoch in the annals of Jesuitism ; as such they seem misplaced at the beginning of this history : but, as the Jesuitico-Indian mission was begun by this ardent, indefatigable, but very erratic preacher, his career demands notice amongst the beginnings of the Jesuits. A few words of introduction, and we will proceed with the history of Xavier, the Alexander of the missions.

In a sermon on the Last Judgment, a preacher of Navarre, speaking of the trumpets which will awake the dead, at the end of the world, exclaimed : “ Yes, sinners! you will hear them when you will be least thinking of them—perhaps to-morrow—what do I say ? To-morrow ? Perhaps at this very instant ! ” And sure enough, at that instant the vaults of the church resounded with the pealing blast of a dozen trumpeters whom he had concealed in the nave. All fled away trembling. But from that hour the preacher was accounted a saint among the good people of Navarre.² Now, the “*foreign*

¹ Bouhours, ii. p. 214.

² Philom. [Peignot] Predicat. p. 249. Such tricks as these are by no means uncommon. I myself had a share in one of them (*pars magna fui*) when a boy, and much given to the service of the altar. It was in the island of St. Bartholomew. I was the priest's acolythe, or attendant, in the ceremonies, and had always to stand beside him whilst he preached. The day was Good Friday. Monsieur l'abbé was resolved to make a sensation. In the sacristy, or vestry, he gave me a crucifix to conceal under my surplice, until we were in the pulpit. We

missions” are the *trumpeters* of the Jesuits. But only to those who are not in the secret of “the nave.” The foreign missions give to their Society apostolic glory—in the estimation of the Catholic; excite some wonder, if not admiration in the breast of the Protestant; and—supply a few interesting facts to the Science of Mind.

The history of the Society has been said to be “as entertaining as the Arabian Nights.”¹ That was an apt comparison. Women, and children, and the like, can tell the reason why: but no portion of that history, as narrated by the Jesuits themselves, exceeds in entertainment the veritable Arabian Night of their Foreign Missions. Viewed, however, psychologically, the history of the Jesuits and their “missions,” becomes interesting to men, as well as to women, children, and the like. Being profusely the unhesitating, unscrupulous historians of their own exploits, the Jesuits plentifully fed the *dura ilia*, the coarse stomachs of wonder-craving devotees, apparently conscious that when completely gorged, with maw distent, these boa constrictors of the temple would prove an easy prey in their torpidity.

Very early they formed the design; followed out the

mounted. I stood beside him, anxiously waiting for the dread sentence, holding the crucifix out of sight. The moment came at last. “Behold your God!” he cried, snatching the crucifix—but sad perversity of fate—it broke by his violence, and the image swung round by the fact, with the head downwards,—everybody gazing, and some bitterly smiling, whilst the disconcerted preacher perspired from the face profusely. He had the conscience to blame *me* for the misfortune.

¹ Oxford and Cambridge Review, for Sep. 1845. The article was written by a pupil of the Jesuits, greatly in their favour and bitterly against Eugene Sue. Appearing in a professed *Protestant* periodical, it naturally made a great stir, like the animal braying in the church porch during the sermon. The editor publicly stated that he had been deceived in the matter; but its author was far more deceived than himself, both in its composition and the interpretation of the consequences. The whole, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, makes a very curious anecdote of modern vagaries, *another Arabian Night's Entertainment*.

scheme with great perseverance ; and, in process of time, a wonderful "development" was given to their missionary lore in their famous "Edifying and Curious Letters, concerning Asia, Africa, and America."¹ From first to last, it is an Arabian Night's Entertainment—the story of Noureddin Ali and Bedreddin Hassan for ever.

Acosta began the scheme by virtue of Holy Obedience, as early as "the year of the Virgin Godbearer 1571."² Startling as this mode of dating may be to the reader, he may be informed that it frequently occurs in Acosta's book ; and certainly the wonderful interpositions of the Virgin Mary in aid of the missioners were quite sufficient to make them forget Him whom they proposed to preach, and date the year of Grace from the Mother rather than the Son.³

The achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East and West have not been permitted to lie in the coffin of oblivion,—*caerent quia vate sacro*—for want of an inventive genius. Missionary lore forms and fills a large mansion in the kingdom of Jesuitism. It is constructed with doric simplicity without ; but within, no eastern nor modern bazaar for trade, or charitable purposes, displays more curiosities to tempt the fancy, or to open the Christian's heart. *Curious* it is, for it treats of men and manners, arts, sciences, countries and their

¹ *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, &c.*, fourteen vols. 8vo., or eight in 12mo., or four in large 8vo., and every possible *mo.*,—for the work is a staple commodity with the printers and sellers of "edifying" books for Catholics.

² *Rerum à Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad Annum usque MDLXVIII.*, Comment. Emm. Acostæ, Lusit. &c., Dilingœ, 1571. It is dedicated by Maffei to Cardinal Truchses, who gave the Jesuits the university of Dillingen only a few years before that book was there printed. Hence he states, as one of his motives in the dedication, that the Society acknowledges a great debt to the cardinal—*plurimum tibi debere se profitetur.*

³ Another formula is "Post Virginis partum,"—after the delivery of the Virgin.—*Epist. Jap. lib. i. ep. i.*

productions, vegetable, animal, and mineral. And *edifying* it is, for it tells of millions heaped into the fold of the Church, transformed by miracle, "happy" in the change, and yet, most important fact, rushing back headlong into barbarism and paganism in the hour of temptation, or as soon as the *Jesuit-method* ceased to hold together the "untempered mortar" of Jesuit-masonry.

This fact has been always overlooked, though glaring on the page of history, as we shall read in the sequel. The partisans of Rome grasped at the "annual letters" of the Jesuits, and, whether they believed them or not, it was still incumbent on the orthodox to laud the Apostolate of Rome; it was consistent in the courtier to honour those whom the king honoured; it was policy to give compliments for the good-will of those who were dreaded in the hour of their omnipotence. Their Curious and Edifying Letters became new "Acts of the Apostles." Preachers complimented the Jesuits from the pulpit, devotees crowded to their churches to hear the *éloges*, the laudations of their chief Apostle, and lent their applause to the "great Order"—the "celebrated Society." Fenelon¹ knitted them a purse of praise, and Bossuet² flung them a dash of admiration—one was the kiss of a French gentleman—the other was the grudging penny of the miser; both were to be tested for their truth by the accounts given *by the Jesuits themselves*. Berault-Borcastel, the church historian, apostrophised the Jesuits as "a *Society* of Apostles"³; and, finally,

¹ *Cœuvres de Fenelon*, t. vii. p. 144, in a Sermon preached in the Church of Foreign Missions, at Paris, in 1685.

² *Cœuvres de Bossuet*, t. iv. p. 450, 3rd Sermon on The Circumcision. In the manuscript, says his editor, Bossuet had written "*holy Society*"—then he corrected it into "*learned Society*"—but a third correction left "*celebrated Society*," as above.

³ *Hist. de l'Eglise*, t. xii. p. 257.

Dr. Wiseman, the London lecturer on controversy, has latterly softened down the burning mass of adulation into merely "a degree of fervor, and purest zeal for the conversion of the heathens, which no other body has ever shown," after having edged in a salvo to the effect that "there may have been among them defects, and members unworthy of their character"—ascribing the same to the fact of the Order being "a *human* institution," for which assertion the Jesuits were not obliged to his lordship of the central district and Melipotamus.¹ Being neither partisans of Rome, nor friends of the Jesuits, nor haters of them, be it our part to examine this interesting page of Jesuit history, rejoicing where we find that the Jesuits have done good to humanity, softened the chain of slavery for the savage, ameliorated the condition of the semi-barbarous—at least for a time—admiring their adventurous spirit, their determined self-sacrifice in pursuit of their object—wishing it had had better results than we find on inquiry—but always turning a very suspicious ear to the "trumpeters in the nave," however "curious" and "edifying."

Let us, then, contemplate the rise and progress of the Jesuit missions *in partibus infidelium*, among the anthropophagi.

The passion for conquest which possessed the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century was gratified to the fullest extent. The universe conceded to them by a Papal Bull was secured by unscrupulous, unrelenting warfare. Spain ravished the Americas; Portugal overran Southern Africa, and the continent of

¹ Lectures on the Principal Doctrines, &c., of the Catholic Church, vol. i. p. 218. Dr. Wiseman was so successful with his lectures that his bust was taken, for insulting dead Luther and Calvin so scurrilously—*Dum Priami Paridisque busto—insultet armentum.*

India. The glory of their arms, flag, and name, may have been the first impulse; it was sufficient, and will always be sufficient in a false conscience, to justify the invasion of the savage in the peaceful shade of his palm-tree, under his golden roof of Peru, beneath his wigwam in the western wilds. The insatiable lust of gold soon followed, with its attendant furies, and the war of aggression necessarily changed into a struggle to defend what was gained, but disputed, when the wretched natives awoke from their dream, to the hideous realities of their doom. The scheme of christianising them was then conceived, or at least made necessary, in order to ensure their subjection. It is a pitiful thing to see the ministers of religion aiding in dispossessing God's creature of his rights; but perhaps we must make allowance for the age, although, in this matter, we cannot allow much, seeing that "do unto others as thou wouldst be done by," was a maxim then not unknown, even to pagans.

The Portuguese who were led by Albuquerque to India had seemed more than men to the natives: another race soon disabused them—tore the deceitful lens from their simple eyes; and the horde of greedy, lustful adventurers stood forth in their repulsive nakedness as common-place robbers, libertines, extortioners, oppressors.

But it was too late: the conviction only enhanced their misfortune. The invaders pursued their schemes with determination and success. Priests were sent out to advance the cause of oppression, under the name of religion. Their conduct is described by a Catholic—Sepulveda, historiographer to Charles V., and canon of Salamanca. He says: "In pleasures of all kinds—in

The Spaniards
and the
Portuguese
in their
conquests.

The Portu-
guese in
India.

lusts of every description—they tried to legalise the crimes whose shameful enjoyments and brutal satisfactions they *shared*. These priests maintained that it was permitted to despoil the Indians of their fortunes, and subject them to the severest treatment, in order that thus despoiled and deprived of everything, they might be more easily persuaded to receive the faith—*ut sic spoliati et subjecti, facilius per predicatores suadeatur iis fides.*"¹

With such examples in the sanctuary, we are not startled to hear that "the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolators than Christians." The general object of all these adventurers, was, to get rich as fast as they could, and thus to return and spend their wealth in the mother country, to the impoverishment and injury of the colony—a practice which has been as universal as it has proved disastrous, in all colonial dependencies—disastrous in its results both to the mother country and the colony, but more so to the latter—for it is precisely like a "run" upon a bank of deposit, whose duration, under such circumstances, is dialled by its assets, hourly diminished.² The Portuguese adventurers, in their lust

¹ Sepulv. De justis Belli Causis—apud Crotineau.

² Expand this short-sighted policy of our colonies in all its bearings on the subject of colonial organisation—trace its effects on the method, the social habits prevalent in colonies—discuss the legislative enactments framed selfishly to suit that abuse, rather than to promote justice, or to aid in inducing man to "choose the better part" (his best interest in his best moral condition) apply your conclusions to every colony in existence, and you will find the cause of that ruin which all believe impending, tracing it to an *effect* of that abuse, namely, the want of "labour," and the withdrawal of "protection." Whilst Europe has advanced, her colonies have remained stationary. And why? Because they have been mere mines for general excavation,—a country, a *patria* to no man. Let that name be once recognised, and *acted upon*, and then a thousand great and noble motives will administer to progress. There is no other hope of redeemed prosperity for England's colonies in the West: those in the East are not *yet* on the brink of ruin. But how to permit, and ensure their

for gold, oppressed, ground down the natives. It was not commerce, but plunder. The natives hated them, and in them, their religion. The warm delights of that sun-favoured clime melted what virtue they brought, and evaporated whatever principles they possessed. According to a report sent from India to John III., King of Portugal, by a man of authority and worthy of belief, every man had a harem as extensive as he liked or could maintain. Women were bought or stolen for the vilest purposes of use or profit. Their masters taxed these female slaves at a certain sum per day, and if not paid, they inflicted upon them excessive punishment:—so that these poor wretches, unable sometimes to work hard enough, and dreading to be maltreated, thought themselves compelled to resort to the most disgraceful of avocations, and earned by infamy the sum required. Justice was sold in the tribunals: the sentences were a traffic: the most enormous crimes remained unpunished when the criminals had wherewith to corrupt, or rather, to fee their judges. All means, however iniquitous, were allowed, for the purpose of hoarding up money. Usury was publicly practised. Assassination was a trifle; or they boasted of it as an honourable deed. In a word, lust, avarice, revenge, envy, cruelty, and rapine, were the distinguishing characteristics of these “Christian” colonists.¹

In that state of matters, civil and religious, with such “Christian” examples before them, Xavier went to preach Christianity to the Pagans of India. Ignatius despatched the ardent enthusiast, the destined “Light

independence? There is the question: but it can be soon effectually answered, sooner than the colonies will begin once more “to pay” or “answer.”

¹ Bouhours, *Vie de S. F. Xavier*, i. 52; Bartoli, *Dell' Asia*, p. 30.

of the East," as a Jesuit calls him,¹ after having set him on a blaze by a speech adapted to the man and the case—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino*—go, set all on fire and make all burn with love divine! Here at last was Xavier's ambition, so vividly described by the biographers, dashed into a field equal to the most desirable for errant-knight or benedict Crusader. Utterly ignorant of the manners and customs of the people to whom he was rushing; utterly ignorant of their language, professedly a *bad linguist*, for "in truth he spoke very badly, and his language was but a confused jargon of Italian, French, and Spanish,"² yet was he deemed the fittest subject for an apostle; just as one totally ignorant of fencing stands the best chance with an adept antagonist, simply because he will drive home the rapier, reckless of rules and regulations—to kill, to kill quickly, being the object.³ Miracles and portents would dispense with the knowledge of ethnography, and the Holy Ghost would give him the gift of tongues, for "it is probable at least, that whilst in India, as soon as he studied a language, the Holy Ghost seconded his application, and became in some sort his teacher."⁴ Xavier had to become an apostle, had to "renew, in the latter age, what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church;" but let me not mince the Jesuit's

The "Apostolate" of Xavier lauded by Jesuits and depreciated by the same.

¹ Trigautius, De Christ. apud Jap. Triumphis. "S. Franciscus Xaverius lumen illud Orientis," lib. i. c. 2.

² "À la vérité il parlait très mal, et son langage n'était qu'un jargon mêlé d'Italien, de Français, et d'Espagnol."—*Bouhours*, i. 17.

³ See *Marryat's* "Peter Simple" for an example—O'Brien with the French officer in the prison.

⁴ "Il est probable, du moins, qu'étant aux Indes, dès qu'il étudiait une langue, le Saint-Esprit secondait son application et se faisait en quelque sorte son maître."—*Bouhours*, i. 63.

glorification of his apostle. He begins the hero's life mounted on fifty-league boots bombastical: "I undertake to write the Life of a Saint who hath renewed in the last century what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church, and who was himself a living proof of the truth of Christianity. We shall behold in the deeds of a single man the New World converted by the virtue of preaching and by that of miracles: idolatrous kings of the Orient subjected, with their kingdoms, under the obedience of the Gospel; the faith flourishing in the midst of barbarism, and the authority of the Roman Church recognised by nations the most distant, which scarcely knew what *ancient* Rome was. The Apostolic man I am speaking of is Francis Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus, and one of the first disciples of Saint Ignatius of Loyola."¹ The author of this flourish is Father Bouhours. He wrote a work for the formation of intellectual taste;² he might have quoted the foregoing as a sample of arrant fustian; or he should have flung it amongst his "Ingenious Thoughts of the Ancients and Moderns," as something that occurred to him when the moon was full. Bouhours is surpassed by a more ingenious modern Jesuit, Francis Xavier de Feller, the saint's namesake, you perceive, and determined to prove that he thoroughly felt the glory of the mighty baptismal imposition. "What an enterprise, great God!" this Feller exclaims in the middle of a *sermon*, "what an enterprise to form, so to speak, new characters; command the temperaments; stop, all of a sudden, passions the most violent, the

¹ Vie de S. François Xavier, p. 1.

² Manière de bien penser sur les Ouvrages d'Esprit.—Also, Pensées Ingénieuses des Anciens et des Modernes.

most inveterate, the most extolled ; to displace criminal licentiousness by purity without spot ; to replace bloody anger by the pardon of enemies—cruel avarice by beneficent charity ; to give holy laws to men nourished in superstition and independence ; to form upright morals in souls befouled by the strangest abominations ; to arrest by the hope of invisible goods, hearts which have never loved aught but the goods of earth ! What an enterprise ! Can a mortal man hope for any success therein ? Xavier undertakes to oppose all these enemies, and he triumphs over them : *Constituit prælia multa*, he waged many battles.—He plants, he uproots ; he builds, he breaks down, like the prophet ; he becomes, like the prophet, a wall of brass, a column of fire. A new Ishmael, he attacks, single-handed, all the adversaries of his designs, and, single-handed, he repels all their efforts, all their furies together—*Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum*—his hand was against all, and the hands of all were against him. Gen. xvi. A new Joshua, he purges the kingdoms of the Orient, gets rid of an infidel and wicked people. More fortunate than Joshua, he does not destroy that people to substitute another, but changes and substitutes them, so to speak, with themselves. A new Elias, he consumes, with the fire of his zeal, all the enemies of his God. A new Judas Maccabæus, he destroys the profane temples, despoils the idols of the honours usurped from the divinity, establishes everywhere the eternal sacrifice What shall I tell you of the incredible number of infidels whom Xavier snatched from error,—sinners he detached from crime ? Would you like to have an idea of it, and conceive how this generous champion of Jesus Christ can boast with reason

of having won victories and spoils without number—*Spolia multitudinis gentium*—the spoils of a multitude of nations? Ah! Do not judge, my brethren, by what you see. By the small number of conversions operated by *my* voice and that of the other preachers in the midst of Christianity, don't judge of the success of Xavier's preaching in the midst of infidelity. Whether that the hearts of our hearers have not the same docility, or that our words are not animated by the same zeal, or that Thou, O my God! for reasons hidden in the breast of thy impenetrable wisdom, dost not accord them the same efficacious grace. What a contrast between Xavier's sermons and ours! Xavier alone, in a hundred different places, does more than a hundred preachers in the same city. Xavier, by a single sermon, used to convert a thousand sinners: *we* don't convert a single sinner by a thousand sermons. Nothing resisted his voice. The little and the great, the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the learned, the Christian buried in crime and the pagan blinded by superstition, all listen to him as their father; his instructions persuade—his advice is law. He arrives at Socotora, and, in a few days, the whole island is changed. He appears at Cape Comorin, and twenty thousand idolators come to acknowledge him the ambassador of the true God. The islanders of Manaar hear him; become, all of them, Christians, and die, all of them, for the faith. In the bosom of infidelity and barbarism, Xavier's preaching raises every day new churches. And what churches! Let us proclaim it, my dear hearers, for the glory of the Gospel, for the confusion of the Reformers and some bad critics, who always talk of the primitive Church in order to disparage the Church of later times; churches whose

aspect alone became an evident and invincible proof of the worship which Xavier taught ; churches wherein were seen revived all the purity of morals, all the holiness of life, all the splendour of the virtues which adorned the first ages of Christianity ; churches which comprised as many *saints as there were neophytes*—as many spoils snatched for ever from hell as there were barbarians *once* subjected to Christianity—*spolia multitudinis gentium!* In ten years, all the regions from Goa to the extremity of Asia are overrun, instructed, converted : *pertransivit usque ad fines terræ*—he went through unto the ends of the earth. I carry my eyes towards the West, and I carry my eyes towards the East : I turn to the North and the South—everywhere I see the adorable cross of the Saviour of Men planted by Xavier. I see nations separated by vast solitudes, by seas immense, by a group of isles and kingdoms :—and everywhere I see Xavier, and almost *at once and the same time.*"¹

These extracts are from no Middle-Age sermon ; but composed towards the end of the last century. It is a specimen of Jesuit-lore in the eighteenth century!

Now, what are the *facts* of this astounding Apostolate ? The Jesuits themselves shall be appealed to, and they will "let out" correctives to these indigestible crudities of the fancy. During the last years of Ignatius, Xavier gave him a flourishing account of the Indian missions : but, at the same time, "he learnt by other letters that the baptism of the pagans was rather too

¹ Eloge de S. Franç. Xavier par F. X. de Feller, annexed to his edition of Bouhour's Life of Xavier, published about 1788; consequently it is one of the latest of the "trumpeters in the nave." In the same edition is given the "Office St. F. Xavier," by the Jesuit Oudin, equally extravagant and *Bombastes Furioso*.

precipitate, and it often happened that the new Christians returned to paganism, or did not live in a very Christian manner, for want of sufficient instructions.”¹ In the face of this we are told that “the churches comprised as many saints as there were neophytes”!

The Abbé Dubois, Catholic missionary in Mysore, will give the next elucidation.

“One of the first missionaries,” says Dubois, “was the famous St. Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit of the greatest merit, and animated with a truly Apostolical zeal, and still known under the appellation of the Apostle of India. He traversed several provinces of India, and *is said* to have made many thousand converts, at a period *when the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion were far from reaching the height they have since attained.* The caste of fishermen at Cape Comorin, who are all Christians, still pride themselves in being the offspring of the first proselytes made by that Apostle.

“Xavier soon discovered in the manners and prejudices of the natives an insurmountable bar to the progress of Christianity among them, as appears from the printed letters still extant, which he wrote to St. Ignatius de Loyola, his superior, and the founder of the Order of the Jesuits.

“At last, Francis Xavier, *entirely disheartened* by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met in his Apostolic career, and by the apparent impossibility of making *real* converts, left the country in disgust, after a stay in it of only two or three years; and he embarked for Japan.”²

¹ Bouhours, *Vie de St. Ignace*, i. 106. Ignatius ordered “houses for the Catechumens,” to be established, so that the Pagans might be effectually prepared for baptism. *Ibid.*

² Letters on the State of Christianity in India, p. 3. The italics are mine.

It may be alleged that this very striking qualification of Xavier's Indian Apostolate, is from the pen of one who boldly asserts the impossibility of christianising the Indians. Then take the oozing out opinions of the Jesuits themselves. These opinions are not meant to disparage Xavier's labours: but to prove the necessity of Jesuit-*Brahminism* for the work of conversion. It is not killing two birds at one shot—but it is effectually winging one in his lordly flight. Xavier is the winged bird, as appears from the following: it is an extract from a letter of Father Martin, Jesuit, in 1700.

“ Of all the Apostolic men whom God has raised up in these latter times for the conversion of the Indians, we may affirm that Saint Francis Xavier has been the most powerful in works and words. He preached in the great peninsula of India *at a time when the Portuguese were in their highest reputation, and when the success of their arms gave great weight to the preaching of the gospel.* He performed nowhere else more brilliant miracles—and yet, he there converted *no considerable caste.* He himself complains in his letters of the *indocility and blindness of these people,* and points to the fact that the fathers whom he employed in their instruction found it difficult to bear among them the disgust caused by the little fruit they made there. Those who know the character and manners of these people are not surprised at this obstinacy apparently so little grounded. It is not enough for them to find religion true in itself: they look upon the channel whereby it comes to them, and cannot induce themselves to receive anything from the Europeans, whom they consider the most infamous and most abominable people on the face of the earth.

“ Thus we have seen hitherto, that there are among the Indians only three sorts of persons who have embraced the Christian religion, when it was preached to them by the missionaries from Europe, recognised as Europeans. The first are those who placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, to avoid the tyrannical domination of the Mahometans ; such were the Paravas, or the inhabitants of the Fishing Coast [Dubois’s Fishermen], who, for that object, even before St. Francis Xavier came into India, called themselves Christians, though they were only so in name ; it was to instruct them in the religion which they had embraced almost without knowing it, that this great apostle overran that southern part of India with incredible labours. Secondly, Those whom the Portuguese had subjugated on the coast by the force of arms, professed at first externally the religion of the conquerors : these were the inhabitants of Salsette and the vicinity of Goa, and other places which Portugal conquered on the western coast of the great peninsula of India ; they were forced to renounce their castes and assume the European customs, which irritated and drove them to despair. In fine, the last sort of Indians who made themselves Christians in those early times, were either persons of the very dregs of the race, or slaves whom the Portuguese bought on the lands, or persons who had lost their caste by their licentiousness or bad conduct.”¹ It is to be hoped that the extravagance of Bouhours and Feller has not utterly disgusted the reader with Francis Xavier ; for, in that case, I shall be blamed for awarding to the man all the praise he merited by intrepidity, and an earnest, though often misguided and utterly erroneous

zeal, (if the Jesuits do not belie him) in the conduct of his mission. To a very great extent Xavier is innocent of the disgraceful impostures which the Jesuits have palmed on their "religious" world, under the sanction of his name. Respecting the very possibility of converting the heathen without the terror of swords and bullets, his opinion was flatly negative—an opinion which was notoriously entertained by other Jesuits who had experienced the missions.¹ But let us hear *Xavier himself* just before "giving up" the Indians in disgust, and departing for Japan, in 1549, after *eight* years' toil and trouble. Writing to Ignatius, he says, announcing his intended departure :—

"My Father, dearly beloved in the bowels of Christ, accept these few words respecting the affairs of India. In all the parts of India where there are Christians, some of our Society remain ; namely, in Malucco, Malacca, Caulan, at Cape Comorin, Basain, and Socotora ; in which places I seem to be of little or no aid, both because there are fathers there, and because the Indians are very thick-headed in those places, and are infected with enormous vices, whence it happens that they have almost no inclination whatever to receive our faith, yea, they even detest it, and listen to us with difficulty when we talk of their receiving baptism."² This is conclusive

¹ Navarette. "Dezia el Santo que mientras no estuvieran debaxo del mosquete, no avia de aver Christiano de provecho : " "the Saint used to say, that whilst they were not under the musket, there was no possibility of having a profitable Christian." *Trat. vi. p. 436, col. 6, et apud La Croze.* At page 440, note 26, of the same work, Navarette (an orthodox Catholic) refutes the Jesuit Colin who insisted on the necessity of arms for planting the faith. "Va probando con varios exemplares y successos la necesidad que ay de armas en las conversiones."

² "Mi Pater, in visceribus Christi unice dilecte, pauca hæc de rebus Indicis accipe. In omnibus Indiæ partibus ubi Christiani sunt, aliqui ex nostrâ Societate morantur, in Malucco, Malaccâ, Caulano, Comorino promontorio, Bassaino, Socotorâ. Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumenti afferre, tum

enough, certainly ; but it is not all. Ignatius himself was far from being satisfied with “the affairs of India.” There was no tinsel about this tough Spaniard. He did nothing by halves. His one idea must be thoroughly and perfectly complied with ; there was no compromise in the man, unless it keenly struck him that compromise would lead to entire possession. Xavier’s affectionate epistles on “the affairs of India” did not satisfy the iron-hearted Ignatius. In the very year of Xavier’s death, after all the wonderful and infinite conversions, miracles, and prodigies related by the biographers, at the very time when he is represented as gloriously successful in Japan, Ignatius wrote commanding him to send back one of his companions to Rome—his usual method of getting at the truth of matters—and, above all, “he commanded Xavier immediately to return to Europe, commanded him to return by virtue of holy obedience—not because he doubted his obedience, but in order to show how earnestly he wished him to return—in like manner as the Apostle Paul also (I am only *translating*, attentive reader)—in like manner as the Apostle Paul, when he exhorts Timotheus, his most beloved and holy, to hold fast by pure and wholesome doctrine which was nearest his heart, does not hesitate to interpose the name of God, who shall judge the quick and the dead—a mode of urgency which is not usually adopted except towards hard-hearted men.”¹ Orlandinus

quòd ibi Patres degant, tum quòd magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis, et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus, quibus fit, ut penè nullam ad fidem nostram suscipiendam propensionem habeant, imò oderint, ac grave sit de baptismate suscipiendo quicquam nobis audire.”—*Epist. Japon.* ep. i. edit. 1569.

¹ Iisdemque Xaverio literis imperabat, interposito obedientiæ nutu atque virtute, ut ocius ipse in Europam remigraret, non quòd ejus obtemperacioni diffideret ; sed ut ostenderet, quam sibi cordi esset ejus ex Indiâ reversio ; quemadmodum et Apostolus Paulus, cùm ad retinendam puram, sanamque

endeavours to account for this strong obtestation by alleging the desire of the King of Portugal in the matter, and in order that Xavier might inflame the king to the Jesuit-expedition into Ethiopia, to Congo, and the conversion of Brazil, and also to give advice touching the men best adapted for India ; but what have these matters to do with the obtestation so strikingly brought forward, and urged to the missionary's heart with the ominous words, "pure and wholesome doctrine" ? And bringing to his mind that most vigorous and heartfelt chapter of the heartfullest of the Apostles, did Ignatius not allude to a former reprimand, which we remember he inflicted on Xavier for his too great precipitancy in administering the rite of baptism ? And did he not allude to the sequence of that obtestation to Timothy, mentally saying :—"Preach the word : be instant in season, out of season ; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but after their own lusts shall they reap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. But watch thou in all things, endure affliction, do the work of an evangelist, *make full proof of thy ministry.*" 2 Tim. iv. If he did not mean this conclusion, the allusion to Paul and his obtestation to Timothy are utterly without meaning, totally out of place, and, as such, contrary to the standing practice of Ignatius, who, be it ever understood, did nothing without a purpose, or in vain. And certainly Xavier's motives for leaving

doctrinam, quæ ei maximè cordi erat, Timotheum carissimum, eundemque sanctissimum adhortatur, interposito Dei nomine, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, obtestari non dubitat, id quod nisi duros apud homines fieri plerumque non solet."—*Orland.* xiii. 83.

India, *as given in his letter*, did not “make full proof of his ministry.”

What remains but briefly to lay before you the state
View of India,
her men,
religion,
morals, &c. of India, her men ; their religion, morals, and
 customs ; in order that you may see how
 truly Xavier said that he was “of little or no
 assistance.”

Extending in length one thousand eight hundred
 miles from the Himàlaya range and the mountain
India and her
fortunes. chains which separate the table-land of cen-
 tral Asia, Hindostan or India, tapering from
 its greatest breadth of fifteen hundred miles, penetrates
 the Southern Ocean like a wedge against its encroach-
 ments. Innumerable and mighty rivers give fertility to
 the country, and purify the natives from their sins ; for,
 to the Hindoos, their streams are so many sacraments of
 grace, sanctifying and efficient. Every climate that
 man, the cosmopolite, can relish or endure ; every
 necessary of life that he needs : every luxury and
 superfluity that he craves ; in a word, all nature’s most
 bountiful gifts on the face of the land—fruits, grain,
 woods, spices, and flowers ; in the bowels of the earth—
 gold, diamonds, and every precious gem ; in the depths
 of the ocean—beautiful pearls, to which the kingdom of
 heaven hath been likened—all hath God given to this
 favoured region, in his adorable bounty and wisdom.
 They became the source of endless unrest, bitter misery,
 and hideous injustice to the favoured children of nature.
 How many pray for such blessings ! “They know not
 what they ask.” Contentment in our lot constitutes the
 true blessing to man. From the earliest times a prey
 for every invader—its dynasties rising, and superseded
 by successful violence, religious craft and cruelty—India

was reached by the adventurous Portuguese in 1498. Vasquez de Gama landed at Calicut, on the Malabar, with three ships, and "took possession" of the country in the name of the king of Portugal. Rapidly his subjects spread conquest and blood in every direction; and twenty-four years after the first arrival, the Portuguese commanded the trade of the Indian Archipelago. They had numerous settlements along the Malabar, especially at Goa and Diu, and monopolised the commerce with Europe. The Mahometan hordes were their chief opponents in the conquest; for the sons of the Prophet had mastered the children of Bramah, whom they treated with the wanton cruelty of eastern despots, and the unscrupulous extortion of fanatics. The Portuguese viceroys and governors took advantage of these "divisions" in the land, and with the most frivolous pretences, waged desperately the war of plunder, and winnowed the islands and broad stripes of the continent into the pale of Portugal. This was the result about the time when Xavier landed in India. The arms of Portugal were terrible, if not completely triumphant. The war was destined to be prolonged; for the Mahometans craved assistance from Constantinople; and Venice, the Christian republic, jealous of Portugal's increasing commerce, seconded the appeal of the Turks—so unconscionable is the lust of gold—and induced Solyman, the Grand Turk, to equip and dispatch a powerful armament to the Indian Ocean.¹

We must permit a Jesuit to describe the men of India, as Xavier found them, and converted them by millions. According to this account, and most others,

¹ See Dunham, iii. 298, *et seq.*; Hist. of Spain and Port. (Lib. of Ent. Knowl.) p. 106; Maffcus, Hist. Indice, f. 310; Pereira, Polit. Indiana, lib. i.

the people were little better than brute beasts,—given to all manner of enormities. The least guilty of them seemed to be those who had no religion at all —no God—*che non havervano nè religione, nè Dio*. Most of them worshipped the devil under an indecent form, and with ceremonies the most indescribable and disgusting. Some changed their gods every day: whatever they first met in the morning, a dog, a pig, or a serpent, continued their divinity for the day. Very little encumbered by dress, in that burning clime, their licentiousness was extreme. In many places, not only polygamy was prevalent, but women were held in common, or many men had but one wife among them. Their priests were more exclusive in the matter, but equally depraved, enjoying a privilege, or feudal service, granted to the nobles of France in the days of orthodox legitimacy.¹ I cannot proceed with Bartoli's minute and revolting descriptions; those who are curious in the matter, must refer to the Jesuit's history.² The peculiar customs, civil and religious, of the Hindoos demand attention. *They prevail to the present day.*

Some were so superstitious that they believed themselves defiled if any one touched them, except in battle; and to purify themselves from such defilements, they abstained from food until they had thrice plunged in a river. Others would eat only what they cooked themselves, or was prepared by the Brahmins, their priests, who, like all other priests, knew how to make themselves necessary to their dupes. The cow was the object of their peculiar veneration. Those who

¹ See Young's Travels in France, i. 206, or Alison, Hist. of Europe, i. 172, the note, and the fourth "feudal service" enumerated.

² Dell' Asia, f. 31.

maintained the transmigration of souls believed that only souls of the rarest probity enjoyed after death the privilege of passing into the body of a cow. Women threw themselves on the burning piles of their deceased husbands, according to the rules laid down by their priests and rulers, who had an "interest" in the thing. This was a hard lot for viduate devotedness: but the women of India brought it on themselves. As elsewhere, there had been a practice in vogue for women to poison their husbands in order to marry again: so a certain king made the aforesaid law to stay the enormity, which it did, and might do anywhere else, in the absence of better regulations. The custom began as a check to crime: it became, in time, a point of honour and religion,—like many other things which we venerate despite their bad beginnings. Famines occur amongst civilised nations with their endless resources; and they occurred in half-savage or semi-barbarous India. On those occasions, reduced to despair by ravening hunger, men sold themselves for a morsel of bread, mothers bartered their children for a bag of rice, and some desperate father would sell wife and children for fifty rupees. As in civilised countries, the belief in ghosts and hobgoblins was general in India. Against the visitations of these, the poor heathens had amulets and talismans, just as we have holy-water and horse-shoes:—on this propensity, at least, a Jesuit apostle might build extensively.

But the most important peculiarities of the Hindoos must now be considered. Amongst the very feelings of men, amongst their inclinations, and mental faculties, there is a difference of rank established and acknowledged—from the lowest to the highest—a distinct gradation, of which each individual, who

reflects, is conscious. This is in accordance with prevalent opinions, or the peculiar intellectual, social, and moral economy in which we are placed: but that resultant is certainly the source whence men have established, or permitted, the different ranks of society. From the very nature of man, as above suggested, any and every society of men collected together, will soon divide itself into ranks, low, high, higher, and highest, according to a set of ideas adapted to the circumstances of the same society: but the ranks of India are the most extraordinary divisions of human nature that can possibly be conceived. These divisions are known by a barbarous corruption of the Portuguese word for race or rank—*casta*, dwindled into *caste*. The Hindoos are divided into various castes such as, the Brahmins, the Rajpoots, the Benjans, the Yogeas, the Soudras, Verteas, Ketris, and Faquirs. The *Brahmins* are exclusively the servants of the gods: temples and idols are their patri-mony. They hold that there is one supreme God, creator of the universe, and that he engendered three sons, who form but one divinity. To express this number and the unity of nature, they wear a scarf divided into three cords or pendants. His name is *Purabrahma*, with four other names added to it, expressive of almighty, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, and self-existent Being. The three Gods resulted through the instrumentality of *Aadicumari*, or the first Maid or Virgin; and their names are Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The first creates, the second preserves, and the third destroys;—and they are the symbols of the earth, water, and fire. Innumerable other symbols or gods there are, or genii—in the skies, in the air, in rain, in fire: the god of pleasure, blinding reason; the genius

of the sea, ponds, lakes, and rivers ; the divinity who presides over buried treasures, pits, and caves, where riches are concealed ; a god-inspector of the arts mechanical and manual labour ; god-musicians in the heavens ; malignant sprites delighting in mischief, and detested by the other gods—whose name, *Rakshasa*, the Brahmins gave to the Europeans ; a god of the dead, or the angel of death—in fine, there are spectres, and wicked demons, and nymphs without number, good, bad, and indifferent, ever on the wing, inflicting evil or doing good ; and therefore often propitiated by an invitation to eat in their houses. In vast repute were the promulgators of India's religion, the Brahmins. Divine by their descent, they were holy by profession, and omnipotent by prescription :—almost, if not completely, worshipped by the people, whose opinions and customs they defended and encouraged for the continuance of their own prosperity. The *Rajpoots* were the race of cavalry soldiers ; the *Ketris* were the merchants ; the *Benjans* were bankers, and have been compared to the Jews in pecuniary skill and dexterity. These Benjans expiate their sins twice a day by bathing. The *Yogees* are pilgrims or religious vagabonds, wandering from place to place, from kingdom to kingdom, great lovers of solitude and unfrequented places, and are always in the odour of sanctity on account of the great austerities they practise, passing several days without food or drink ;—but pronounced to be great impostors by those who were acquainted with many a monkish saint, who did likewise. The *Soudras* are infantry soldiers. The *Verteas* are the religious men, the monks of Hindooism. They live in community, and are such observers of poverty that they eat only the remnants from the tables of the

charitable ; they have so great a horror of eating anything which has had life, that they drink water hot or when it has boiled, supposing water to have a soul, and believing that they would swallow that soul if not forced away by the fire. In the same intention, they carry always a small broom, with which they brush their path, lest they should trample on a worm. They vow chastity. The *Faquirs* are another order of Hindoo monks who, during the whole course of their lives, subject themselves to the severest privations or “mortifications.” They seldom, if ever, sleep on the ground, or at full length : but mostly on a thick cord suspended in the air and passed betwixt the legs. Some keep their arms always elevated above the head : others pass nine or ten days every month without eating.

The most striking fact yet to be recorded is, that, “extravagant as many of these modes and customs are, they never draw down from castes of the most opposite habits and fashions, the least appearance of contempt and ridicule. Upon this point there is, throughout the whole of India, the most perfect *toleration*, as long as the general and universally respected laws of good behaviour are not infringed.” “With this exception every tribe,” says the Abbé Dubois, a missionary,—“with this exception every tribe may freely and without molestation follow its own domestic course, and practise all its peculiar rites.” And yet, seeing how evidently all their passions, all their feelings, are invested in their particular systems, is it not wonderful that “persecution” is wanting to give them completeness ?

The castes of India do not intermarry. A wall of separation is between each. Misconduct is visited with expulsion, and then the culprit becomes a Pariah.

Exempt from all the restrictions of honour and shame which so strongly influence the other castes, the Pariahs can freely and without reserve abandon themselves to their natural propensities. They are the most numerous "caste" in India—the professional bad-livers of Hindooism, accursed of Gods and men. "It follows, therefore, that this division of castes acts as a check on human depravity." "I am no less convinced," adds Dubois, "that the Hindus, if they were not restrained within the bounds of decorum and subordination by means of the castes, which assign to every man his employment, by regulations of police suited to each individual,—but were left without any curb to check them, or any motive for applying one, would soon become what the Pariahs are, or worse ; and the whole nation, sinking of course into the most fearful anarchy, India, from the most *polished of all countries*," says the missionary, "would become the most barbarous of any upon earth."¹ We have now to see how Francis Xavier undertook to break down the religion of India and its systems, and to build up the religion of Rome on the ruins. It is pretended that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Gospel in India ; and Maffeus, the Jesuit, tells us that he built a church at Meliapoora, raised a dead boy to life, preached to the Chinese, performed many miracles, built a cross of stone, and prophesied that white men would come one day from the remotest regions, to *restore* the same faith which he was then introducing.² The monks had failed

¹ See Description, &c. of India ; Moreri, Dict. t. vi. ; and all the works on India quoted in a former section of the present work, p. 207 *et seq.* ; also, Bartolomeo's *Voyage* and *Systema Brahmnicum*. Dubois's chapter on the advantages of the castes is well worth reading.

² *Ibidemque defixâ lapideâ cruce, vaticinatus est, cum ad eum lapidem usque pertingeret pelagus : tum Divino jussu, è remotissimis terris candidos homines*

in their mission : the prophecy was intended for the Jesuits : Xavier had the honour of taking the lead. Draw the curtain—*et ecce Crispinus*—the “Apostle of the Indies” appears.

Instantly, on the very outset of his mission, Xavier imitates Father Ignatius in his questionable method of doing “good.” The missionary, wisely enough, considered it proper to begin with reforming the Christians of Portugal in India, before meddling with the children of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Xavier visited the Portuguese—stood in the midst of their harems—caressed their children—asked to see their mother—and had her pointed out to his critical eyes. When she happened to be whitish and well made, he would praise her, and tell her she seemed to be a Portuguese ; then, privately, he would say to her master : “You have here a fine slave, and one who deserves to be your wife.” But if she happened to be a black and ugly Indian—for colonial tastes are notoriously indifferent—he would say, “Good God ! what a monster you have in your house ! And how can you bear the sight of her ?” These words, uttered seemingly without design, generally took effect : the master married the woman whom the servant of God had praised—and drove out the others.¹ A very curious mode of arriving at the result, if in no respect objectionable : but we may be permitted to believe that if Xavier applied no stronger measures of reform, the harems of

ad eadem quæ ipse intulisset, sacra instauranda venturos.—*Hist. Indic.* f. 37. In the Jesuit Kircher's *Chine Illustrée*, there is a picture of this cross. Maffeus also tells us that St. Thomas's remains were found by the Portuguese at Meliappoor, and sent to Goa.—*Ibid.* f. 153. All this is of course treated as a fable by the Catholic Moreri, *Dict.* vi. 323, a.

¹ Bouhours, Xavier, i. p. 56.

the colonies were not depopulated by the discriminating *taste* of "the servant of God."

He set forth with *interpreters* to preach Christ to the worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. It was amongst the *Fishermen* at Cape Comorin. They turned a bewildered ear to his incomprehensible interpretations : he treated them

His first
miracle and
converts.

to a miracle. He found out a woman in labour ; read a portion of the Gospel over her head, baptised her, she was delivered, perfectly cured.¹ Thenceforward he became the physician of the Pagans. As soon as any one fell ill, Father Xavier was called in, baptised, and cured them : but as he could not satisfy all demands in person, he delegated his miraculous powers to a troop of children : they did as well as the apostle : "they touched the patient with their beads or the father's crucifix, and immediately he was cured."² We are not told the exact number of his converts for the first year ; but we are assured that they were "almost infinite."³

The missionary's method was very simple, when there was no necessity for a miracle. It must be borne in mind that he went first among the musket-Christians of the Portuguese converts. "When

His method.

I first came to this coast," says Xavier himself, "my first care was to ask them if they had any knowledge of Christ our Lord ? Then, if they knew the articles of faith ? Thirdly, What they believed ? or what more they had, after being initiated in our faith, than before, when they were gentiles ? All their answer was that they were Christians ; but that, not understanding our language, they were ignorant of our law, and what was to be believed." Hence it is evident, that these poor

¹ Bouhours, Xavier, 59.

² Id. ib. 61.

³ "Presque à l'infini."—Id. ib. 75.

wretches had been baptised, or announced themselves Christians, as the Jesuit Martin admitted, without even understanding the language of their “converters”! The dread of the musket was their missionary. Xavier proceeds: “Wherefore, as we did not understand each other sufficiently, since they spoke the Malabar lingo, and I the Celtiberic or Vaziquenza [the Spanish of Biscay], I collected together the cleverest of them, whom I knew to understand both languages. After spending many days together, at last, with great labour, they transfused into the language of the people certain pious prayers—the sign of the cross, the declaration of the Trinity, the Apostle’s Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Salve Regina, and the Confiteor.”¹ Xavier actually employed these pagans to translate these prayers and formulas out of bad Spanish into a language wherein the most skilful minds would find it difficult to escape nonsense and avoid absurdity, in expressing things and ideas totally without representatives in that vernacular. Meanwhile, in the face of Xavier’s own admissions, Bouhours boldly says that *Xavier* translated the prayers, &c., into the language of the Paravas!² “These things being thus given in their language,” continues Xavier, “and having well committed them to memory—*altius meâ in memoriâ fixis*—I went about the whole city, and collected, with the sound of a bell, all the boys and men I could, promiscuously. I gave them four hours a day, two in the morning, two

¹ “Tandem magno labore in linguam gentis illius nonnullas easque pias transfuderunt orationes.”—*Epist. Ind.* p. 2, *et seq.* Ed. Louan, 1566.

² “Il les consulta,” says the Jesuit, “plusieurs jours de suite, les uns et les autres ; et, à force de travail, il traduisit en langue des Paravas,” &c., p. 60 ; but, in the very next paragraph, he says that Xavier “got by heart what he could,” “*apprit par cœur ce qu’il pût !*”

in the evening ; and so, in one month, they learned the prayers, which I taught them on this condition, that the boys should teach their parents, and all of them their domestics, what they learned from me.”¹ Xavier repeated *his* lesson, and the pupils did the same after him. “After which, I repeated the Creed, and separating each article from the rest, giving proper time for explanation [by an *interpreter*, it is to be presumed], I admonished them that to be a Christian was nothing but to believe the twelve articles with a firm and immovable faith. When, therefore, they professed themselves Christians, I asked them if they clung with unshaken faith to the twelve articles of belief ? All of them, men, women, old men and boys, striking their breasts, or making the sign of the cross, answered with a loud voice, ‘We believe.’” He then enjoined them to repeat the Creed to themselves oftener than the prayers. Then he proceeded to the Commandments. He states that both the Christians and the pagans were in great admiration when they beheld the consummate equity of the divine law, and its concordance with natural reason—*cum ratione naturali parem symphoniam*. The Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary ensued. The Creed was repeated twelve times, and ten times the Ten Commandments. “First, I declare the article of faith ; then they, in their own language, say with me : ‘Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us grace to believe the first article of faith, sincerely and without doubt. We beseech thee to give us that faith by the Lord’s Prayer.’ Then we all say together : ‘Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from thy Son the grace to believe this article sincerely and without doubt.’ Thereupon we repeat the Hail Mary.

¹ Epist. Ind. 3 and 4.

This is the method with the remaining eleven articles." A similar process is applied to the Ten Commandments, with the addition of the Lord's Prayer, and another supplication to the Virgin adapted to the different object in view, concluding with the Hail Mary. "These are the things which they are taught to ask of God ; and I tell them that should He accord these to their prayers, He will give more than they can hope for or desire. I make them all repeat the Confiteor, particularly those who wish to be baptised. These last, after they have repeated the Creed, and affirm that they believe each article, and have repeated the Commandments, promising to obey them with God's assistance, I baptise, as sufficiently tried—*tanquam satis exploratos, baptizo.*"¹ A very expeditious mode of making a Christian out of a son of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and the ten thousand other gods, with all their social habits inextricably woven into that endless system of gods and genii, devils and sprites, nymphs and hobgoblins. And still more precipitate was the rite if the missionary had to do with Pariahs, who sin by profession. Evidently the same idea occurred to the Jesuit Bouhours ; for he takes very significant liberties with Xavier's text, as above, which he thus interpolates :—"I make them say the Confiteor, and principally those who are to receive baptism, who, at my bidding, repeat the Creed. *At each article I ask them if they believe without doubting at all ; and when they assure me of the fact, I generally make them an exhortation, which I have composed in their language : it is an abridgment of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the duties of a*

¹ "Quos postquam symbolum pronunciarunt, et unumquemque se credere affirmant, legis etiam mandata memorarunt : eaque se servaturos Deo juvante, receperunt : tanquam satis exploratos, baptizo."—*Epiet. Ind.* p. 7.

Christian necessary to salvation: at length I baptize them."¹ Xavier wrote nothing of the sort, *did* nothing of the sort, or Ignatius would not have urged upon him, as we have read, the necessity for more circumspection in admitting the pagans to baptism. Let the above Jesuit-dexterity be a sample of what an extensive reader of their books and histories finds to make him rather more than sceptical as to Jesuit-veracity and honesty.

It was the young that Xavier seems to have chiefly enlisted into his service,—which aggravates the questionable method of “conversion.” He says that they were very eager for the faith, and fails not to state that these young converts frequently broke out into the most atrocious abuse against the heathens—*sæpe verbis adversus ethnicos atrocissimis digladiantur*. “What,” says the missionary, “is my hope and confidence, of the mercy of God I doubt not but that these youths will become better than their parents. For if they see their parents taking any steps to return to the ancient worship of the idols, they not only sharply rebuke them, but even bring them to me, for the love of their salvation. In fact, matters have

His method
with relapsers
into idolatry.

¹ “A chaque article je les interroge s'ils croient sans douter aucunement ; et quand ils m'en assurent, je leur fais, d'ordinaire, une exhortation que j'ai composée en leur langue ; c'est un abrégé des dogmes du Christianisme et des devoirs du Chrétien nécessaires au salut ; enfin je les baptise,” p. 62. Bartoli gave Bouhours the hint ; but the former has thrown the letter in the form of a narrative, and so avoids the dishonesty of putting words which he never thought of into the missionary's mouth.—See *Dell' Asia*, f. 37. To the above passage this Bouhours adds as follows : “It is evident, from what we first said touching the instruction of the Paravas, that Xavier had not the gift of tongues when he began to instruct them ; but it appears also, that after he had made that translation, which cost him so much, he understood and spoke the Malabar language—whether he acquired the knowledge by his labour, or that God gave him the knowledge of it in a supernatural manner” ! p. 62. Is this not *too* much ? Even for a Jesuit ?

taken such a turn, that, through fear of the boys, none of the citizens can dare to sacrifice to the idols in the city. For without the city should any one secretly follow the worship of the idols, they search all the hiding-places suspected by the diligence of the Christians, and whoever is caught they bring to me. For this evil, my remedy is no other than the following :— I collect a great number of boys, and send them at the thing in hand, *in rem præsentem mittam*, where idolatry seems to be renewed. These boys, in the singular and pious zeal which they exhibit towards the faith, heap more abuse upon the devil than their parents had lavished veneration upon him. They pull down the idols and throw them over a precipice, or into the fire. And they play other pranks, which, although it be not proper to relate, still are an honour to the boys, namely, so to play the fool with the god which impelled their parents to such a pitch of madness, as to have and to venerate for God, stones and rocks.”¹ There is much in this to disgust us with Xavier’s method. It would have been much more to the purpose to prevent the relapse into idolatry by more instruction : at all events, the present method only gave “the boys” an opportunity for “playing other pranks,” without being better Christians for their pains : they demolished idols without abolishing idolatry : they dishonoured their parents without honouring God.

In the very same letter, Xavier lays claim to miraculous powers, stating how crowds thronged around and oppressed him with invitations to their houses, to cure the sick by the imposition of hands. It was then that,

¹ “Aliaque designanti, quæ quanquam non sit honestum recusare, pueris tamen est honor, ita illudere ei;” &c.—*Epist. Ind.* p. 6.

finding himself, as he states, unequal to the numerous labours so delightfully vouchsafed to him, he instituted the troop of boy miracle-workers before mentioned.¹ It was then that he thought of the academies of Europe and their numerous inmates, pale with the avarice of science—*avaritiâ scientiarum dumtaxat pallentes*, as he forcibly expresses it, wishing that they would come to the vineyard of India. Why do they not exclaim, Lord, here am I, what wouldst thou have me do? Send me whithersoever thou wishest, even to the barbarous Indian nation separated from all the world.

He rebukes
ambitious
churchmen.

“But I fear,” says he, sarcastically, “I fear that many who apply to their studies in the academies, count on the dignities and episcopal revenues that may result from them, rather than have the intention of doing what dignitaries and bishops ought to do. Everybody says: I wish to apply to study, that I may become a priest, or attain some church dignity. When this is attained, I’ll live for God afterwards—*quâ partâ, postea Deo vivam*. Brute-men—*homines animales* (!) who blindly follow their appetites—on this account more stupid than a blackamoor: because, neither attending to their own or others’ affairs, they forget the will of God If the first-rate theologians in the Academies of Europe only knew the incredible richness of the harvest here, and the deplorable lack of labourers, I doubt not to affirm that they would either send hither those who are not needed at home, or would seek out with all care and solicitude men of tried probity and learning, for this

¹ Ibid. But Bouhours and the rest have added the “beads” and “crucifix” by way of a more efficient instrument. Xavier only says *per fidem*, or that they did cure diseases of body and mind.

enterprise. In truth, the Christian faith would be embraced by the innumerable souls of myriads who must now perish eternally through our slothfulness and their own sin of infidelity. So great is the multitude of those who here embrace the faith, that often, whilst baptising, my arms, as it were enervated by labour, are fatigued, and I almost lose my voice by hoarseness whilst I rehearse the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and other prayers, translated into their language, whilst I explain to them the meaning of the word *Christian*, whilst I speak of paradise, of hell—the condition of those who go to the latter place, and the happy lot of those who depart to the former. I am frequently engaged in inculcating the Creed, and the Commandments of God. It sometimes happens that on the same day I baptise a whole city, *eâdem die civitatem integram baptizem*. Much of this success is to be attributed to the Viceroy of India, both because he is a particular friend and patron of our Society, and spares no expense, or rather takes upon himself, as far as he can, all the labours for the propagation of the faith. By his endeavours, we have now thirty cities of Christians on this coast. So keenly does that hero hunger and thirst for the conversion of all the infidel nations, that he has lately given four thousand pieces of gold to those who with all diligence profess the truth in the cities of the Christians.”¹ If the reader has attentively read the preceding pages, touching the method adopted by the viceroys to ensure the possession of India, this passage, otherwise so striking, will suggest the whole gist of the argument, as it bears against the “apostolate” of the Jesuit. One more extract is necessary to give an idea

¹ Epist. Ind. 11—13.

of the man—the finishing touch to his portrait, drawn by himself. He says : “ I will add one word more, namely, that the comforts and joys of those who evangelise these nations are so great, that words cannot easily express them. There is even one amongst us [meaning himself] who is not unfrequently filled by God with such delights that he often bursts forth into these exclamations : ‘ O Lord, do not give me so many comforts in this life ; or if, through thy inexhaustible bounty and mercy, thou wilt give them, take me hence to thy glory. For it is too irksome to live afar from thy presence when thou pourest thyself so benignly into creatures.’ ”¹ . . . And finally, praying that all the brethren of the Society so dispersed all over the world, might be hereafter united in glory above, he thus concludes his letter. “ That I may obtain this wish, I call to my aid all the holy souls of this country, which being baptised by me, in their innocence have flown from this valley of miseries to heavenly glory, in number more than one thousand. I pray to all these holy souls that they may obtain us the grace whereby, during the whole time of this exile, we may know the most holy will of God, and being known fulfil it with all our might.”² I rather leave it to the

Portrait of
Xavier,
drawn by
himself.

¹ “ Versatur etiam inter nos quidam, qui haud infrequenter à Deo cæ perfunditur voluptate, ut in has sæpè prorumpat voces : O Domine, ne tot mihi in hæc vitâ largiaris solatia ; aut si per tuam inexhaustam bonitatem et misericordiam ea dare vis, tolle me hinc ad tuam gloriam. Nam nimia est anxietas, ubi tam benignè creaturis te infuderis, tam procul à tuo conspectu vivere.”—*Epist. Ind. 23.*

² “ Quod ut obtineam, in auxilium voco animas omnes sanctas hujus regionis, quæ per me baptizatæ in suâ innocentia ex hæc miseriarum valle ad gloriam evolarunt cælestem, numero plures quam 1000. Has omnes sanctas animas oro, ut nobis gratiam concilient, per quam toto hujus exilii tempore Dei sanctissimam voluntatem intelligamus, intellectamque totis viribus impleamus. Ex Cochim 15 Januarii, Anno 1544, Vester in Christo charissimus Frater, Franciscus Xavier.”—*Id. 26.*

reader to form his opinion on this last feature in Xavier's character. It is certainly only fair that he should have his claim allowed on the saints he dispatched to glory, as he says ; but he *should* have waited until they were canonised at Rome, with miracles attested. Xavier's letters invariably portray an ardent, enthusiastic man, devoted to his calling, and pursuing it with inextinguishable ardour, or blind determination—eager to make “holy souls” by the thousand—never so delighted as when his arm sank enervated by baptising his myriads and whole cities in one day—and falling or rising into one of these raptures which we have just read, and which must be familiar to all who have sunk below, or soared above, the beaten track of common Christians.¹ But, although constantly disposed to form the best opinion of the *man*, we are perpetually disgusted with the *saint*, as the magicians of Jesuitism conjure up portents and prodigies in his career, to manufacture an apostle. Let us join them for a while, and unterrified by blue lights and red eyes, rush, with *this* spirit of a saint, through his brilliant scenes of a magic-lantern, even to the end of the Jesuit's performance.

From Cape Comorin the Saint advanced to Travancor, giving expanse to his splendid enterprise. In a very short time, forty-five churches were built, and the whole coast became Christian—having baptised, as he writes himself, ten thousand idolaters in one month—about four hundred a-day.

In the midst of this splendid success, it was, that his tongue was untied : he received the “gift of tongues”

¹ See Bishop Lavington's “Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared,” sec. xxi., p. 33, for numerous instances of the thing above alluded to. Or, if I be allowed to appeal to my own experience, see “The Novitiate,” pp. 136, *et seq.* and 224, 2nd Edit.

—spoke the language of the barbarians without having learnt it, and used it as a thunderbolt to strike down the enemy of his people. The bandits of Bisnagor poured down upon the plains of Travancor. The king of the country went forth with an armed band to meet them :—it was unnecessary. Xavier fell upon his knees,—and then he rose, and advanced, crucifix in hand, upon the coming foe. “In the name of the living God,” he cried, with a voice of thunder, “I forbid you to advance—I command you to return!” Terror-stricken, back rolled the barbaric host—rank upon rank scattering dismay—for behold! there stood before them the semblance of a man unknown—in black habiliments—of gigantic, supernatural stature—frightful aspect, whose eyes shot lightnings. All fled in disorder.¹

Being thus embarked in the career of miracles, Xavier did not grudge his powers: he cured all sorts of diseases and raised four dead bodies to life again—two men and two women. “An infinity of Christians” entered the fold of baptism in the face of these portents: but the king of Travancor seems to have had his doubts about the matter—he held out for Brahma, though he was wise enough to let his people do as they liked with their conscience,—perhaps he thought that Xavier’s black art might serve him in another turn with the bandits.

Xavier went on preaching—but the waters of baptism remained stagnant: his eloquence was in vain: he resolved another miracle.

Turning to his audience with the air of inspiration, he exclaimed: “Well! since you do not believe me on my word, come and see what can make me credible.

¹ Cretineau, i. 211.

What testimony would you have of the truths I proclaim to you?" He remembers that they had buried a man the day before: then, resuming his address in the same tone, he said; "Open the grave which you closed yesterday, and take out the body: but see that he who was buried yesterday, is really dead." His command was obeyed: the fact was certain,—the corpse was decaying. They place it at his feet: the barbarians fix wondering eyes on the thaumaturg. He kneels—prays but an instant—then speaks the word: "I command thee by the name of the living God, arise in proof of the religion I preach." At the words, the putrefying dead man rose, not only full of life, but healthy and vigorous. All cried, "a miracle!" and were baptised on the spot.¹

"Have confidence in Mary," said he once to a merchant going on a voyage, "and these beads will not be useless to you:" Xavier gave the man his chaplet. In the gulf between Meliapoorra and Malacca, a furious tempest suddenly raged: sails and masts were shivered by the wind—the ship dashed on the rocks and foundered. The survivors made a raft: threw themselves upon it—their only hope. Scarcely did the merchant (with Xavier's chaplet) touch the raft when he was rapt in ecstasy, "feeling as though he were with Father Francis at Meliapoorra." When he came to himself he was on an unknown coast, safe and sound; but his companions, where were they? Perhaps in the sharks' belly sighing for Xavier's chaplet. The Saint's protégé did not know what became of his companions!²

And a man of *death* was Xavier as well as of life. He wanted some wine for a sick man. He sent to a

¹ Bouhours, i. 86.

² Id. ib. 126—132.

Portuguese for some. The man gave it reluctantly, for he said he needed it for himself, and hoped the saint would not trouble him again. Any man might say so—you, gentle reader—for beggars are sometimes importunate—but Heaven grant you fall not in the hands of a Xavier! Inflamed with a holy indignation, he cried out: “What! does Araus think of keeping the wine for himself, and refusing it to the members of Jesus Christ? The end of his life is at hand—and after his death all his goods shall be distributed to the poor.” He went and announced death to the man—and the man died—but not immediately. He sickened when Xavier left the place; and one day, in the midst of the Mass, Xavier turned to the pious ones kneeling, and he said: “Pray for Araus—he has just died at Amboyna,” which was a great way off. Ten days after the fact was verified; and all came to pass as the saint predicted.¹ How terrible in his anger is a saint enraged! Beware how you refuse anything to a Jesuit-father—your customer may be a Father Francis. That’s the Jesuit-moral of the tale.

And a man of *war* was Francis Xavier. With astonishing energy and perseverance he organised a fleet to give battle to the barbarians: miraculous predictions and interpositions attended. The Portuguese boarded the barbaric fleet, gained the victory, slaughtered the crews, six men excepted, who were put to the torture. Two died in the torments; two were thrown alive into the sea; and two turned “king’s evidence,” and gave the requisite information as to their countrymen’s

¹ “When Calanus, the Indian philosopher, mounted the pile, he said to Alexander, ‘I shall meet you again in a very short time.’ Alexander died three months after.”—*Lempriere*.

position, deeds, and designs. A dreadful battle ensued : the Mahometans fought with their usual desperation : but of what avail in the unequal fight ? They were routed and massacred : five hundred of Islam nobility—the Orobalons, or chosen band of Achen—were slaughtered or drowned in the river, with all the Janissaries. A glorious victory for the man of God, who had promised the “Christians” victory, enjoining them “*to behold Jesus Christ crucified before their eyes, during the battle!*”¹ Such was the wrath of Xavier the Jesuit, in the matter of Alaradin, the king of Achen.

The saint was at Malacca, far away from the field of battle : and he happened to be in the midst of his sermon to a multitudinous congregation. In spirit suddenly rapt, he beheld the map of battle, blood-traced, before him : his head drooped awhile : then he rose exulting, as he cried, “Jesus Christ has conquered for us—the enemy is routed—with very great slaughter—you shall hear the news next Friday—our fleet will soon return.”² It is useless to state that it came to pass as he predicted. Apollonius of Tyana ! venerable shade ! art thou not indignant,—or, rather, feelest thou not ashamed that a Christian should imitate thy craft or magic art ?³

And ye, dread witches and wizards of old, if your haggard souls still linger on the earth ye have cursed and befouled with incantations hideous as the king ye

¹ Bouhours, i. 155—170.

² Id. i. 170, *et seq.*

³ “Being one day haranguing the populace at Ephesus, Apollonius, the famous magician of old, suddenly exclaimed : ‘Strike the tyrant, strike him ! The blow is given ; he is wounded and fallen !’ At that very instant the Emperor Domitian had been stabbed at Rome.”—*Lempriere*. It might easily be shown that all Jesuit-fictions of miracles and piety are founded on classic facts and legends of hagiology. The Jesuits were resolved to make up for *time*.

served—revengeful, spiteful gorgons! arise, and be justified—a *saint* owns you for his model. For we read that “a man impelled by rage or animated by the Bonzas, denounced the saint with fierce maledictions; the saint bore all patiently, as usual, and only said, with an air somewhat sad, to the man who abused him: ‘May God preserve your mouth!’ Instantly the wretched man felt his tongue eaten up by a cancer, and there streamed from his mouth matter and worms with a horrible stench.”¹

If he thus effectually stopped the tongues of others, he gave to his own the speech of ten: for “he could by a *single* expression, answer ten different questions, put by as many inquirers,—and this not on one occasion, but very frequently.”² Chinese he spoke without having learnt it, and he twanged Japanese as glibly as a native.

He turned salt water into fresh—and gave it miraculous power to cure, “for it was only necessary to put two or three drops of it into any drink, in order to recover one’s health.” It was during a voyage: but a more wonderful thing than that was to come to pass. A child of five years fell into the sea, and we may add (though not so stated) that he was drowned. The father of the child grieved bitterly then; and, as the miracle of the water had not converted the Mahometan, Xavier asked him if he would promise to believe, should his son be restored? The infidel promised. Three days after the child was seen on the deck. Six days had he tarried in the deep rolling wave, ’mid insatiate sharks of that tropical sea—yet he waited unharmed in the crystal caverns thereof, for the saint’s command,—and when he appeared he knew not whence he came, nor how he came,³ like

¹ Bouhours, tom. ii. 13.

² Id. ii. 32.

³ Id. ii. 128.

Berthalda in De la Motte's most beautiful "Undine," the fisherman's child, by the malignant Kühleborn snatched or enticed from a fond mother's arm.¹

And gigantic seemed Xavier, like Kühleborn, when he baptised the harvest of this thrilling portent—for "though he touched the deck with his feet, yet did he overtop, by the head entire, the tallest in the ship, as he poured the sacred waters on their brows."² Thus he answered the Divine question—and *did* "add one cubit unto his stature."! Matt. vi. 27.

All nature was subject unto him; but the arms of the devils were permitted to cripple him: "One night, as the saint was praying before the image of the Virgin, the devils attacked him in crowds, and belaboured him so roughly, that he remained half dead with the blows, and was forced to keep to his bed for some days after." There can be no doubt about this, for a young Malabarese, who slept near the church, was roused by the noise, and distinctly heard the blows, whilst Xavier cried for succour to the Virgin: nay, more, the young convert sometimes would quiz the saint on the subject!³

And thou, universal demon, limping on three legs, impure Asmodeus!⁴ What hadst thou in Father Francis? "One night, Simon Rodriguez awoke, and saw Xavier, who was sleeping at the foot of his bed, fling out his arms in a dream, like a man who violently repels some one importunately advancing: he even saw blood gushing abundantly from Xavier's mouth and

¹ See "Undine," by De la Motte Fouqué.

² Bouhours, ii. 129.

³ "Les redisait quelquefois à Xavier, par une espèce de *moquerie innocente*." —*Id.* i. 108.

⁴ Le Sage's "Diable Boiteux," with two natural legs, and one of wood. The conceit is full of meaning.

nose." Reader, canst thou opine the cause, physiological, moral, or metaphysical? If thou canst not guess, Xavier will tell thee: "Know, then, Brother Simon, that God, by a wonderful mercy, hath, till now, done me the grace of preserving me in perfect purity, and that, on the night in question, I dreamt that, being in a tavern, an immodest girl approached me. That motion of my arms was to repel and get rid of her, and the blood I threw up was caused by the effort I made."¹

I believe St. Chrysostom describes a virgin as "breathing fire,"—and there is or was a notion that a lion would never mangle a virgin: but even fierce *tigers* slunk off at the sight of Xavier. St. Patrick, with his toads and serpents must now "pale his ineffectual fires." The island of Sancian was infested with tigers. "One night the servant of God went forth to meet them, and espying them near, he threw holy water upon them, and ordered them to go away, and never to appear again. The whole troop took to flight, and since then tigers have not been seen in the island."² Catholics may be found who believe this, just as there are Hindoos who ascribe a similar virtue to *their* religious men. The Hindoos affirm that even the wild beasts of the forest respect them; and when the force of their holiness is transcendental, the wild beasts come voluntarily to their hermitage, lick their hands, fondle and lie by them for hours!³ Finally, there was in the castle of Xavier, in Navarre, an old crucifix of clay; and during the last year of the saint's life, this crucifix

¹ Bouhours, ii. 202, *et seq.* Plutarch somewhere says that the proof of virtue is when we resist temptation in a dream.

² Bouhours, ii. 134.

³ See "The Hindoos," p. 66; Heber, Narrative, ii. 265, *et seq.*; Ward, iii. 342.

sweated blood abundantly every Friday: but ceased to sweat at his death. In fact, it had been remarked that when Xavier worked extraordinarily hard, or was in great danger, this crucifix distilled blood on all sides—"as if when the apostle was suffering for the love of Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ had suffered for him in his turn—all impassible as He is."¹ The mind of blasphemy can no farther go—in the estimation of the Protestant: but no blasphemy was intended by the inventor of this explanation. It is ever the practice of devoteecism to extol its idols even to the throne of the Eternal. Possessed with the idea whose "end" seems so good and holy, the devotee shrinks not even from lowering the Divinity to the level of his conventional notions to honour his hero, whom he believes supremely honoured by the king of Heaven. The Jesuits thought it necessary, or at least, very expedient, to have in their Society the greatest apostle that ever existed, or could possibly exist—and decidedly they have produced one—on paper at least. Meanwhile, in the present stupendous prodigy before us, they evince their *classic* associations, which, as I have before remarked, have always administered to their pious inventions. One of their numberless writers on numberless subjects, Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, of the Company of Jesus, wrote a very curious little work, entitled "Curious Philosophy and Treasury of Wonders,"² of which, more hereafter: but in chapter the fifty-seventh you will find a discussion whose title is, "Whether it is natural

¹ "Comme si, lorsque l'apôtre souffrait pour l'amour de Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ eût souffert pour lui à son tour, tout impassible qu'il est."—*Bouhours*, ii. 146, *et seq.*

² "Curiosa Filosofia," p. 56. This is indeed as curious a book as was ever written—a most entertaining medley of everything possible or contingent.

for statues to distil blood, to sweat, and groan ;” and he gives, from the ancients, very many instances of such facts in general, and of one in particular, when, before the battle of Actium, the statue of Marc Antony sweat blood, *vertio sangre una estatua de Marco Antonio*. He draws a distinction between natural and miraculous or superstitious sweat, and, without assigning any proof whatever, he places in the miraculous, the sweat of the Xavier-crucifix, whilst he flings amongst the superstitious all the similar sweatings recorded by Livy, Plutarch, Cicero, Ammianus, Suetonius, Dion, Valerius Maximus, as being doubtful—*son dudosos*. You perceive he does not deny them utterly : the reason is, because his object in all his Wonders of Nature is to show the reasonableness of the mysteries beyond man’s comprehension ; and if, among the many of his Church, he edges in the Xavier-crucifix, we must, perhaps, excuse the devotee in the dexterous Jesuit.

After all that you have just read in this stupendous career of the sainted apostle, you will scarcely bear to be reminded that Xavier left the scene of his miraculous labours, his sainted souls by the thousand, his saints in all his converts, his entrancing raptures—left all, in utter disgust with “the thick-headedness of the Indians and their propensity to enormous vices,” and with the conviction, expressed in as many words, that he was of little or no use to the mission !¹ And so he did. He left them, to pay an apostolic visit to the Japanese. His reasons, besides the aforesaid disgust, are so ingenuously expressed, that I am sure you will read them with comfort. “I have

Xavier goes to Japan—its attractions.

¹ “Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumenti afferre . . . quod magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus” &c.—*Epist. Jap.* 1.

been informed by many," says he, "of an island, Japan, situated near China, inhabited by heathens alone, not by Mahometans, nor by Jews; and that it contains men endowed with good morals, most inquisitive men, intelligent, eager for novelties respecting God, both natural and divine novelties concerning God. I have resolved, not without great pleasure of mind, to see that island also; because I am of opinion, that, in this place, the fruit and edifice of the faith (the foundation being once laid) will last for many myriads of years."¹ In this last opinion Xavier was, as we shall see, most miserably too sanguine; but, as to the character of the people, he had not been incorrectly informed. In Japan, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic race of humanity consoled him for his disappointments in India. If any characteristic besides these mentioned by Xavier was most honourable to the Japanese, it was their universal spirit of inquiry. They were ready to listen to all who had anything to say on the matter of religion, and the most extensive toleration permitted every man to choose what religion he pleased. In such a state of public and governmental opinion, is it not surprising to read that there were only *twelve* different sects in Japan, amongst a population of about nine-and-twenty millions, without a *Bossuet* to note and celebrate contemptuously their glorious *Variations*—their respectable prerogative of being *wrong*, if they pleased, rather than *right*, to please their neighbours.

There is no doubt that the Portuguese had an eye, a longing, a watery eye on Japan. As Xavier remarked there were no *Mahometans* there to interfere with their conquests, without the chance of converting them into

¹ Epist. Jap. i.

“Christian” subjects of Portugal and slaves of her adventurers. Conquest would be less than easy, if the people could be first induced to adopt the religion of the wholesale plunderers of nations. The plan, if not concocted by the Viceroy of India, was, we may be sure, gladly countenanced by the representative of Portugal’s zealous rapacity. From Alfonso de Sousa, the Viceroy whom Xavier praises so highly, to the one he left in India, there had been always the best understanding, the heartiest concurrence, between “the man of God” and the servant of the king. One of them, Dom João de Castro, died in the arms of the missionary.¹

I. Japan is a cluster of islands, left by the ocean opposite the coast of China. The cluster, taken together, look like beavers basking on the waters: Japan and her people, &c. the people were and are as industrious as those clever builders. Their country leaves them nothing to desire, in necessaries, comforts, and luxuries; and their industry makes the most of the gifts of nature. Abject indigence is unknown: beggars are scarcely, if ever, seen: they have no human caravans, menageries, or unions. The testimony of all who have frequented these islands attest their happy lot, from the earliest times of European visitation: all agree that there are few nations who can more easily do without others than the people of Japan; and, what is better still, they know the value of this independence. It is a mountainous country, rocky, rough, and barren by nature: but the industry, the indefatigable labours of the people, have laughed at their difficulties, and fertilised their very rocks themselves, scarcely covered with a sprinkling of earth. Admirably watering the country by rivers, lakes,

¹ Andrada, Vida de João de Castro, p. 450.

and fountains, nature assists, expands, and fructifies their labours : they have in abundance fruits of all sorts, grain, roots and legumes. Earthquakes shake them anon : volcanoes blaze overhead : but the people have got used to them ; and when this is the case, in all things, the circumstance becomes a natural condition, in which we swim or fly as the contented birds and fishes of all-wise, all-good Providence. Gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, precious stones, pearls, and coal, the great civiliser, are the abundant products of Japan. The people excel in all manner of handiwork : their name is given to the finest varnish. Beautiful and spacious roads, vast numbers of hostelries for the wayfaring traveller, a teeming population¹ in prosperity were the first pleasant things remarked by the stranger, and then he discovered that in no country in the world was a people better disciplined, more willing to work, more accustomed to labour, more inured to subordination, than the people of Japan.² But they were vile pagans, idolaters, deists, theists, everything and anything, as they pleased, as you will presently perceive, and had to go through the ordeal of the Jesuits to be converted into saints, and then to be slaughtered in millions, by way of thinning the population ; for such a motive is quite as probable to account for the Japan "persecution" of the Christian converts as the one invented by the Jesuits, namely, *sheer hatred to Christianity*. Whithersoever the Jesuits ever went, slaughter invariably followed. It was necessary that "the men of God" should go to heaven to find a cause for the misfortune. Much-abused Providence came in

¹ "Keempfer says that he visited a village whose entire population consisted of sons, grandsons, and great-grand children, all from *one* man, who was still living : he adds that they were all good-looking, well made, polished, civil, and having courtly manners."—*Charlevoix, Hist. du Jap.* i. 17.

² *Id.* i.

for the blame, and a bountiful good God was represented as delighting in the blood, the horrible dread ghastly tortures of his creatures, fooled and made wretched by the infatuation or criminal perversity of their teachers.

II. Xavier himself gives us the highest character of the people. "As far as my own experience has hitherto extended," he writes to the Brethren, "the pagan people of Japan excel all other nations lately discovered in virtue and probity. They are exceedingly tractable, and very much averse to trickery." He attests their high estimation of dignity, their philosophical contentment with a little, their habitual politeness to each other, their readiness to assert the point of honour or to redress an injury, Temperate in eating, if they indulge more freely in drink, they vigorously avoid all gambling — "being persuaded that nothing is more unbecoming a man than a pursuit which renders the mind covetous and rapacious. If ever they swear, which is very seldom, they swear by the sun. Many of them can write, whereby they are more easily imbued in the rites of Christianity" adds the conclusive apostle. "Each man is content with one wife. They are naturally extremely inclined to all probity and friendliness; and being very desirous of learning, they most willingly listen to discourses concerning God, particularly when they understand what is said. I have never seen any people, either among barbarians or *Christians*," says Xavier, "so averse to thieving. Most of them follow the opinions of certain ancient philosophers of theirs: some adore the sun, others the moon. Their conscience is regulated by the dictates of right nature and the probabilities of reason.¹ I find the

Moral character of the Japanese.

¹ At least such is my interpretation of Xavier's crabbed expression: "Ut

common people much less impure, and much more obedient to right reason, than their priests, who are called Bonzas." Then follows a list of the infamous practices to which these priests were addicted: it is totally unfit for translating, or even publication in the original.¹ Thus we find that the natural disposition of the people was anything but anti-Christian. A Jesuit has not been as illiberal towards them, as the Society's latest historian, Cretineau-Joly, who says that "charity was a virtue unknown amongst these people."² By a curious coincidence, the very last word before this sentence in the page, is the name of the Jesuit *Almeida*, who tells the contrary in a pleasant and edifying adventure. "I shall add but one remark," writes Almeida, "whence you may easily judge how great is the inclination of the Japanese to humanity and religion. When fatigued by my journey, almost overcome by disease, I tarried in a certain city of the barbarians. I felt no desire for food; still, lest I should entirely succumb,—loathing their rice and putrid fish, (for such is the food of the natives) I sent some one to buy eggs. He brought me the eggs and the money also. When I asked why

quidque naturæ maximè consentaneum est, ita facillime assentiuntur, et acquiescunt, si peccati cuspis, ratione probabili convincuntur."

¹ Epist. Jap. l. i. p. 66. Strange! that in all countries, in all times, from the beginning, the motto has been constantly, "Do as I *say*, and not as I *do*," as interpreted by the deeds of the priesthood pampered in luxury, canonically independent, and prescriptively reverend to their dupes. The description of the Bonzas, those monks of Japan, as Xavier suggests, applies equally to the monks of Christendom in the days of their glory. (See Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 8; and D'Aubig-Reform. i. c. 3.) Since then "virtue" has been at a premium, by the force of circumstances; and we hear somewhat better things of the "holy fathers."

Monkish corruptions are the grand stand of anti-Catholic writers; but they are here alluded to in no party spirit whatever. The meaning of the text is universal; a cowl is not essential to the monkery here in view.

² "La charité était une vertu inconnue dans ces contrées."—*Cretineau-Joly*, i. 479.

the money was returned, he said that the barbarians would not *sell* the eggs on that day because it was their sabbath (*dies festus*)—but that as they were wanted for a sick man, they made me a present of them.”¹

How many examples of the kind would be found in a Christian city of modern civilisation? And may we not see in this trait that religion is something implanted—spontaneous—evoked—promoted by the Creator; that charity disdains not the pagan heart: that unsophisticated man *will* find his brother, and bless him too: in fine, that God has nowhere left his creature a prey to unmitigated selfishness—absorbing egotism—unbridled passions. In the wilds of the savage, as in the gorgeous cities of Christendom, with all their crimes, vices, and desires, still, in all times, there have always been found “ten just men,”—except in the four doomed cities of old; and then so horrible was the fact, so contrary to nature, and nature’s God, that those cities were utterly blotted out from the map of humanity—sunk into depths unknown, over which the Dead Sea rolls and will roll for ever.

III. Besides the sun and moon, various animals were worshipped in Japan. All men who had contributed to people and civilise the country became objects of veneration after death. All who had made good laws, introduced some art or science, or a new religion, had temples and worshippers in Japan. The greater part of the aristocracy were considered atheists, and materialists: but, whatever their belief, all openly made profession of some sect or other, and failed not to comply with any of the practices it prescribed. Even the devils had their worshippers in

Religion and sects “similar to Christianity.”

¹ Epist. Jap. lib. iii. Alois. Almeida, 1561.

Japan : but then, they paid their respects to them in order to appease them, and to deprecate injury, not to deserve a blessing. "What is astonishing," says the Jesuit Charlevoix, "is that, in the midst of this shapeless chaos of religion, traces of Christianity were perceptible. We have scarcely a mystery, not a dogma, not even a pious practice, with which the Japanese did not seem to be acquainted."¹ In Charlevoix's extensive history of Japan you will find his assertion proved, and accounted for, with a theory based on the imitative propensities of the Japanese, together with their "love of novelties concerning God, both divine and natural"—on which Xavier built great hopes of success. He was not disappointed.

By the introduction of a convert, the apostle was most kindly received, as he states, by the magistrates of the country and all the people.

Xavier found this convert of immense use, for he became the very pattern of zeal, and made the most orthodox application of the standing method. He visited a certain native chieftain and "took with him," says Xavier, "a painting of Christ the Lord, and the most Holy Virgin Mother. The king was greatly pleased with the visit . . . and falling on his knees he adored the image with supplication, and commanded all present to do the same."²

¹ Hist. du Japon. i. 163.

² Epist. Jap. As an instance of Jesuit trickery, take the following. Xavier simply says in this letter: "The chieftain's mother having seen the painting, admired, and was greatly pleased with it: so, a few days after Paul returned to Cangoxima, the woman sent some one to have a copy taken of it, in some manner: but there was no artist." Bouhours thus expands the passage: "He (the chieftain) had the picture taken to the queen, his mother. She was charmed with it, and prostrated herself by the same instinct, with all the ladies of her suite, to salute the Mother and the Son: but, as the Japanese women are still more curious

Indeed this convert, Paul by name, seems to have done all the work at first—he was the beginner, in fact, of Xavier's Japanese Apostolate ; for the apostle did not enjoy the gift of the Japanese tongue by inspiration ; nor did he ever pretend to anything of the sort : he was always attended by a convert native or an interpreter, until he thought himself competent in the language he had to speak. On the present occasion he distinctly acknowledges that he was *dumb*—*nos videlicet obmutescimus*—and was compelled to become a child again, to learn the elements of the language—*dumque hujus linguæ elementa percipimus, cogemur quasi repuerascere*.¹

Nor was this the only human and sensible method to which Xavier had recourse in his apostolate. When he went to the king at Amanguchi, he put on a new and elegant dress, and took expensive and curious presents,—“a clock that struck the hours, a very harmonious musical instrument, and other works of art, whose value consisted entirely in their rarity ;” and with vast pomp

than the men of Japan, she put a thousand questions about the Virgin and Jesus Christ. This gave Paul an opportunity of relating all the life of our Lord ; and this recital pleased the queen so much, that a few days after, when he returned to Cangoxima, she sent him one of her officers to have a copy of the picture she had seen. But there was no painter to do what the princess required. She asked that they would, at least, write her an abridgment of the principal points of the Christian religion, and Paul contented her therein.”—ii. p. 5. Something like the last sentence is all that is to be found of this Jesuitism in Xavier's letter: “She even asked us to write out the heads of the Christian faith. Paul applied to the task some days, and wrote much in the Japanese language.” Not one word of the flourish is to be found in the letter ! And so it is in all Jesuitism unto the sickening of the heart. The additions made to the interview with the chieftain (*regulus*) are still more Jesuitical and full of fiction.

¹ Epist. Jap. The Jesuits here put in a qualification, determined to make Xavier consistent with their fictions. “The Holy Ghost assisted him in an extraordinary manner on these occasions . . . and we may say that the facility with which he learnt so many languages of the barbarians, was almost equal to a permanent gift of tongues.”—*Douhours*, ii. 6.

and circumstance he presented letters from the governor and bishop of the Indies to the king, “in which the Christian faith was much praised ;” protesting that his only motive was to preach the faith. The king liberally granted permission, by a public edict ; and even gave Xavier and his companions an old uninhabited monastery of the Bonzas.¹ It may readily be conceived that such patronage was of immense importance to the mission, and that Xavier made the most of the opportunity.

Vast was the concourse to hear the new teachers. “All proposed their doubts and disputed the points with such vehemence, that most of them were out of breath.”²

Amongst such a nation Xavier could scarcely fail to be successful according to his fashion ; and in Japan he left the best monument of his fame—to endure until the imprudence or culpable conduct of his followers, united to the probable jealousy of some avaricious Dutchmen, involved the total ruin of Christianity in Japan.

Miracles, of course, he performed ; received the gift of tongues, raised a dead girl to life, and achieved other prodigies, all so similar to what we have read, that we may conclude his apostolate with the following sum total, according to the computation of the Jesuit Francis Xavier de Feller.

“What is the life of Xavier,” says his name-sake Feller, “but a chain, a continual succession of prodigies ? It would be the recital of his whole life to relate his miracles. Sometimes he suddenly cures diseases, and then he raises the dead to life. Sometimes he stills the tempest by touching the sea with his crucifix, and then he saves the vessel from imminent wreck, by invoking the name of God. He sees things far away,—he

Jesuit sum
total.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 28.

² Id. ii. 29.

predicts the future, he reads the secrets of hearts. His face is radiant with glory, his body is raised above the ground,—he is, at the same moment, in two countries far distant from each other. By a single answer he silences the most numerous and most dissimilar objections, his language becomes different in the ears of each hearer, his dialect is made that of all nations, and the dialects of all nations are his. Here he stops a pestilence ; there he overturns hostile armies, or stops them at once by presenting them the image of the Cross. And all this is so frequent, so common, that people are almost no longer astonished thereat, and it is a sort of prodigy when he no longer performs one. Xavier entirely abandoned himself to God, and it seems that God abandoned his power to Xavier. All the elements heard his voice, executed his commands, took the movement, took the disposition he pleased, as if he were their master, and as if God had established him the absolute arbiter of the world.”¹

Every sentence of the foregoing flourish has its facts or fact in the saint’s biography. Very few of them are given in Acosta’s book, published about twenty years after his death ; the miraculous mass descended at the apostle’s canonisation, in 1622, by Gregory XV., when the Jesuits were rising to the pinnacle of their influence over kings, popes, and nations.

Judging from the rapidity of his locomotion, it seems to have been Xavier’s object rather to sow or scatter the faith, leaving to his successors the task of watering, trimming, and nourishing unto fruit. How far this result followed will appear in the sequel.

¹ Feller, *Eloge de St. F. Xavier* — a tissue of extravagance and raving absurdity.

Xavier sped from country to country, impelled by his natural ardour and his soul's ambition. Restless, tormented by the passion of soul-conquest, his excitement in the desire to reach China, his ceaseless longing, seems to have brought on a fever—he died disappointed—the fate of all ambition. On a desert mountain in the island of Sancian, opposite the coast of Quang-tong, about three years after visiting Japan, Xavier ended the dream of his restless life. He died in sight of another kingdom which he had long promised to his spiritual ambition: the conversion of *China* was the last desire of his soul. He was spared the disappointment, for he was totally unfitted for an undertaking whose endless difficulties became evident when the Jesuits subsequently made the attempt. His age was forty-six. He stood “a little above the middle height,”¹ his constitution robust, his countenance agreeable and majestic. He had a fine complexion, broad forehead, a well-proportioned nose, blue eyes, but brilliant and piercing; his hair and beard were dark chesnut; he was grey in the last year of his life.²

Appropriately is he styled “the Alexander of the Missions:” the hero of Macedon was his prototype in rapidity and instability of conquest; and, like Alexander, he bequeathed his nominal conquests to his followers, who would battle for the spoil, and strive, with equal determination, but more questionable means, to ratify their claims.

Generously trampling on the disgust produced by his unscrupulous biographers, let us do honour to the *man*,

¹ This is contradicted by another Jesuit, evidencing the saint's *mummy*, still preserved at Goa: some say he was tall; others, of the middle height: but no biographer says he was *diminutive*. The reader will see the importance of this fact in the sequel.

² Bouhours, ii. 145.

though we despise the *saint*. His journeys alone, like those of the benevolent Howard, set the imputation of questionable motives at defiance ; all that he did, he did heartily, and, unfortunately, but too consistently with the blighting superstitions of the age, its most defective Christianity.

The heart and energy of Xavier needed neither Jesuit-miracles nor exaggeration to ensure this praise of posterity. A blessing, therefore, on his name, as one of the civilisers of mankind, if we may doubt some of the facts detailed in his biographies, seeming to fix on Xavier the charge of fierce blood-thirstiness, injustice, severity unchristian, in his famed apostolate. The facts are before the reader.

Setting aside the bladder-puffed exaggerations with which his life and adventures have been filled—leaving them to the romantic credulity of those whose faith is not in their own keeping—eschewing those oratorical displays, or despicable equivocations, I admire the wonderful energy of the man who braved every peril, surmounted every obstacle, endured every privation, in doing what he deemed his work, by God appointed. God alone can estimate those motives, whose roots are in Heaven—whose branches overhang all humanity—whose fruits yield us life here and hereafter.

As an “apostle,” his conquests were too rapid. What he is said to have done in ten years, has not been effected even in the three hundred years elapsed since his death, when he left the work to be recommenced. But, alas ! how many seem still to believe that the mere rite of baptism administered to the heathen, converts him into a Christian !—and a heathen too of *India*, whose mythology is inextricably interwoven with all his social

habits, pains and pleasures, life and death. Of the hundred and forty millions of India's population, there are but twelve millions of Christians; ten millions Protestant, and two millions Catholic,¹ whereof the large majority is European.

Very shortly after the death of Xavier the instability of his Indian Apostolate was made evident. Among

Proofs.

his first wholesale conversions was that of the islanders of More, one of the Moluccas, or rather the chief of a cluster of islands more to the eastward. Many of the inhabitants had been previously baptised; but, at the time of his visit, Xavier found them as fierce and savage as ever. He gathered them together, sang to them the Christian doctrine in verse, and so successfully explained it to them, that "they conceived the whole perfectly." "He visited every town and hamlet; there was not one where the *infidels*," says Bouhours, "did not plant crosses and build churches." In one town alone he converted 25,000 souls, and called the place "The Island of Divine Hope." To strengthen this divine hope of his, he would lead his disciples to the brink of the volcanoes in the island, and give them an idea of hell by a practical lecture, with the masses of burning rock shot from the crater, the flames and pitchy smoke blackening the face of day, as the striking symbols of the fact. "He told the trembling neophytes that the craters of these volcanoes were the ventilators of hell;" and, in a letter to his Roman brethren, he wrote as follows: "It seems that God himself has wished, in some sort, to discover the place of the damned to a people who had no other knowledge of it." How his Roman brethren must have smiled at

¹ Lettres Edif. et Curieuses. Observ. Gener. t. ii. p. 792. b. Panth. Litt.

the idea, with Vesuvius and *Ætna* so near, foaming and blazing over the Sybarites of Christendom, actually yielding them brimstone, so useful to strike a light in the "darksome places" of secret crime and profligacy.

The barbarians fancied that their earthquakes were caused by the souls of the dead underground; Xavier denied this, and told them the real cause—namely, "the devils eager to destroy them." He remained three years among the islanders of More.¹ Well, three years afterwards these islanders renounced the faith, profaned the churches, knocked down the crosses, and submitted to the King of Gilolo, a neighbouring island.

The arms of Portugal then took up the battle of the cross. Famine, pestilence, the volcanoes, conspired to make the conquest easy; the Jesuit Beyra was in the expedition of the Portuguese; he offered reconciliation to the apostates, who begged pardon with the hope of mercy, and "embraced, in their turn, the Catholic religion."² This took place in 1555, three years after the death of Xavier. In the very year of his death, and on the coast of the *Fishermen* (where Xavier is said to have been so universally successful), two Jesuits were killed by the barbarians.³

Had Xavier been less anxious to gain than to ground his converts, the result might have been somewhat different; he had a virgin-soil to cultivate, and, perhaps, with his fortunate concomitants, he ought to have done more than the Jesuits themselves have affirmed—more than clamorous facts attest.

From India, where, by the testimony of the Jesuits (as we have seen), he effected little, Xavier rushed to Japan. There, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic

¹ Bouhours, i. 140—144.

² Cretinean, i. 475.

³ *Ibid.*

race consoled him for his disappointments in India by a liberal reception and acquiescence in the doctrines he preached, probably on account of the great similarity in many points which existed between the formalities of the Roman religion and that of Japan.¹

Xavier died in 1552. He was entombed at Goa, but his remains were removed in the year 1782. Great pomp attended the ceremonial. “The body was found entire,” says a Jesuit, “the feet and legs in good condition, and may be touched (*palpables*); the head is covered with its skin, but dry, and in some places the skull is visible. Still, the physiognomy is not entirely effaced; and, if desired, a portrait might still be drawn from it; the arm and left hand are in tolerable condition, and placed on the breast. He is dressed in priestly robes, which still seem new, although the chasuble² was a present of the Queen of Portugal, wife of Peter II.³ It may be observed, that the saint was of *very diminutive stature*; his feet have remained rather black, perhaps because he used to make all his journeys with naked feet. The right foot wants two toes, which have been stolen by a pious theft; it is known that the right arm is at Rome.

¹ Xavier, in 1549, wrote as follows: “The people of Japan are much given to superstitions: and a great part of them live in monasteries (in *cenobiiis*) almost after the manner of monks. Those, for the sake of religion, are said not to taste either flesh-meat or fish: wherefore we, by the advice of our companions, lest the barbarians should be scandalised in us, bethink ourselves of a severe diet there should circumstances require it.”—*Epist. Japon.* lib. i. They had a sort of hierarchy too, not unlike that of Rome.—*Ibid.* lib. iii. *Cosm. Turren.* 1561. There were nuns as well as monks, similarly clad to those of Europe.

² Priest's outer-garment.

³ Perrin says that it is the custom for the Queens of Portugal to embroider with their own hands this priestly garment for the mummy. It is renewed every twenty years: the old one thus made miraculous, of course, is sent to the court to be “divided” as may be thought proper.

“When the body was thus exposed, the assistants kissed it, one after another, with veneration, and without confusion; they also touched it respectfully with handkerchiefs, chaplets, and crosses. After which the coffin was closed, and it was placed in a crystal urn destined to receive it. Then the *Te Deum* was sung, and the body remained exposed to public veneration on the alcove placed in the middle of the church.” As the body dried and seemed to suffer from the air, light, and heat occasioned by the crowd which so pious a ceremony attracted, the Jesuit thinks that the exhibition of the remains would not be often repeated. The above is an extract from the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Missions de l’Inde*. The preservation of the saint’s body is attributed to his “chastity and virginity”—“*non leni argumento indicat castimoniam viri, ac virginitatem,*” says Acosta.¹ But when the ruffians of the French Revolution broke open the tombs of royalty at St. Dennis, the embalmed body of Henry IV. was so entire, that it was instantly recognised, from the prints, by the spectators; and the two deep gashes made by the dagger of Ravallac still yawned almost as clean as when the regicide’s blade sought the soul of the “good Henri.”² His preservation, however, cannot exactly be attributed to chastity and virginity, as Father Cotton could too well testify, and all the world knows. Light, air, and heat are the great analysers of nature; their experiments are always going on, and with certain results. Corruption, under their influence, is only the elimination of essential gases, destined to enter into

¹ *Rer. in Orient.* p. 14.

² Duval, *Jour. de la Ter.*; see Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 146, new edition.

new combinations for the support of vegetable and animal life. Thus are we, in spite of ourselves, useful in death ; and the most pampered bodies run fastest to decay ; whilst unencumbered muscle, particularly when death ensues suddenly, or after a short illness, resists the chemical action of the dissolving agents denied full play, as in the case of "Xavier's body" in its snug mausoleum. The story invented by the Jesuits about the body being first unconsumed in quicklime is simply absurd ; though Xavier's abstemiousness in eating and drinking may have been his preservative in death as well as in life. He seldom eat meat, and often lived two or three days on a single loaf of bread.¹ I say the assertion about the quicklime failing to do its duty was absurd, but we are by no means sure that the mummy venerated is Xavier's. Xavier, say the biographers, was *above the middle size*, whilst the mummy proves, according to the Jesuit account just given, that the person whose it is, was of *very diminutive stature*—*de stature très basse!*—Let the Jesuits reconcile the contradiction. It is astonishing how these men have taxed human credulity. They even say that when Xavier's body was exhumed, three months after burial, "it emitted various scents of wonderful sweetness,"² and that by invoking its aid in a storm as they sailed with it to Goa, the ship was saved from destruction!³

The numerous miracles "proved" at Xavier's canonisation present no variety—they are the usual stock in trade with a ready sale attending. We must not judge too harshly the co-operating superstitions of the age, though we cannot too severely denounce the wicked impositions of its promoters, the Jesuits.

¹ Acosta p. 13. The account of the mummy is in the *Lett. Edif.* ii. 790.

² "Ut varios efflaret odores miræ suavitatis."—*Id.* 14.

³ *Ibid.*

Baldeus,¹ Tavernier,² and Hakluyt,³ three Protestants, give becoming praise to Xavier's merits, and the Jesuits quote their remarks as "the testimony of three heretics in favour of the saint:" it is unkind to abuse them with this epithet, seeing that they based their opinions on "the modern histories of the Indies, which are filled with the excellent virtues and miraculous works of that holy man." The Jesuits know who "filled" the said "modern histories." And the venerable guesser at Truth, Archdeacon Hare, the admirer of the not less venerable Kenelm Digby, of the Broadstone of Honour, associates Xavier with *Calvin and Knox*, which, under favour, is the unkindest cut of all:⁴ no "heretics" are more thoroughly detested, denounced, and hated by the Jesuits and Catholics in general, than those two reformers associated with *Xavier* in the archdeacon's calendar of saints.⁵

Whilst the Jesuits in Japan were building the edifice of the faith on Xavier's foundations, the affairs of the

¹ *Hist. of the Indies*, 1672.

² *Travels*: he died in 1689.

³ *The Principal Navigations of the Eng. Nation*. He died in 1616, when all was rife about the "Apostle."

⁴ *The Victory of Faith, and other sermons*, p. 198.

⁵ An epic was composed by the French poet, Dulard, entitled *La Xaveriade*, the *Xaveriad*. There is another in Latin, by Simon Franck, another Frenchman, in 1761. However crude and frosty the sentiment pervading these "epics" may be, it is evident from the "facts" we have read in these pages that a *Xaveriad* must be "infinitely" less somniferous than the *Henriad* of another Frenchman.

Xavier's works extant, are Five books of Epistles (Paris, 1631, 8vo.) a Catechism, and *Opuscula*. His life has been written by several Jesuits: that by Bouhours is the most popular. It was translated into English by the poet Dryden when he turned Catholic and figured at the court of James II. The tradition, amongst the Catholics, is, that he performed the task as a *penance* imposed by his father-confessor, probably the Jesuit *Peters*, confessor, &c., to James himself, certainly by some Jesuit. It is also said that Tom Moore's "*Travels in Quest of a Religion*," had a similar origin—a penance on reconciliation to the Church.

Society on the Western coast of Africa were taking a desperate turn, involving, as we shall constantly find, the ruin of the Catholic cause in the hands of the Jesuits. Early in the sixteenth century the slave-trade was established in Africa by the Portuguese, and following their example, by all the Christian powers of Europe. The benevolent Las Casas has been handed down to posterity as the first who suggested the employment of negroes, to lighten the horrors of slavery to the Indians of America. This has been contradicted;¹ and humanity rejoices to rescue so great and good a name even from the accidental imputation—for it could be no more.

The Jesuits appeared on the West coast of Africa in 1547. When the Portuguese invaded Congo, in 1485, they took with them four Dominicans. The negroes embraced Christianity; and they remained Christians as long as the priests, who ruled their consciences, proved themselves worthy of the priesthood; “but by degrees,” according to the Jesuit-historian, “the shepherds became wolves: idleness engendered vice: sordid cupidities or guilty passions produced all manner of scandals; the faith was extinguished in the hearts of the negroes; and very soon there was not in this colony, so admirably founded by the Dominicans, a trace of civilisation, nor a vestige of modesty.”² The Jesuits were reformers from the first: they were sent to this retrograde colony of the Faith. As usual their efforts are represented as perfectly miraculous:—one set up a

¹ Greg. Apol. de B. de Las Casas; also Biogr. Univ. in voce Casas, as the result of an examination of all the Spanish and Portuguese historians of the time. Herrera, an inaccurate historian, made the assertion.

² Cretineau, i. 488.

school,—another preached in the town ; a third overran the forests, gathering the savages into families, to form a community. They baptised ; they explained the duties of morality ; crowds thronged around them ; everywhere they found submission.¹ This was one of the finest opportunities offered to the Society of Jesus for the amelioration of humanity. The Jesuits might have done much for the civilisation of Africa—might have effectually checked, if not suppressed, the trade in men, so soon destined to shame humanity with its ruthless cruelty and injustice. Neither the power of Portugal, nor the arms of Spain, could have marred the good scheme in the trackless wilds of Africa—free, and impenetrable to all, save those whom God and humanity impel to a noble achievement.

The Jesuits surrendered the opportunity.

They themselves are compelled mysteriously to admit that their two missionaries, Diaz and Ribera, “had not thought that their kingdom was not of this world.”² These Jesuits intermeddled with the worldly business-matters of the people, and “facilitated to the European traders *every kind* of commercial intercourse with the natives.”³ The traffic in slaves was, therefore, not excepted. Congo was among the marts of human flesh. These Jesuits deserted the service of God for that of the King of Portugal and his ravenous subjects.

The King of Congo suspected their influence with the people, dreaded its political object, and, accordingly, assumed a menacing attitude towards the Jesuits. In this conjuncture, Soveral, one of the fraternity, was summoned to Rome, by Ignatius—so early did this transaction take place—to give an account of the

¹ Cretineau, i. 489.

² Id. 489 ; Orland. l. xiii. 58.

³ Cret. l. 490.

mission. He confirmed the reports and recalled the offenders. He substituted two other Jesuits in their place: but it was too late: the African king was inflexible. He expelled the Jesuits and the Portuguese together in 1555.

Similar charges assailed the Jesuits in Japan: it seemed by experience that they carried everywhere war and destruction—*bellum excidiumque importare*—pioneering the way to Portuguese supremacy.¹ Though similar results did not ensue, one charge is rendered probable by the other, and we shall see, ere long, a terrible retribution on Jesuit-Christianity in Japan. It was not yet ripe: but the causes were in operation. To Japan thronged incessantly ravenous Portuguese, in quest of gold. Every year they carried off quantities of this, and other metals, to the amount of 600,000*l.* They also married the richest heiresses of Japan, and allied themselves to the most powerful families of the country.² In the midst of their petty wars the aid of the Portuguese was desirable, and the “European Bonza,” or Jesuit missionary, was an object of veneration, if not of dread, to the people and their leaders. We must not be blind to the fact, that the Bonzas, or native priests, were jealous of the Jesuit-influence; but they were silenced, disregarded, if not despised. Jesuit-miracles and portents were of daily occurrence: the blind saw, the lame walked, the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, devils were driven out, all manner of diseases cured,³ or, all these mighty things were *proclaimed*—it was impossible to still the trumpet of fame braying forth renown to the

¹ Epist. Jap. iv. 213.

² Raynal. Hist. of the Indies, i.

³ Epist. Jap. *passim*.

conquerors. The neophytes were taught the most approved method of monkish justification. They would assemble together, put out the lights, and lash their naked backs most atrociously—*extinctis luminibus atrocissime cuncti sese diverberant*. The women vied with the men in this display—*ipsæ quoque mulieres in hanc partem se admodum strenue atque acriter incitant*.¹ To these people, recently converted from idolatry, the Jesuits distributed little wax images, called *Agnus-Dei's*, a box of which they received from Rome. The crowds of applicants for the talisman were so great, that the Jesuits had to cut up the wax into minute pieces, so as to satisfy the credulous piety of the faithful.²

Xavier had obtained possession of the College at Goa, which was ceded by the King of Portugal to the Society, with all its revenues, liberally increased, for the convenience of the Jesuits and their converts. The Jesuits at Goa. More than a hundred Jesuits commenced operations. "Schools of divinity and the liberal arts" were opened, and the students were trained in the native language, so as to enable the future preachers to dispense with interpreters. Soon six hundred boys, from different nations, were on the benches: there were Persians, Arabs, Ethiops, Caffres, Canarians, Malaysians, Moors, Chinese, Malaccans, and other scions of the Gentiles, youths of bright intellect—*præclarâ fere indole*, for the most part, and of great hope—the future apostles of the Society among their own people.³

In a few years the Jesuits had establishments all along the Malabar coast, besides the Indian isles—

¹ Epist. Jap. iv. p. 217.

² Ib. p. 219. For the Jesuit notion of these talismans consult Pontificj Agnus Dei dilucidati dal Padre A. Balthassar della Compagnia di Gesù.

³ Acost. Rec. in Ori. p. 16.

wherever the arms of Portugal struck terror into the natives. But, though ever willing to take advantage of such terror, the Jesuits were too wise to rest satisfied with that protection alone: they constantly endeavoured to win the hearts of the people, even when they thought it necessary to advise, or acquiesce in, the application of force against the unwilling subjects of Portugal in India. Already had the Jesuits devised the curious scheme which they afterwards so famously developed in Paraguay. In their domain (*mansione*) at Tanna, or Tanaa, in the presidency of Bombay, they divided their neophytes into two bands: some they trained in science, others they brought up as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, tradesmen of all sorts. From their daily labour the latter would go to the college in the evening for food and rest, and then, in chorus alternating, they sang devout hymns and litanies. Some of them were field-labourers, and would go, during the winter, clad in their great coats, to a neighbouring plantation, called the village of the Trinity, to plant the yam,¹ depositing

¹ The yam (*dioscorea sativa*) is an herbaceous vine, with large tubers, and grows in the East and West Indies, and in Africa. There are many varieties in the form of the roots: some resemble the fingers of the hand extended, others are twisted like a snake: some do not weigh more than a pound, others are three feet long and weigh thirty pounds—enough for three Irish families at least, leaving plentiful skins for the pigs. One acre of ground has been known to produce from twenty to thirty thousand pounds weight. The yam is very palatable, when boiled or roasted,—probably superior to the potato in nutriment. As the Jesuit observes, the planting is laborious. Holes must be dug two feet apart, in rows eighteen inches distant from each other: the yams are put in the holes, covered with earth, then with haulm or rubbish, to retain the moisture. The removal of the crop also requires the greatest care, as a wound would cause the tuber to sprout much earlier than otherwise. The yam grows slowly, requiring more than a year before yielding the crop—but then you have enough in all conscience. The potato is the emblem of the vain, whose gains are quick and small; the yam is that of the ambitious, who can wait because they will have a big meal.

each bulb with their hands—a very laborious occupation ; but they thus learnt the avocation, and were able to assist the other inhabitants, who were Christian workmen, so that they might in due time marry their daughters. In this plantation all the pauper converts found employment, and, by the liberality of the King of Portugal, they were provided with food and raiment for themselves, wives, and children ; agricultural implements, seed, and oxen, were amply provided from a large farm, and they had herdsmen to look after the cattle. From the farm any Christian might take as many oxen as he needed (there were more than fifty in all), and in the evening, his labour done, he would lead them back to their pens.

The Jesuits would buy up boys and girls from their native parents, otherwise intended to be sold to the Mahometans, and join them to “the family of Christ ; some of them died pronouncing, with their last breath, the name of Jesus. One of these poor slaves cost only three pieces and a half of silver, another only one and a half ; hence it is sufficiently evident how incomprehensible are the judgments of God.”

They also bought lands, from which they derived an annual revenue of about three hundred pieces of gold, *aurei nummi*, a part of which was applied to the support of widows and orphans of both sexes, whose daily labour was insufficient for their maintenance, and to that of the sick poor and catechumens during their instruction ; and a portion of the same was also kept as a fund to be distributed in loans to those who were unable to meet their engagements or pay their debts.

There were also flocks of goats and their keepers ; and houses there were where the fathers of the families

received every day for their little ones, a portion of milk, of which there was a plentiful supply all the year round.

Extensive grounds supplied abundantly all kinds of fruit and grain, so that nothing whatever seemed wanting for their maintenance. They were all good husbandmen and good men.

By the unremitting diligence of their masters, kept in constant training, they were well acquainted with the mysteries and precepts of the Christian faith. Every day, at the sound of the bell for the angelical salutation,¹ all assembled, and the men and women repeated the elements of the Christian doctrine. Nay, even in the woods you might hear boys, and on the tops of palm-trees, men, singing the Ten Commandments.²

Not more than four or five Jesuits directed the domestic arrangements of the community ; and one of them acted as surgeon.³

In the midst of the village there were gardens in common, very extensive, watered by a perpetual fountain, and planted with many vines, citrons, fig-trees, and a variety of others.

The Catechism was explained to the villagers once on work-days, but twice on holidays ; and they had very solemn public prayers, little boys dressed in white singing sacred songs. The same minstrels attended at the burial of the faithful, bearing the crucifix in advance, and chaunting the funeral psalmody. Four Christians decorated with the solemn badges of the Confraternity

¹ A set form of prayer, repeated thrice a day, to the Virgin Mary, in commemoration of the angel's announcement to the Virgin and the Incarnation.

² "Quintiam in silvis, pueri, et è summis palmarum arboribus, viri exaudiantur præcepta Decalogi decantantes."

³ The diseases he cured are mentioned,—“ulcers and impostumes, both horrible to be seen, and dangerous in their very nature ;” *i. e.* contagious.

of Mercy, carried the corpse to the grave. The ceremonial was greatly admired both by the Christians and the barbarians.¹

Few readers will have run over the foregoing description without reflection. In the admiration of the good done to humanity we stop not to consider, with the historian, how far the Jesuits had broken through their "Constitutions" in organising and superintending the worldly concerns of these new Christians. It is Acosta, the Jesuit, writing in 1570, who makes the remark, that such superintendence was "very foreign to the Institute," *certeroqui ab eorum instituto valde alienum*.²

Who will deem it foreign to the Institute of any body of Christian men to teach the savage the ameliorating arts of life, to lead them sweetly, gently, profitably, into those regular habits of civilised life, which are, in themselves, the human safeguards to the Gospel's Christianity?

If, from the first preaching of the Gospel, a similar method had been purely, disinterestedly, continuously pursued, the world of Christendom would now be more advanced in the practice of that divine theory which God himself would teach unto men.

The social duties are the first suggested by nature; and *they* first suggest the reality of that human responsibility which revealed religion expands by the exposition of motives, having God in Heaven for their eternal, infinite object.

The first of social duties is to be *useful*. That complied with, there ensues the whole train of motives which end in God and Heaven. For, at every step, the useful man prepares for another—advancing ever, with

¹ Acost. *Rer. in Orient.* p. 26, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 27.

the immediate reward for every deed—God's own approval to the grateful heart suggested.

Then these Jesuits were right, divinely right, in pursuing this method with the savage. True, they mingled with it much that tended to deprave, but the principle was good, more admirable than words can express. You must civilise the savage before you can make him a Christian. You may do both together—but both *must* go together. You must enable him to be a man before he can become a Christian. A miracle of grace would dispense with the *process*, but not with the *result*—the true Christian includes the man as perfect as his nature admits. Then begin with the arts of life ; begin with teaching him how to live more securely ; how to provide more efficiently for his daily wants ; expand his mind with the knowledge of his *human* destiny—and then he will imbibe the truths which are the motives of your charitable teaching—that something-beyondness which strengthens and makes elastic every step in our earthly pilgrimage.

All the apostles of the Saviour were men of trades. The selection is not without import ; Christ himself used the hammer and the saw. If, of all men, the Jesuits have been most successful with the savage, the secret of their success is explained, and deserves the deepest attention of those whom God has called to receive the reward of them who “shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.” Daniel, xii. 3.

And why was the work of the Jesuits doomed to final failure ? The last announcement in the same chapter of Acosta's book, which has given us the preceding details, suggests the answer.

The cause
of Jesuit
failure.

He states that, besides these occupations, the Jesuits

had to "superintend the *royal castles*."¹ *These* were the rocks on which they split : this was the pitch that befouled their hands : whilst many of them were doing good, many were doing evil, or certainly that which was essentially "very foreign to their Institute"—serving *the kings of Earth* instead of the King of Heaven, until the unholy work made them utterly selfish for their Society : and then that became their "greater glory"—and retribution fell upon them heavily—but not before "they had *their* reward." Matt. vi. 2.

The expansive energy of the primitive Society embraced other lands—disdainful of difficulties—defying peril.

The Portuguese were desirous of extending their arms or their commerce into Ethiopia. John II. had sent an embassy to the king of the Abyssinia. country as early as 1486 ; and "friendly relations" had been interchanged.

The affairs of the Abyssinian king, contemporary with John III. of Portugal, became intricate : a rebel "miserably wasted his dominions." Claudius, or Asnaf, as he was named, applied for aid to the king of Portugal, as the Britons of old did to the ravenous Saxons. We read that Asnaf did also demand a Roman patriarch and some able divines, to be sent into Abyssinia : his subsequent conduct seems to belie the assertion, if better information and second thoughts did not induce him to change his mind on the important subject.

The religion of the Abyssinians was an incongruous but comfortable mixture of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity, and is probably the same at the present time.²

¹ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 28. *Castella regia invisunt*—affirming the good which thereby accrued to the Portuguese and the barbarians.

² Lettres Edif. et Cur. t. i. p. 617.

It was, however, the Christianity of the land; the people, and the priests, and the nobles, were satisfied with it; no wise king will meddle with the religion of his subjects, since by fostering it, he ensures the support of the priesthood, who live by it, swaying the minds and hearts of the people.

King John III. of Portugal solicited the pope to send a patriarch into Ethiopia. He seems to have had his designs—right orthodox son of the Church—grand Inquisitor of the poor Jews in Portugal—and now having a bright eye on schismatic Abyssinia.

It was a fine country for a “colony” after the manner of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Populous and fertile, —valleys and mountains in a state of cultivation. Cardamum and gigantic ginger covered the plains; and innumerable springs intersected the country, their banks begemmed with the lily and jonquil, tulips and the countless multitude of nature’s beautiful eyes, of a thousand hues. There grew in the woods, orange-trees, citrons, the jasmin, and pomegranates; every fruit-tree and flower-plant that taste, or scent, or sight can desire. And the land was also rich in *gold*.¹

The king of Portugal wrote also to Ignatius, requesting the gift of twelve men for the expedition into Ethiopia.

Out of these one was to be a patriarch, and two his coadjutors and successors. Orlandinus tells us that Ignatius at once appointed Baretto, Carnerio, and Oviedo, two Portuguese and one Spaniard; but there is a letter extant, in Ignatius’s handwriting, which shows that these men were not his original choice. *Pasquier Brouet* was the Jesuit he

A Jesuit-
bishop at
length.

¹ Lettres Edif. i. 612. See Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop.; Bruce, Travels; Salt Abyss., &c.

selected for the enterprise of Ethiopia. The error of the Jesuit-historians, or their suppression of the fact, is unimportant, perhaps ; but it is indeed most curious to find that one of the very few documents given to Cretineau-Joly by the Roman Jesuits for publication, turns out to be the letter of Ignatius to Pasquier Brouet, attesting the above correction, and giving us the old veteran's opinions of his men at the time, of whom the Jesuit-historians proclaim such wonderful laudation. It appears that Cretineau did not understand the letter ; at all events, he gives no translation of it, nor of any of the other unimportant, but excessively crabbed autographs of the Ignatian era. He has flung the precious document of Father Ignatius between two pages to which it has not the remotest reference.¹ It is very interesting : interesting for the expression of his opinions on his men, for its unmistakeable point amidst confusion and involution, and, lastly, for the composition, which is decidedly fair Castilian, barring a few vulgarisms.² I shall translate as literally as possible, retaining even the punctuation, and other peculiarities of the original.

“ If God shall ordain, that any one of this Company should go on this enterprise of Ethiopia, I believe that

¹ See pp. 128, 129, amongst the garbled “ Privileges ” of the Jesuits, *Hist. de la Comp. t. i.*

² A fac-simile of this letter is given. The handwriting denotes a man of decided opinions, haughty and proud, and aspiring. The extraordinary care with which the signature is written, its elegance and flourish, show the conscious supremacy and power of the veteran general ; its decided difference from the body of the letter indicates a man of double character, a feature also evidenced by the waving lines of the letter. Perfect self-possession is evinced by the very many letters disjoined from their fellows ; in fact, there is not a word in the whole letter in which some letter is not isolated. This manuscript is, to me, one of the most interesting I have ever examined for the interpretation of character ; and I have interpreted very many, investigating the art, for such it is, of knowing human character by the handwriting.

the lot will fall on Maestro [Mr.] Pasquier, that as far as it depends upon my choice, considering the whole universal and particular interest conformably to my conscience I would not choose any one else, because supposing that I would not venture that there should be in such a charge any one who is not a Professed it seems to me that three things are very necessary, which he who shall go must have, the first virtue, the 2nd. learning, the 3rd. that he should be good looking—*que tenga persona*, strong, and middle-aged. These three parts united I do not perceive in any one of the Company so much as in Maestro Pasquier, for if we talk of Lejay he is too old, Maestro Laynez is not good looking, is very delicate, Maestro Salmeron not of long standing and is as it were so youthful and beardless—*tan moço y sin barbas*, as heretofore you have known him, Maestro Bonodilla [Bobadilla] too weak, and he does not suit the purpose, of those who remain there being only nine Professed, you are at the head of all, both because the parts which are possessed are all profitable, and because if one be demanded, Maestro Pasquier will appear to me to possess more completely all the parts united, first he is so good, that we consider him an Angel in the Company. 2nd. With the learning which he has, he has much experience in visiting and reforming bishoprics and monasteries and having gone as Nuncio to Ireland, which no one of the Company has understood so much in these exercises, giving admirably a good account of all he has taken in hand, being very solicitous by nature, and very careful to be diligent always in so many things relating to bishoprics and conscience, which will be most required for those parts of Ethiopia. Besides, he is sufficiently good looking, and strong, and

A letter of
Ignatius.

Si Dios nro s^r ordenare, q̄ alguno desta compay.^a vaya en
esta empresa de etiopia, yo creo q̄ la suerte caera sobre my pas
caso, q̄ a estar en mi election, mirando todo el vniuersal, y parh
calores conforme my consciencia no eligiera otro, porq̄ supynesto q̄
yo no osuria q̄ net tal cargo fuese ninguo q̄ no fuese professo
me parere q̄ son muy necesarias tres cosas, q̄ ha de tener
el q̄ fuere, la primera bondad, la 2^a letras, la 3^a q̄ tenga
persona, fuerças y mediana edad estas tres partes juntas
yo no los siento en ninguo dela compay.^a tanto, como en maestro pas
caso, porq̄ si hablamos de jain es muy viejo, m^o baynez no
sejendo yfona, es muy delizado, m^o salmeron de poco tiempo
y esta quoy tan moço y sin barbas, como anres lo conuistio, m^o bo
nadilla muy enfermo, y no tu al proposito, de los q̄ restamos seyendo
niene professo solo, vos eptis al cabo de todos y para los q̄ res
q̄ se hallan son todos pronosos, y para donde se dimanda vno,
maestro pascasio me parere q̄ tiene mas cumplidamente todos
los partes juntos, primeramente assi es bueno, q̄ nosotros le te
nemos por vn Angel en la compay.^a 2^a con los letras q̄ tiene,
tiene mucha experiencia en visitar y reformar obispados y monasterios
y habiendo ydo por nuncio a erlanda q̄ ninguo otra compay.^a ha en sendi
do en esto exercicio tanto, dando admirabilmete buena cuenta de todo
quanto ha tomado entre manos, seyendo mucho sollicito a natura, y mucho
pudioso por ver se sienpre en todos casos episcopales y de conscias, lo q̄
nos se requiere para aquellas partes de etiopia, Despues desto tie
ne ~~una~~ otra buena persona, y fuerças, y salud, y de edad de 40,
anos poco mas os nienos, dios nro s^r por la su infinita y sumabondad
querra ordenar y gouernar el todo y si fuere menester eligiendo de su
mano, como sea mayor serijcio alabanza y g^oia de su d^ona m^o
y quen sea siempre en nro cotinno favor y ayuda de Roma

Jonatius

healthy, and about 40 years of age, a little more or less,¹ may god our lord by his infinite and supreme bounty ordain and govern all and if it be necessary choosing with his own hand, just as it may be for the greater service, praise, and glory of his divine majesty may which be always in our continual favour and the aid of Rome. IGNATIUS."

It is certain, however, that Oviedo and his companions finally departed for the enterprise of Ethiopia. Oviedo was made a bishop,—Father Ignatius making no appeal to the "end of the Society" against the reception of Church-dignities, on that occasion:—he could easily spare these Jesuits to be episcopated, and sent them to invade the kingdom of Prester-John. The remarkable events which followed belong to a later period of the Society—after the death of Ignatius, to which we are hastening. A few important matters must be dismissed ere we stand around the deathbed of Ignatius of Loyola.

Asia, Africa, and Europe, were now penetrated by the Jesuits. Germany was divided into two provinces of the Society, and Spain into three; Sicily was a province, Italy, as a matter of course, and even France, in spite of the determined resistance of the university, was considered a province by the unflinching Jesuits.² Across the Atlantic the Jesuits had gone, and were seen with the fierce and avaricious invaders pouncing on the coast of Brazil. The court of Lisbon despised this colony because it promised no gold—the all-compensating object of that degraded age. Criminals, persecuted Jews plundered and banished by

The Jesuits
in Brazil.

¹ According to the Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu., Pasquier Brouet died in 1562, aged fifty-five. He was therefore born in 1507, and was consequently about thirty-seven years of age in 1554, the period of the enterprise. ² Orlandinus.

the Inquisition, found there an asylum ; and then the coast was parcelled out to adventurous noblemen for private speculation.

The Brazilian Indians were cannibals—knew of no God whatever—utterly barbarians : but hospitable—eager to befriend those who sought their friendship or protection.¹ If they knew no God, the handy-work of God was within them. They were not warriors by profession : when they went forth to battle, it was to avenge a relative or a friend. The cruelties of their warfare were great ; but they did not equal the atrocities of the Spaniards, the “ Christian ” conquerors of America.

Six Jesuits commenced operations in Brazil ; and their labours were crowned with great success. The savages hated the Portuguese : but the Jesuits gained their love and admiration. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played on their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs ; in a word, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction.² They were fond of music : the Jesuits led them in procession singing the precepts of religion. The missionaries made every effort to wean them from the feast of human flesh : they would even pitch their tent in the midst of the savage bands about to prepare the horrible banquet ; and when their supplications availed not, they would baptise the victims, deeming the ceremonial sufficient to save the soul, as they could not rescue the body. Strange human nature ! These cannibals fancied

¹ Raynal.

² Id. iv.

that the waters of baptism made the flesh of the victims less succulent! They menaced the Jesuits with the same fate: the Jesuit Anchieta was singled out: he boldly told them that his hour was not come—remained amongst them without flinching, as a lion-tamer amongst wild beasts, and his prediction was verified: his intrepidity and calmness won them over, and they spared the Jesuit.¹

Unquestionably these Jesuits in Brazil were the friends of the savages. They made every effort to protect and relieve them from oppression, and were blessed with the gratitude and confidence of the Indians. The Jesuits became mediators to appease the just indignation of the oppressed, and, by their gentleness and tact, they were successful. With the confidence of the people they gained their children, whom they received for education. The city of San Salvador arose: the Portuguese built the city, but it was peopled by the Jesuits. The Jesuits collected the children, penetrated into the forests, visited the savages in their huts, and gained their confidence by all the services they needed for body and soul. Three establishments or residences were founded by the Jesuit Nobrega, and Brazil became a province of the Order in 1553.² By the exertions of the Jesuits in conciliating the minds and hearts of the savages, the colony began to thrive; the sugar-cane was introduced from Madeira, and *Negroes* were imported to cultivate and make it into sugar, which, by the end of the sixteenth century, was in great demand as an article of luxury, having been previously used only as a medicine.³ Earning and partaking of the advantages accruing from this prosperity, mainly attributable to

¹ Cret. i. 482.² Cret. i. 401.³ Raynal, iv.

their efforts, the Jesuits made Brazil the centre of their operations on the continent of South America. They will soon give us the proof of their influencing power ; they will soon prove the incomparable advantage of gentleness and beneficence over violence and injury in the subjugation of the savage. “A handful of Jesuits will effect more than the armies of Spain and Portugal.”

Ignatius was now fast sinking under his Herculean labours. His strength was diminishing whilst the cares of the Society were increasing as she enlarged her bounds. He demanded an assistant. It is remarkable that Ignatius, contrary to the subsequent practice and the Constitutions, had ruled hitherto without assistants, and even now the assistant appointed was untitled ; “the authority of the general was inviolate.”

Sinking fast, and one day feeling weaker than usual, and “considering that obedience was the soul and character of his Order,” he exclaimed : “Write ! I desire that the Society should know my last thoughts on the virtue of Obedience.”

He dictated as follows :—

“I. As soon as I shall have entered upon a religious life, my first care shall be to abandon myself entirely to the conduct of my Superior.

“II. It were desirable that I should fall into the hands of a Superior who should undertake to subdue my judgment, and who should apply himself to that end completely.

“III. In all things where there is no sin, I must follow my Superior’s judgment, and not my own.

“IV. There are three ways of obeying. The first, when we do what we are commanded, ‘by virtue of

Obedience,'¹ and that way is good. The second, which is better, when we obey simple orders. The third, and the most perfect of all, when we do not wait for the Superior's order, but anticipate and conjecture his will.

"V. I must obey, indifferently, all sorts of Superiors, without distinguishing the first from the second, nor even from the last. But I ought to see in all, equally, our Lord, whose place they hold, and remember that authority is communicated to the last by those who are above him.

"VI. If the Superior judges what he commands to be good, and I believe I cannot obey without offending God, unless this be evident to me, I must obey. If, however, I feel a difficulty through some scruple, I shall consult two or three persons of good sense, and I will abide by what they say. But if I do not yield after that, I am very far from that perfection which the excellence of the religious state demands.²

"VII. In fine, I ought not to belong to myself, but to my Creator, and to him under whose direction He has placed me. I ought to be, in the hands of my Superior, as soft wax which takes the desired form, and do all he pleases ; for example, write letters or not, speak to any one or not, and other things in like manner.

"VIII. I ought to look upon myself as a dead body,

¹ This is the form of *solemn commands*, as distinguished from *simple orders* of the Superior.

² This strange paragraph is explanatory of the third. It completely gives a man a new conscience ; his moral feeling is set aside for another's. It is, in fact, an example of the "probable opinion" of the Jesuits, which subsequently became in vogue. The idea of "sin" *must* be out of the question when a man must stifle the doubt of conscience by the opinion of another. It is, besides, awful to think that Ignatius, sinking to the grave, should, as it were, conjecture cases wherein the conscience of his men might shrink from crime,—from sin, at the command of a Superior,—and tells them, if they refuse to obey, they are very far from the *perfection* of the religious state !

which has no motion of itself, and like a stick which an old man uses, which he takes up or sets aside according to his convenience ; so that Religion (*i.e.* the Society) may make use of me just as she shall judge that I will be useful to her.

“IX. I ought not to ask the Superior to put me in such and such a place, or give me such and such an employment. I may, however, declare to him my idea and inclination, provided I entirely place myself in his hands, and that what he shall ordain appear to me the best.

“X. This does not forbid the request of things which are of no consequence, such as visiting the churches or practising other devotions to obtain some grace from God ; with the proviso, however, that we be in an equilibrium of mind, as to whether the Superior should grant or refuse our request.

“XI. I ought to depend, above all, on the Superior for what regards poverty, not having anything of my own, and partaking of all things, as a statue which may be stripped, without its resisting or complaining.”

Such is “The Testament of Father Ignatius,” as the Jesuits call it ; “the last deed he performed for the good of his Order.”¹

On the 30th of July, 1556, Ignatius called for his secretary, Polancus ; and having ordered those who were present to retire, he said to the secretary :
Death of Ignatius. “My hour is come. Go and ask the pope for a blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, in order that my soul may have more confidence in this terrible passage. And tell his holiness that if I go to a place where my prayers may avail aught, as I hope

¹ Bouhours, ii. 222.

from the Divine Mercy, I shall not fail to pray for him, as I have done when I had more reason to pray for myself."

The secretary hesitated, seeing no immediate signs of death, and expressed himself accordingly.

"Go!" said Ignatius, "and beg the blessing for another father!"

Lainez was then dangerously ill, and had received the last Sacraments. Polancus thought the implied prediction referred to Lainez: but, we are assured, that the event proved it to be Father Olave.

Ignatius continued sensible: two or three of the fathers remained with him till very late—discussing a slight matter relating to the Roman College. He passed the night alone. In the morning he was found in his agony. The fathers rushed to his bed in dismay. Thinking he was faint, they wished him to take something: but he whispered in dying accents: "There's no need of it;" and, joining his hands, raising his eyes upwards, pronouncing the name of Jesus, he calmly breathed his last. It was on the last day of July, 1556.¹

Thus died Ignatius, the Founder of the Jesuits, without the last Sacraments of the Church, without Extreme Unction, without Absolution from a priest of the Church. This fact is as remarkable as He dies without the Sacraments. any in the life of Ignatius. To the Protestant, without some explanation, it may signify little: but to the Catholic it must appear passing strange and unaccountable. Every son of the Church is held by precept to receive those last aids in his last journey: the Council of Trent makes them imperative: all the doctors

¹ Bouhours, ii. 225, *et seq.* Also, all the biographies, &c.

of the Catholic Church agree at least in the paramount importance of Extreme Unction.¹ Ignatius was in his senses : he had even predicted his death ; and yet he conforms not to the last requirements of his Religion ! He died as any “philosopher” may die. It would seem that the tale about the pope’s “blessing and indulgence” were thrown in merely to make the founder’s death somewhat respectable : the word “Jesus” is a matter of course.

So striking is this manner of the *Saint’s* departure that Bartoli goes to great lengths in endeavouring to excuse the irreverent death-bed of his Society’s founder. He attributes the absence of the Sacraments to the Saint’s spirit of *obedience to his physician*, who had not thought him in imminent danger of death.² But the man who could predict his death, as we are assured, must have been permitted, without infringing obedience, to “represent” his state, according to the rules of the founder himself—*if* he cared at all for the rites of the Church. On the other hand, it seems difficult to suppose that Ignatius, giving him credit for his usual astuteness, would wilfully refrain from giving that last external testimony to the “hope within him :” but DEATH wrings secrets from the stoutest hearts. At that awful moment Ignatius was laid bare. He was not *permitted* to prolong his deception. He had had “his reward.” Then, was deception compatible with all the *zealous* enterprises of his life ? Surely it was—just as were his pretended *visions* and *predictions*. Mohammed talked of God—worked “for God,” as

¹ “Nec verò tanti sacramenti contemptus absque ingenti scelere . . . esse potest.”—*Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. iii.*, in fine. See Ligorio, *Theol. Moral. t. vii. p. 216.*

² Dell’ Italia, ff. 340, 341, 342.

zealously as Ignatius for "God's greater glory." Further, we are *not* to take Jesuit-accounts as Gospel. We have already seen how they invent, add, and interpolate. It is only by dissecting psychologically the curious incidents of the man's life, as told by the Jesuits, that we can catch a glimpse of his inner character. We are told that from his wound in the leg, Ignatius limped a little, but managed so well in walking that his lameness was scarcely visible.¹ Apply this fact to his impenetrable mind, and it perfectly represents the character of Ignatius of Loyola, Founder and first General of the Jesuits:—his mental, his moral limpings were indeed scarcely visible—and those who perceived them best were most concerned in their concealment. If we are to believe the Jesuits, the devils were always with him, or at him. As long as he lived, says Bartoli and the rest of the biographers, as long as he lived the evil spirits inflicted upon him the roughest treatment. One night they wished to strangle him, and seized his throat with a hand like that of a man, which gripped him so tightly that he lost his breath, till at last reviving, he was able to name Jesus, and was released. Another night they thrashed him cruelly, and the brother who slept in the next room, roused by the noise of the strokes and the groans of Ignatius, rushed in and found him sitting on his bed, all breathless and exhausted. A second time he heard the noise, a second time he returned: but the saint forbade him to return again whatever he might hear.²

The terrors of conscience embody themselves ever and anon, or they impersonate to the mind some dread avenger of its misdeeds. On the other hand, a diseased

¹ Bouhours, ii. p. 228.

² Della Vita di S. Ign. f. 388.

liver—which seems to have been the founder's malady—and nerves unstrung, and brain racked by untold, unshared, studiously *concealed*, anxiety, were enough to produce those constant agitations, which Ignatius and his disciples interpreted into the portentous fear nocturnal, and the noon-day devil. “The biographer of Ignatius Loyola,” says Hasenmüller, “writes that the Founder of the Society died calmly ; but Turrianus, a Jesuit, told me often, that Ignatius, at meals, at mass, even in company, was so harassed by devils, that he sweat copiously the coldest sweat of death. Bobadilla said he often complained that he could be never and nowhere safe from demons. Octavian, a Jesuit, and minister at Rome, or governor of the novices, observed to me : ‘ Our Father Ignatius was holy ; but at the approach of his last agony, he shivered as in fever, and fetching a sigh, he exclaimed : I have done much good to the Church of Rome—I have seen many provinces of our men, many colleges, houses, residences, and wealth belonging to our Society ; but all these things desert me now, and I know not whither to turn ! ’ At length he expired in a fit of trembling, and his face turned black, according to an eye-witness, the Jesuit Turrianus.”¹

¹ “ Ignatium Loiolam primum Societatis auctorem ipsius vitæ scriptor, placidè defunctum scribit. Sed Turrianus Jesuita mihi notissimus sæpe dixit : illum in cenâ, in prandio, Missâ, in recreationibus etiam, ita à dæmonibus exagitatum, ut in magnâ copiâ, frigidissimum mortis sudorem fuderit. Bobadilla dixit : illum sæpiùs conquestum, se nunquam et nullibi à demonibus tutum esse posse. Octavianus Jesuita, Romæ minister, seu novitiorum œconomus retulit mihi dicens : Sanctus erat noster pater Ignatius : sed circa agonem ità tremebat, quasi febrî esset correptus, et suspirans dixit : Multa bona contuli in Ecclesiam Romanam ; multas nostrorum provincias, multa collegia, domus, residencias et opes nostræ Societatis vidi : sed hæc omnia me deserunt : et quò me vertam ignoro. Tandem verò cum tremore ipsum obiisse, mortuumque nigerrimo vultu conspectum esse, idem affirmavit.”—*Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord.* c. xi. p. 320.

These may have been some of the tricks devised by Ignatius to inspire his disciples with awe ; for they interpreted these visitations into evidences that the devils considered Ignatius as their greatest enemy.¹ If not tricks of the founder, how are we to account for them ? Is it exalted holiness, or enormous guilt, which can give power to the devil to injure God's creature ? As far as the body is concerned, we may be permitted to believe both cases impossible, or, at least, highly improbable, and by no means necessary for "the fulfilment of all justice," under the Christian dispensation. But you have here another striking "fact" elucidative of this strange man's character ; the product of worldly ambition transplanted into the sanctuary, where it lost no particle of its energies, its craft, its rocklessness, its calm, considerate, meditated hard-heartedness. His military ferocity never left Ignatius. When he played the part of mildness and kindness, and conciliation, he was like Napoleon or Cromwell, in circumstances where the thing was expedient ; but when he had an aged father scourged for an example, then was he himself—and heaven only knows how many such instances edified the infant Society : some are said to have died from the effects of the lash.²

He had wished for three things. Three things his spiritualised ambition longed to see accomplished—the Society confirmed by the popes—the book of the "Spiritual Exercises"

The three things Ignatius wished for.

¹ Bartoli, *ubi supra*, l. iv. and v.

² "Hanc plus quam ferinam feritatem, etiam post institutam Jesuitarum sectam adeò non deposuit, ut Hoffæus, Romæ in domo Jesuitarum professâ testatus est, eundem nonnullos societatis suæ fratres flagellis (Jesuitæ disciplinam Loyolæ spiritualem mortificationem nuncupant) ita confecisse, ut præmaturâ morte interierint. Salmanassar Neapolitanus confitetur quod fuerit naturâ ferox, sævus, durus, truculentus."—*Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord.* c. i. p. 12.

approved by the holy See—and the Constitutions dispersed among his sons in every field of their labours.¹ His wishes were fulfilled ; and then he died as we have witnessed.

Ignatius was in his sixty-fifth year ; his Society numbered her sixteenth ; and the entire world was gazing upon her—some with love, some with desire only, some with suspicion, and others with implacable detestation.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 222.



G. Cooke sc.

HISTORY
OF
THE JESUITS:

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR SOCIETY TO ITS SUPPRESSION
BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.;

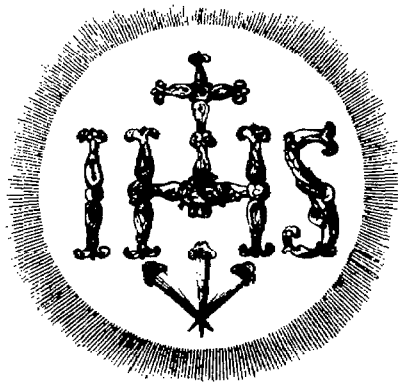
THEIR MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
THEIR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND LITERATURE; WITH THEIR REVIVAL
AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

ANDREW STEINMETZ,

AUTHOR OF "THE NOVITIATE," "THE JESUIT IN THE FAMILY."

WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY GEORGE MEASON



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

PUBLISHER IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.

1848.

Reproduced in electronic form
2002

Bank of Wisdom®

A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

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

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

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom.

CONTENTS TO VOL. II.



	PAGE
Book VI. or RODERICUS	1
Book VII. or BOBADILLA	320

BOOK VI. OR, RODERICUS.

THE Jesuits have reason to lament, and Catholics in general, have cause to feel surprise at, the uncanonical death-bed of "Saint Ignatius." The disinterested reader may lament the circumstance : Ignatius and Luther. but, having attentively observed the career of the founder, he will perhaps consider its termination as perfectly consistent as it was natural. His ambition had made his religion a lever ; and when in that mortal cold bleak agony, ambition was palsied and dead within him, its lever became an object of disgust—as invariably to human nature become all the objects and instruments of passion in satiety, or in the moments when the icy hand of Death grips the heart that can struggle no more. It is indeed probable that the last moments of Ignatius were frightful to behold—frightful from his self-generated terrors—for, be it observed, I impute no atrocious crimes to the man, although I do believe that the results of his spiritual ambition entailed incalculable disasters on the human race and Christianity, as will be evident in the sequel. To me it would have been a matter of surprise, had Ignatius

died like a simple child of the Church. Fortunately for the cause of truth and the upright judgment of history, circumstances hindered the invention of an edifying death-bed, by his disciples. Strangers knew all—a physician was present. But here I am wrong : one of them, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, *has* contradicted all previous biographers, and actually asserts that Ignatius died “with the sacraments” !¹ Had his disciples been permitted to *think* of the thing, no doubt we should have had a glorious scene on paper, painted by the first biographer for all succeeding generations of the tribe. But this has been providentially forbidden, and we are permitted to know that Ignatius died in such a manner, that, had he lived in the sacramental era of Jesuit-domination in France, the founder would have been by the law denied Christian burial. Comparing the accounts given by their respective disciples, Luther’s death is far more respectable than that of “Saint Ignatius,” and so consonant with the man’s character through life, that we think it as truly described as that of Ignatius, for the same reason precisely. The dominant thought of the Reformer accompanied him to the end—the thought of his mighty enterprise animated the last word he uttered.² His death was consistent with his *cause* : that of Ignatius was not ; and *there* is the mighty difference. No unqualified admirer of Luther am I—nor unqualified disparager of Loyola ; but the

¹ Francisco Garcia, *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*. He says : “ And finally, full of merits, having received the blessing of the sovereign pontiff and the sacraments, invoking the name of Jesus, he gave up his blessed spirit with great peace and tranquillity to him who created him for so much good to the world—y finalmente, lleno de merecimientos, aviendo recibido la benedicion del Sumo Pontifice, y los Sacramentos, invocando el nombre de Jesus, diò su bendito espiritu con gran paz y sosiego al que para tanto bien del mundo le criò.”—*Flos Sanct. tercera parte*, p. 518, edit. Madrid, 1675.

² See Hazlitt’s “*Life of Luther*,” p. 350, *et seq.*

latter is forced upon us as a saint, whilst all admit the former to have been only a man ; and I confess that I like the man better than the saint. Both achieved "great things" by very natural means, as we have seen ; but the latter pretended to an equality with Jesus Christ—*Quando el eterno Padre me pusò con su Hijo*—"When the eternal Father put me beside his Son"—and, therefore, I consider him an ambitious impostor—like Mohammed and every other, past, present, and to come, for we may be sure that the race is not exhausted utterly. In Luther's writings and actions there is much to disgust us : in Loyola's impostures there is much likewise to disgust us : the errors of both emanated directly from that "religious" *system of Rome*, whence they emerged to their respective achievements.¹ Antipodes in mind—antagonists in natural

¹ For instance, both of them talked of incarnate devils incessantly tormenting them. In Hazlitt's "Life of Luther" there are very copious extracts from Luther's Tischreden or Table-talk on the subject—all highly characteristic of the age, as well as the superstitious cast of mind which the reformer never threw off—so difficult it is to get rid of early associations. The reader remembers that the Catholics represented Luther as the son of an incubus or devil. The reformer himself believed the thing possible, nay even states a case which he vouches for ! It is one of the least immodest and disgusting among Hazlitt's extracts : "I myself," says Luther, "saw and touched at Dessau a child of this sort, which had no human parents, but had proceeded from the devil. He was twelve years old, and, in outward form, exactly resembled ordinary children. He did nothing but eat, consuming as much every day as four hearty labourers or threshers could if any one touched him, he yelled out like a mad creature" It is positively horrifying to hear the reformer say : "I said to the princes of Anhalt, with whom I was at the time, 'If I had the ordering of things here I would have that child thrown into the Moldau at the risk of being held its murderer.' But the Elector of Saxony and the princes were not of my opinion in the matter Children like that are, in my opinion, a mere mass of flesh and bone, without any soul. The devil is quite capable of producing such things," &c. P. 318. The whole chapter is dreadfully disgusting and humiliating : but Mr. Hazlitt deserves praise for the honourable integrity with which he has perfected Michelet's garbled performance. Still some of the devil-matter should have been left out as too disgusting and immodest. A sentence to that effect would have answered all the purpose of conscientious fidelity.

character—diametrically opposed in natural disposition or organisation, both lived according to the internal or external impulses to which they were subjected; and frankly, the free-living of Luther, as represented by his associates, and by no means criminal or excessive, was as consistent and necessary in Luther, as were the “mortification” and “self-abnegation” and “chastity” of Loyola, as represented by his disciples.¹ Ignatius could not certainly have succeeded by any other plan in the given circumstances; and habit made the thing very easy, as any one may find on trial—with *such* views as imperatively required that the founder should not be as “other men.” Protestants have amused or deceived themselves and their readers, by comparing the “regenerated” spirits of Luther and Loyola. In so doing, they debase Luther, and pay a compliment to the clever inventions of the Jesuits. To my mind, at least,

¹ According to the Jesuit Bouhours, writing in the age of Louis XIV., the physicians who dissected Ignatius thought him of a “phlegmatic temperament,” although naturally of the most ardent complexion: t. ii. p. 228. This he attributes to the efforts which Ignatius made to restrain his passions: but such a result would appear in *conduct*, not in the *organs* laid open by dissection, which are modified by *disease*, and not by rational, virtuous restraint. In fact, it is excessive indulgence or excitement which totally alters their natural condition. Were it not so, morality would be man’s exterminating angel. Thank God we are now-a-days being enlightened on these subjects of such vital importance to society and religion. But Bouhours garbles the fact to which he alludes. Maffei, an earlier Jesuit, gives a diagnosis of the saint’s disease, showing it to have been simply an induration of the liver, with “three stones found in the *vena Porta*, according to Realdus Columbus in his book of Anatomy.” Ign. Vita. p. 158. He meant either gall-stones in the gall-bladder, or solid masses in the ducts of the liver, both morbid concretions from the ingredients of the bile. The *vena Porta* enters the liver at a furrow of its inferior surface, just where the bile-duct issues, and it ramifies with the duct throughout the substance of the organ. Hence originated the old anatomist’s mistake: but the diseased liver is manifest; and when we consider how many desperate afflictions result from disease in this organ, we should excuse many of the saint’s extravagancies. Anxious, racking thoughts will derange the liver; and this derangement once begun, entails derangement in every other organ,—blood and brain evince the disaster, and constant misery is the result—gloom and fanaticism.

Loyola was perfectly innocent of all the distinctive spirituality ascribed to him in his "Spiritual Exercises" and Constitutions ; or, at the most, that spirituality has come down to us, filtered and clarified by his clever followers, who extracted from Loyola's crude notions of spirituality a curious essence, just as modern chymists have extracted *quinine* from the bark *cinchona*, which they introduced into Europe, and made so lucrative at first.¹ The determined will of the Jesuits was the true legacy of Ignatius—like that of the Saracens bequeathed by Mohammed. On the contrary, Luther was essentially a theorist : his German mind and feelings made him such ; and the essential characteristics of that theory prevail to the present hour—most prominently vigorous where men enjoy the greatest freedom, press forward most intently in the march of human destiny, ever mindful of God and their fellow-men—whilst duty is the watchword of the great and the little. We have not derived all the advantages which Providence offered to mankind at the dawn of the Protestant movement. We have not been blessed as we might have been, because since then we have modified everything : instead of pressing forward, we have been urged back to the things of Rome—every step in which direction is an approach to mental darkness and sentimental blindness. When there shall be absolutely nothing in our religious and moral institutions to suggest its Roman origin, then shall the hand of Providence be no longer shortened, and its blessings will be commensurate with our corporeal health and vigour, mental refinement, and moral

¹ The introduction of this medicinal bark to Europe took place in 1640. Under the name of *Pulvis Jesuiticus* the Jesuits vended it, and derived a large revenue from the trade. It is said that the Jesuits were the first to discover its efficacy in fevers. Quinine is a purified form of the drug.

rectitude—the three perfections destined for man. But this must be the result of enlightenment. By persecution, by intolerance, you cannot effect it. If a poor hypochondriac will have it that his head is made of lead, would you persecute and kill him for his idea? Persecution on account of religion is pretty much as reasonable and as Christian-like. Enlighten public opinion, nourish the love of country, and human nature, with the power of God, will do the rest.

Their founder died thus uncanonically—without consolation—without absolution—it is even doubtful whether

How Ignatius was glorified.

*the messenger was in time to get the pope's indulgence or passport, by proxy : for we are expressly told that the Son of Obedience had "put off the matter to the following day ;"*¹ and as Ignatius expired one hour after sunrise, according to Maffeus, or two hours after, according to Bartoli, the time, even with Bartoli's provident enlargement, was doubtless much too early for a papal interview : the very old pope, who was, from his usual regimen, probably a heavy sleeper, was not likely to be stirring at that early hour of the drowsy morn. But the Jesuits were resolved to make up for the disaster. Rome, we are told, rang with the rumour—"The Saint is dead." The body was exposed—devotees rushed in crowds, kissing his feet and hands ; applying their rosaries to his body, so as to make them miraculous—and begging for locks of his hair or shreds of his garments imbued with the same quintessence.² They gave out that "when he expired, his glorious soul appeared to a holy lady called Margarita Gillo, in Bologna, who was a great benefactress of the Company, and that he said to her : 'Margarita, I am

¹ "Re in proximam lucem dilatá."—*Maff.* p. 158.

² *Ibid.* Bouhours wisely garbles the event.

going to Heaven, behold I commend the Company to your care ;' and he appeared to another devotee who wished to approach the saint, but the saint would not let him ;" and to many other persons he appeared with his breast open, and displaying "his heart, whereon were engraved, in letters of gold, the sweet name of JESUS"!¹ By all these proceedings the Jesuits motived or encouraged a cruel, reckless mockery of the most sacred event venerated by Christians. They overshot the mark, however. The apotheosis of Ignatius was overdone. The pope resolved to put an extinguisher on the conflagration—and there was enough to provoke any man who felt the least solicitude for the honour of religion. They gave out that Bobadilla, who was ill, no sooner entered the room where the corpse lay, than he was cured—which turns out to be contradicted by the fact that he was for some time after an invalid at Tivoli, as the thoughtless biographers and historians depose ! They said that a girl diseased with "King's Evil" was cured by being touched with a shred of the saint's garments—though other biographers tell us that the Brothers would *not* permit any to be taken ! "The flowers and roses which were on his body gave health to many diseased ; and when his body was translated, there was heard in his sepulchre, for the space of two days, celestial music—a harmony of sweet voices ; and within were seen lights, as it were resplendent stars. The devils published his death and great glory—God

¹ "Luego que espirò San Ignacio se apericiò su alma gloriosa à una santa señora llamada Margarita Gillo, que estava en Bolonia, y eva muy benefactora de la Compañia, à la qual dixo : *Margarita yo me voy al Cielo, mirad que os encomendo la Compañia.* Tambien se apericiò a Juan Pascual su devoto, y queriendose llegar al Santo, se lo estorbò Hase aparecido muchas uezes, trayendo el pecho abierto, y en el corazon esculpido con letras de oro el dulce nombre de Jcsus," &c.—*Garcia, ubi suprà*, f. 518.

thus forcing them to magnify him whom they abhorred!" Nor was this all. "A demoniac woman being exorcised at Trepana, in Sicily, God forced the devil to say that his enemy Ignatius was dead, and was in Heaven between the other founders of religious Orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis."¹ This was the grand point

¹ Garcia, *ubi supra*. He also tells us that Ignatius raised at least a dozen dead men to life—*per lo menos doze*—one in Manreza, two at Munich, another at Barcelona, &c. ; some after death, and others during his lifetime. See the disgusting narratives in this Jesuit's "Life of the Founder." Even Bouhours gives some vile instances. And yet Ribadeneyra, in his *first* edition of the "Life of Ignatius," gave no miracles—nay, the last chapter enters into a long, windy, and most absurd disquisition, on the subject of miracles in general, tending to their decided disparagement—finishing off as it does with these words: "But miracles may be performed by saints, by guilty men, by wicked sinners—*ma i miracoli possono ben esser fatti cosi da Santi, come da rei, e da malvagi peccatori.*" P. 509. His introduction to the subject at once conveys the certainty that no mention was as yet made of the invented miracles—let alone the fact that there were *none* performed, which is, of course, the fact. He says: "But who doubts that there will be some men who will wonder, will be astounded, and will ask why, these things being true (as they are without doubt), still Ignatius performed no miracles, nor has God wished to display and exhibit the holiness of this His servant, with signs and supernatural attestations, as He has done usually with many other saints? To such men I answer with the apostle: 'Who knows the secrets of God? or who is made his adviser?'" P. 565. Thereupon he launches into a boisterous ocean of frothy boasting about the Company and its achievements—and the mendacious miracles of Ignatius's *sons* all over the world, concluding thus: "These things I hold for the greatest and most stupendous miracles." P. 582. Now this same Ribadeneyra was an inseparable companion of Ignatius, an eye-witness of all his actions: his first edition was published in 1572, fifteen years elapsed—no miracles appeared in the edition of 1587—nor in the Italian edition of 1586, which I quote, although the chapter is impudently entitled "Of the miracles which God operated by his means," referring the title to the Institute, &c. But when the Jesuits began to think it necessary to have a saint to compete with Benedict, Dominic, Francis, &c., then they induced this unscrupulous Jesuit to *publish* miracles in 1612, which he did in what he titled, "Another shorter life, with many and new miracles;" and he got rid of the incongruity by saying that the miracles had not been *examined and approved when he previously wrote!* Truly, he would have at least mentioned this fact, *en passant*, in his elaborate disparagement of miracles in general. After this, miracles fell thick as hops, as you will find in all Jesuit-histories. The credulous Alban Butler gives a note on this Jesuitical "transaction," and his remarks are all that the most gullible devotee can desire on the subject. "Saints' Lives," July 31. See Rasiel de Selva, *Hist. de l'admirable Dom Inigo*, for some sensible remarks on the subject, ii. p. 200.

at which the Jesuits were aiming—the exaltation of their founder to an equality with the other grand founders after death ; which was, after all, somewhat *less* than the founder's own ambition — for we remember that *he* declared how the Eternal Father had placed him beside His Son ! And now let us listen to Pope Paul IV., reading these unreasonable Jesuits a lesson.

It does not appear that the brethren made great lamentation for their holy Father Ignatius. They rather complied with the founder's advice on all occasions when a Jesuit migrated. "For what can be more glorious, or more profitable," would he say, "than to have in the blessed Jerusalem many freemen endowed with the right of corporation, and there to retain the greater part of our body?"¹ This authenticated sentiment is exactly what the witty Father Andrew Boulanger expressed so pleasantly in an allegory of Ignatius applying for a province in Heaven.² "You should rather rejoice," said Ignatius, "to find that the colleges and houses which are being built in Heaven, are filling with a multitude of veterans—*gauderent potius collegia atque domos, quæ ædificabantur in cælo, emeritorum multitudine frequentari.*"³ There was no time for the Company to think of lamentation amidst the strife and confusion of her ambitious members, struggling to decide who should seize the helm of the gallant bark of the Company, which, like the Flying Dutchman, was almost on every ocean, and almost in every port—and all "at the same time," like the Apostle of the Indies, according to the Jesuits,

Expansion
of the So-
ciety at the
death of
Ignatius.

¹ " Quid enim sive ad decus, sive ad fructum optabilius quam in beatâ Jerusalem municipes plurimos, et quam maximam sui partem habere ?"—*Sacch.* lib. i. 34.

² Ante, p. 176.

³ *Sacchin.* lib. i. 34.

and decidedly so in point of fact. It was something great and prospective—that monarchy left behind by Ignatius, with all its provinces, and wealth, and colleges, which, however, as he said, left him in the lurch at last—cold, desolate, despairing. No monarch ever left an achieved kingdom in so flourishing a condition as Ignatius Loyola, the Emperor of the Jesuits. There were twelve provinces, with at least one hundred colleges. There were nine provinces in Europe,—Italy, Sicily, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal; and three in Asia, Africa, and America, or in Brazil, India, and Ethiopia. Thus, in less than sixteen years every part of the world was penetrated by the Jesuits. The historian tells us that their number did not much exceed one thousand;¹ but allowing the most moderate average of fifteen Jesuits to each college, we shall have 1500 Jesuits engaged in tuition, and the training of youth. Then allowing an average of 400 pupils to each college—there were more than 2000 in one of them subsequently—we shall have 40,000 youths under the care of the Jesuits.² The scheme was new—tuition was “gratuitous,” or parents thought it cost them nothing because they were not “obliged” to pay—all were readily admitted—and the colleges of the Jesuits were filled—for the Jesuits were “in fashion.” To the number of Jesuits engaged in tuition we must add the important item of the missionaries dispersed all over the world, running from city to city in Europe, or wandering in the wilds of Africa, Asia, and America. At the death of Loyola, in 1556, there could not be less than

¹ Sacchin. lib. i. ; Bartoli, Dell' Ital. lib. iii.

² Sacchinus says there were more than a thousand pupils instructed at the College of Coimbra, in 1560. Lib. iv. 65.

two thousand Jesuits in the Company, with novices, scholastics, and lay-brothers of all trades and avocations, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, cooks, and *printers*. Who was to govern this motley tribe of humanity? That was the question. Only five of the original Ten companions were alive. There were under forty professed members in the Society, according to the historians: but there scarcely could have been so many, seeing that there were only nine two years before the founder's death, according to the Ethiopian letter which I have given. We are expressly told that Ignatius had the strongest objections to permit many to be raised to that dignity which constituted the *Power* of the Company¹—having the privilege of voting in the congregation and the election of a general. Whatever might be their number, it appears that the five veterans of the foundation at once made it evident that only one of *their* chosen band should fill the vacant throne. Bobadilla aspired to the dignity, but he was ill at Tivoli,² and in the absence of the redoubtable firebrand, Lainez was chosen vicar-general. We shall soon see the consequences.

Paul IV., the Pope of Rome, had treated Ignatius very kindly; he had even expressed a wish to unite his Society with that of the Theatines, which Paul had founded. This was no small compliment for a pope to pay Ignatius; but the deep old general declined the honour,—he could never think of such a thing—it would have been throwing all the products of a life's labour into the Gulph of Genoa, where an ancient pope had drowned some cardinals tied up in a sack. Ignatius had no notion of being “tied

The pope
denounces
Loyola's
system.

¹ Sacchinus calls them “the bones and sinews of the Company—*ossa ac nervi hujus Ordinis.*” Lib. i. 20.

² Bartoli, l. iii.; Sacchin. l. i.

up ;” he had hold of a helm, and he had sturdy rowers, and an universe of oceans was before him for circumnavigation. And he was right in his calculation. Had he not prophesied *eternity* to the Company of Jesus, and is not that most strikingly boasted of in the glorious image of the first century of the Company of Jesus ? It is, decidedly.¹ And who ever hears a word about the *Theatines* or their founder Caraffa ? Echo says, Who ? and no more. But who has not heard of the Jesuits and Loyola ? And the universe sends a history from every point of the compass. Ignatius knew what he was about, and declined the honour most handsomely ; nor was “the greater glory of God” forgotten. Whether the general’s refusal was ascribed to the right motive by the pope, or that he was simply annoyed by it, as the Jesuits believed, whatever was the cause, one fact is certain, that the pope was heard to say, at the death of Ignatius, that the general had ruled the Society too despotically—*nimio imperio Societatem rexisset*.² We remember the proceedings of the Jesuits at the death of Ignatius ; unquestionably they were not likely to make the pope more favourable to the members than he was, to judge from that expression, to the head of the Company. Lainez, the vicar-general, thought proper to go and pay his respects to the holy father, in that capacity. According to the Jesuits, Paul, as I have stated, had wished to make a cardinal of Lainez. We remember what happened on that occasion. The Jesuit stuck to his Company, which, to him, with all the prospects before him, was worth in honour, power, and estimation all the cardinal-hats in existence. As matters now turned out, Lainez being at the head of affairs, with the

¹ See *Imago*, p. 52.

² Sacchin. lib. i. 31.

contingent generalate at his fingers' ends, the deep old pope saw the thing clearly, and was resolved to strike home at once. He began with a few common-places and the proofs of his regard for the Company. Then suddenly changing his tone and attitude, he exclaimed : "But know that you must adopt no form of life, you must take no steps but those prescribed to you by this Holy See ; otherwise, you will suffer for it, and a stop will be put to the thing at once ; nor will the edicts [Bulls, &c.] of our predecessors be of the least avail to you. Because, whenever we issue any, our intention is not thereby to hamper our successors, by depriving them of the right to examine, to confirm, or destroy what preceding pontiffs have established. This being the case, you must adopt, from this Holy See, your manner of life, and must not be governed by the dictates of the *person* whom God has called away, and who has governed you till now ; nor must you depend on any support but God alone. Thus working, you will build—*super firmam petram*—on a firm rock, and not on *sand* ; and, if you have commenced well, you must, in like manner, go on well, lest it be also said of you : "*Hic homo cepit ædificare, et non potuit consummare*,—this man began to build and he could not finish." Beware of doing otherwise in the least point, and you will find in us a good father. Tell my children, your subjects, to console themselves." "And with these last words," says Lainez, giving the account, "with these last words he gave me the blessing," which was tantamount to showing him the door.¹ We can easily imagine the

¹ Bartoli gives the affair as he says from a document left by Lainez. Sacchinus leaves out the disparagement of Saint Ignatius, and adds a qualification not in the document. He says : "After other things of the sort, at length, shaking off

scope of this thunderbolt. It must have been long preparing. Its effects will be soon visible. But what a disenchantment for *Saint Ignatius* to be called *the person*—*la persona che Dio ha chiamato a se* ; and the decided disapprobation of Loyola's principles, and the allusion to *sand* ! We have here much light thrown upon the Jesuit-method at that early period, and it should not leave us in the dark. A pope finds fault with Loyola's principles or dictates ; then, surely, the University of France, the Archbishop Silicio, the monks of Salamanca, old Melchior Cano, were not altogether without justification in denouncing Ignatius and his system. Justice requires this fact to be remembered. Sacchinus acted consistently in garbling the pope's address, even as Lainez reported it ; Bartoli imprudently let out the thing, and Pallavicino, his brother-Jesuit, would have blamed him as he blamed good Pope Adrian VI., for admitting all that the heretics denounced in the Church. On the other hand, observe the threat of *suppression*, and see how the final suppression of the Society is justified in advance, by explaining the true nature of papal Bulls and apostolic Breves. Bartoli enters into a long discussion against these papal sentiments ; but he leaves the matter just where he found it, actually twisting the pope's menace into an exhortation, "for Lainez and the whole Company to keep in the same path, and never to leave it,—or to regain it, should they ever wander" !¹ This conclusion he founds on the words "*if you have well begun*" ; but he forgets that the dictates—*dettati*—of the *person* Ignatius were

his frown—*fronte explicata*—he bade them to be of good cheer." This is an invention : at all events, the pope had not done with them yet.

¹ Dell' Ital. l. iii. f. 356.

no longer to govern them, and, consequently, the “good beginning,” if uttered at all, had reference to a period preceding the “despotic government” and present “dictates” of Loyola.

The Jesuits were not the only nettle in the side of Paul IV. It is possible that the fierce old pope hated them for their Spanish origin; and that circumstances conspired to make him suspicious of the essentially Spanish Company. Nothing could exceed the pope’s abhorrence of the Spaniards: he hated them from his inmost soul, says Panvinius, the papal historian; according to others,—heaping upon them the bitterest invectives, calling them schismatics, heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world—nothing was too vile to represent his enemies, whether in his sober moments, or when charged with the thick black volcanic wine of Naples, which he swallowed largely. He even hated and disgraced all who did not hate them enough,—Cardinal Commendone among the rest; and now he had resolved on war, determined to avenge himself and all belonging to him, on the execrable Spaniards—without the least chance of succeeding.¹ Charles V. had just abdicated in favour of Philip II. A comet had frightened him;—precisely the same comet which is now flaming athwart the firmament. It blazed over the death of Ignatius Loyola—the abdication of Charles V.—and has now come to summon *Louis Philippe* to drop the diadem from his wrinkled brow. Curious coincidence: but ten thousand comets would not have frightened the intriguer into abdication without the yells of exasperated Frenchmen,

¹ Panv. Paul IV.; Gratiani, Vie de Commend. p. 105; Navagero; Ranke, p. 74.

who eat fire and drink blood in their fury.¹ And the same comet waved its torch over Smithfield, whose fires were burning Protestantism out of England. Spain and England were now united. Mary had married Philip II.—bigotry united to bigotry, begetting the monster “religious” Persecution. In vain a Spanish Friar, Alphonso di Castro, denounced the thing as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Gospel: his *words* had no blessing from Heaven: for he was Philip’s confessor, and his words were only a decoy to conciliate the people to the Spaniard whom they hated intensely. Hooper, Saunders, Taylor, Rogers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—the heads of Protestantism,—fed with their bodies the flames of the holocaust which Catholicism, once more restored, offered to the God of Christians! A few

¹ At its appearance in 1556 this comet is said to have seemed half the size of the moon. Its beams were short and flickering, with a motion like that of the flame of a conflagration, or of a torch waved by the wind. It was then that Charles is said to have exclaimed: “His ergo iudiciis me mea fata vocant—Then by this sign Fate summons me away.” Several comets appeared during this century—in 1506—in 1531—the present in 1556—and another in 1558, which last was, of course, to predict the death of Charles V. Besides the catastrophes of kings, comets are supposed to influence the seasons. Historians tell us that for three years before the appearance of the one in 1531, there was a perpetual derangement in the seasons, or rather, that summer almost lasted throughout the whole year; so that in five years there were not two successive days of frost. The trees put forth flowers immediately after their fruits were gathered—corn would not yield increase—and from the absence of winter, there was such a quantity of vermin preying on the germ, that the harvest did not give a return sufficient for the sowing of the following year. An universal famine was the consequence; next came a disease called *trousse-galant*—then a furious pestilence. The three calamities swept off a fourth of the French population. A bright comet, called the star of Bethlehem, appeared in 1573, and menaced Charles IX. for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as Beza and other Reformers publicly declared. Charles, who had languished dreadfully since the wholesale murder, died in effect a few months after, in 1574. Another comet appeared in 1577—the largest ever seen—and it seemed to predict the murder of Henry III., which happened so long after, in 1589. Whatever may be the physical effects and moral influences of comets, the present one, in the absence of all other explanations,

short years, in this century of mutation, had sufficed to make and unmake three different forms of Christianity in England—to “establish” three universal churches. An embassy had been sent to Rome: the pope’s supremacy in England was acknowledged: absolution was duly pronounced; and an English ambassador thereupon took up his abode in the papal city. Persecution followed and ratified Catholic ascendancy in England.¹ Glorious prospects were these—such a fool is humanity when drunk with selfishness. But Spanish power in Italy was not adequately compensated by papal power of England: pope Paul IV. began the war with Philip in Spain and England, by publishing the famous Bull *In cænâ Domini*, which swallows down all kings and countries as though they were a mess of pottage. It excommunicates all the occupiers of the pope’s possessions on land and sea—it excommunicates all of them, however eminent by dignity, even imperial; and all their advisers, abettors, and adherents. Vigorously the old pope buckled to the contest. He would crush his enemies. All men, without exception, were invited, urged to hold up his arms whilst Amalek was shivered into nought. The King of France, the ambitious lords of the land; his accommodating wife and unscrupulous mistress—all with different motives—were solicited by Paul’s messenger, his nephew Carlo Caraffa. Even the Protestant leader, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg—even the Grand Turk Solyman I.—the hopeless infidels who had so long battered the Christians—even these were solicited to fight the battle of the pope, Father of the Faithful,

must account for the thunderbolt-like shattering of the Orleans dynasty—and this excessively mild and flowery winter. Heaven grant that nothing more is in reserve!

¹ See Lingard, vi. ; Burnet, ii. ; Hallam, i. ; Dodd (Tierney’s), ii.

St. Peter's successor, and Christ's Vicar on earth.¹ How did it end? All his undertakings completely failed; and left him the will for the deed. His allies were beaten: the Spaniards ravaged his domains—marched against Rome, once more menaced with destruction—and then the old man consented to peace.

It was during the consternation produced by this imminent siege, that the Jesuits showed the pope what they could do in a time of trouble. The priesthood and monkhood of Rome were summoned to throw up defences. Sixty Jesuits sallied forth with mattocks, pitchforks and spades, marching in a triple column led by Salmeron, whilst the affrighted Romans groaned and wailed around them, fancying that the day of judgment was come; and that this triple troop of Jesuits, with mattocks, spades, and pitchforks, was going to dig them an universal grave or pitfall—*ad quandam quasi Supremi Judicii instantes speciem cohorrescentibus*. Vicar-General Lainez graced the works with his presence.²

To the Jesuits, by profession “indifferent to all things,” the crash of arms—the hubbub of human passions—were an angel's whisper to be stirring—and they bestirred themselves accordingly. The year 1556 closed with a magnificent display at the Roman College. It opened with theological, proceeded with philosophical disputations, and concluded with three orations in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, interspersed with poems in the same. Theses on ethics and the usual subtleties of theology were proposed and defended, and *printed* at the press of the Roman College. “Sweet to the men of Rome, amidst the din of arms, were these voices of wisdom,” exclaims the historian: “whilst confusion

¹ Botta, iii. ; Rabutin, Mem. ; Bromato, Vita di Paolo, iv. ; Ranke ; Panvinius.

² Sacchin. lib. i. 37.

filled the city with uproar, there was a quiet little nook for the Muses—among the Jesuits.¹ A tragedy was performed by the scholars, with all the concomitants of former exhibitions ; for “ though Ignatius was dead, his spirit animated all spirits ; and the master considered those amusements of the stage useful to form the body and to develop the mind. Amongst the scholars were Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Greeks, Illyrians, Belgians, Scotchmen, and Hungarians. United from so many different quarters, these youths followed the same rule of life and routine of training. Sometimes they spoke the language of their country, sometimes Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. On Sundays and festivals, they visited the hospitals, the prisons, and the sick of Rome. They begged alms for the House of the Professed. During the holidays at Easter and in autumn, their zeal spread over a larger field. They made excursions into the Terra Sabina and the ancient Latium, evangelising, hearing confessions, and catechising²—thus fructifying their pleasures as well as their studies, and practising for a more glorious manifestation. As yet, we are told, there were no public funds, no endowments for the support of these establishments. All was maintained by CHARITY :—but she would have been blind indeed if she had not seen where to fling her superfluities, whilst the Jesuits were offering such enormous interest, such splendid equivalents for her “ paltry gold.” Benedict Palmio, the ardent and eloquent Jesuit, was winning immense applause and creating vast sensation : in Latin or Italian, a renowned orator, equally fluent in both, he preached in the

¹ “ Haud injucundæ vulgo accidebant inter arma sapientiæ voces : nec pauci mirabantur, cum turbæ ubique Urbem miscerent, apud Patres quieti Musarum locum esse.”—*Id.* lib. i. 39.

² Cretineau, i. 341.

pontifical chapel and “wonderfully held captive the ears of the most distinguished princes.”¹ Emmanuel Sa, Polancus, Avillaneda and Tolletto, the renowned of old, were at that time the Company’s teachers : Possevinus, Bellarmine, and Aquaviva, future luminaries, were amongst her scholars on the benches.

Then, despite her troubles, in the face of her enemies, the Society was advancing. She had fought her way cleverly and valiantly to renown. What she possessed she had earned : it is impossible to deny her exertions. Think of the items. Sworn champions of the Catholic faith, the Jesuits were its determined supporters—the terror of Protestantism : their very life they exposed in opposition to “heresy.” Wherever a “heretic” lurked, some “nimble-witted Jesuit” was ready and eager “to bestow a few words on him.” There was something inspiring in the very thing itself. Excitement begat effort, and effort begat success. Another item :—The schools of the Jesuits were bidding defiance to all competitors, without exception. Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines were freezing in dim eclipse, whilst the orb of Jesuitism rose to its meridian, or approached its perihelion, intercepting every ray of favour and renown. A third item :—The fame of its “apostle” Xavier, the Jesuit-Thaumaturg of India, was a vast deposit in the bank of the Company’s “merits :” he died in the midst of his glory, but he left Jesuits behind, to transmit to Europe “Curious and Edifying Letters” concerning

Summary of achievements.

Controversialists.

Educators.

Xavier’s renown.

¹ “Cujus et ardor animi et eloquentia magnos et plausus et motus excitabat in sacello pontificio clarissimorum principum aures mirifice tenuit : haud minus in eâ linguâ quam in vernaculâ oratoris adeptus nomen.”—*Sacchin.* lib. i. 39.

the wonderful missions. Was that nothing to the purpose? And, lastly:—Already the Company had “martyrs of the Faith.” Antonio Criminal in India,—Correa and De Souza amongst the savages of Brazil. Hundreds were eager to brave the same fate—generous, noble hearts, self-devoted children of Obedience, to which they refused neither soul nor body. They died in striving to humanise the savage. You will say, perhaps, they misled them. But that was not always the fault of these valiant men, and true heroes. Their hearts impelled them to the work, which they did as was prescribed to them—responsible to Obedience, as their superiors were responsible to the all-seeing God of Truth and Righteousness. You must, for a moment at least, forget the creed of these men in the unequalled heroism they displayed. Not that they were cast into an uncongenial element. Far from it. The missionaries dearly loved life in the wilderness; preferred, in a very short time, the savage to the man of Europe. One of these Jesuit-missioners had lived thirty years in the midst of the forests. He returned, and soon fell into a profound melancholy, for ever regretting his beloved savages. “My friend,” said he to Raynal, “you know not what it is to be the king—almost even the God of a number of men, who owe you the small portion of happiness they enjoy; and who are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immense forests, they return overcome with fatigue, and fainting. If they have only killed one piece of game, for whom do you suppose it to be intended? It is for the FATHER; for it is thus they call us; and indeed they are really our children. Their

Martyrs.

Enjoyments
of the
missioners.

dissensions are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards, than we do, surrounded by our savages. It is amongst them that I will go and end my days.”¹ Not that it cost these men no effort : far from it : but what has ever been achieved without effort ? Yet there was joy in their sorrow—ease in their hardships—pride in their minds—and a most pardonable vanity in their hearts. These adventurous spirits themselves selected the field of their exploits : all who were sent *had expressed the wish to the general.*² Meanwhile the men at home—the writing, the stirring Jesuits—made the most of the distant missioner for the entertainment of the curious and the edifiable. If the blood of the missioners did not fertilise distant lands into Christian fruit, their *fame* swept over land and sea, to fan, as a mighty breeze, their Company’s renown.³

¹ Hist. &c. of the East and West Indies, iv. 418.

² “ Qui missionem Indicam cupiunt, debent generalem admonere.” — *Sacchin.* lib. ii. 92.

³ “ By the true and painfull endeavours of Thomas Gage, now Preacher of the Word of God at Acres in the County of Kent, Anno Dom. 1648,” we have presented before us another view which may be taken of the missioners in general, though not of the Jesuits in particular. This most amusing old traveller thus unfolds his experience : “ True it is, I have knowne some that have written their names [he had resided among the monks,] in the list of *Indian Missionaries*, men of sober life and Conversation, moved only with a blind zeale of encreasing the Popish Religion : yet I dare say and confidently print this truth without wronging the Church of Rome, that of thirty or forty which in such occasions are commonly transported to the India’s, the three parts of them are Fryers of leud lives, weary of their retired Cloister lives, who have beene punished often by their Superiours for their wilfull backsliding from that obedience which they formerly vowed ; or for the breach of their poverty in closely retaining money by them to Card and Dice, of which sort I could here namely insert a long and tedious catalogue ; or lastly such, who have been imprisoned for violating their vow of chastity with &c., &c., either by secret flight from their Cloisters, or by publike Apostatizing from their Order, and cloathing themselves in Laymens Apparell, to run about the safer with their wicked, &c. Of which sort it was my chance to bee acquainted with one Fryer John Navarro a Franciscan in the city of

And now she stands forth, a fascinating maiden to the world presented, with her retinue of a thousand warriors—men of intellect, polished manners, grace, and comeliness—each eager, at her bidding, to achieve some high feat of arms, as gallant knight, to win his lady's special praise and favour. Such was the Company in her seventeenth year—her marriageable age. Two suitors appeared,—both with high pretensions to her favour—the Pope of Rome, and the King of Spain. There was a difference between them, however. The former was tottering on his throne, but pretending quite the contrary, and had menaced the Company: the latter was certainly the richest king in Europe, and was therefore the most powerful; and he was full of big, Spanish designs—the conquest of England will succeed to many—and he was just on the point of figuring in revolutions which would shake the thrones of Europe.

The Company compared to a maiden and her suitors.

A general was to be elected—a successor to Loyola.

Guatemala, who after he had in secular apparell enjoyed &c. &c. for the space of a year, fearing at last he might be discovered, listed himselfe in a Mission to Guatemala, the year 1632, there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and lesse feare of punishment &c., &c. Liberty, in a word, under the cloak of Piety and Conversion of Soules, it is, that drawes so many Fryers (and commonly the younger sort) to those remote American parts; where after they have learned some Indian language, they are licenced with a Popish Charge to live alone out of the sight of a watching Prior or Superior, out of the bounds and compasse of Cloister walls, and authorized to keep house by themselves, and to finger as many Spanish Patacoues, as their wits device shall teach them to squeeze out of the newly-converted Indians wealth. This liberty they could never enjoy in Spain, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foul falls of wicked Fryers in those parts." Then follows an account of the adventures of the aforesaid Fryer John Navarro, strikingly illustrative of the *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*, or that though a northern winter might untinge an Ethiop's skin a shade or two, the tropical suns have just the contrary effect on a monk's "old Adam." See The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land; or A New Survey of the West Indies, chap. iii. Lond. 1648. I omitted to state, after Gage, that *John Navarro* was a Doctor of Divinity and celebrated preacher in his "mission." The &c.'s in Gage's text above are unfit for transcription.

Lainez, the vicar-general, had, for reasons not stated, put off, from the very first, the assembly of the general congregation which was to elect a general.

The Company betwixt the pope and the King of Spain.

It seems that he wished to pave the way to his own permanent exaltation. The war between the pope and the King of Spain intervened. The King of Spain forbade the Jesuits in his dominions, even the Jesuit-duke Borgia, to proceed to Rome for the election. Philip would have the general congregation take place in Spain, hoping to transfer permanently the centre of the Order from Rome to one of his own cities.¹ Brilliant idea, and teeming with prophecy—a forward glance into the coming history of the Jesuits. To whatever extent the Jesuits might contemplate this Spanish scheme, circumstances intervened to render it abortive in form, although, virtually, they would never belie the origin of their Company—ever eager to advance the interests of Spain, to serve her king among the many who *fee'd* their services. But a most extraordinary intestine commotion supervened, menacing the very life of the Company.

Hitherto the Company has appeared strong by union. It was a bundle of sticks, not to be broken, undivided ; and to those who give the Jesuits credit for nothing but spiritual and divine motives in all that they perform or undertake, it will be somewhat startling to hear that, according to their own statement, the worst passions of human nature raised a tempest in the Company herself, such as was not surpassed in rancour by any storm roused by her most implacable enemies. Bobadilla—the man of the Interim—who had braved Charles V. to the face, sounded the trumpet of revolt. Lainez and

¹ Cretineau, i. 363.

the generalate were the bones of contention. Ignatius had left his kingdom, like Alexander, "to the worthiest." That was a matter of opinion, and Bobadilla thought himself worthiest of all. As a preliminary to what is to follow, we must remember that in the curious Ethiopian letter, before quoted, Ignatius certainly dismissed both Lainez and Bobadilla without laudation. Pasquier Brouet he praised most highly; and if the *Saint's* opinion had been at all cared for, in reality, the "angel of the Society" was, perhaps, the heaven-destined general of the Jesuits. The inference is that Lainez had a "party" in the Company—had been "stirring" in spite of his "illness," and vast "humility," commonly called "solid," and pointedly ascribed by the historians to their second general—in his triumph over revolt. The Jesuits have never spared their enemies, publicly or privately; and they lash Bobadilla as one of their greatest antagonists. Bartoli dissects this member most unmercifully. Had Bobadilla triumphed in the contest—and he was foiled by superior management only—Lainez would have been "picked to pieces," and the successful rebel would have merited the awarded amount of his rival's laudation. It is evident that Bobadilla had large claims on the Company's gratitude and respect. He felt that he had won her applause and renown; he had carried out to the fullest extent her measures and her schemes. Bishoprics he had visited; monasteries he had reformed; in the court of Ferdinand, in that of Charles V., he had figured as confessor; all Germany, Inspruck, Vienna, Spires, Cologne, Worms, Nuremberg, had heard him preaching, had seen him working in the cause of Catholicism; and he had scars to attest his prowess in the strife, having been

mobbed by the "heretics." Was it not quite natural for this Jesuit to think himself superior to Lainez, who, after all, had been only a skilful speechifier, and rum-mager of old tomes at the Council of Trent. At least, there is no doubt that Bobadilla took this view of his rival's merits, which, by the way, he had slurred on a former occasion in a manner most striking and characteristic. Ignatius had assembled the fathers to consult on a case of some importance. The secretary made a sign to Lainez to begin the proceedings; but Bobadilla stopped him at once, saying that his years and his works entitled *him* to the lead. All was silence, whilst the veteran went through his achievements, summing up as follows. "In fine, excepting St. Paul's *catená hác circumdatus sum*—excepting imprisonment only, I can show that I have endured every kind of suffering for the aggrandisement of the Company, and in the service of the Church."¹ It is thus evident that Bobadilla perfectly understood the duties of a Jesuit; and it must be admitted that he deserved his "reward" for having performed them so gallantly. Action was this Jesuit's "one thing needful." According to Bartoli, he termed all religious rules and observances mere childish superstitions, bonds and fetters, which did nothing but restrain and check the spirit. His constant cry was *charity*, which he said was the form and measure of holiness in every state: in possession of charity, no other law was necessary; charity alone was all the law in perfection. You will scarcely believe that Bobadilla was a man of the "Spiritual Exercises" and the Constitutions. In

¹ "Che trattone il *Catena hác circumdatus sum* di S. Paulo, potea mostrare ogni altro genere di patimenti sofferti in accrescimento della Compagnia, e in servizio della Chiesa."—*Bartoli, Dell' Ital.* lib. iii. f. 365.

effect, he had attempted to introduce his law of charity at the college at Naples, where he was superintendant ; but he failed, apparently from the opposite system being enforced *at the same time* by Oviedo, a hot-headed bigot, whom we shall find anon in Ethiopia. Confusion ensued—the young Jesuits were disgusted, and returned to the world. Ignatius, of course, cashiered Bobadilla, and Oviedo remained. These facts seem to prove that Bobadilla had all along thought himself called upon to resist many points of the Institute ; and that, on the present occasion, his ambition, and his objection to Lainez, only gave point and animus to his vigorous resistance. In justice to the rebel, on whom the foulest imputations are heaped by Bartoli and Sacchinus, this foregone conclusion of the Jesuit must be remembered. Moreover, it appears that his object was merely to *share* in the government of the Company ; he objected to the supreme authority being vested in one only.¹

He had been ill at Tivoli, the Company's rural retreat. On his return, finding that Lainez had put off the General Congregation "to heaven knows when—*fino a Dio sa quando*," says Bartoli, he felt excessively indignant at not having been invited to share the dignity and administration of affairs : he maintained that the Company should be governed by the survivors of the ten founders named in the papal Bull. Four of the professed immediately joined Bobadilla—among the rest, no other than the "angel of the Society," *Pasquier Brouet*. Simon Rodriguez also was among them. These striking accessions to the revolt are hard matters for Jesuit explanation. The first they attribute to simplicity, and the latter to rancour from his late condemnation

¹ "Summam potestatem penes unum hominem esse."—*Sacchin.* lib. i. 74.

by Ignatius. It is curious how the Jesuits expose themselves by appealing to the paltriest motives in their own great men, when they think it expedient to denounce their proceedings. What value, then, have their vituperations and imputations in the case of their enemies? To the other two rebels similar motives are ascribed. Another member of great standing, Pontius Gogordanus, went further than Bobadilla and his associates. He presented to the pope a memorial, in which he distinctly charged Lainez and other Jesuits with the determination of proceeding to Spain for the election, and with the intention of modelling the Institute as they pleased, after removing it to a distance from papal authority. Great was the pope's indignation at this announcement. Lainez was ordered to deliver up the Constitutions and other documents relating to the Institute, within three days, with the names of all the members, who were forbidden to leave the city. Bobadilla followed up the stroke vigorously. The vicar-general was soon the general object of suspicion and blame, and the Institute itself was roughly handled by the sons of Obedience. Lainez met the storm with the last resource of the Jesuit. This "most humble" man called a council of his party: frequent meetings took place; he made it clear that the thing was not to be neglected, lest the Company should suffer damage—*ne quid Societas detrimenti capiat*—says Sacchinus, after the manner of Titus Livius, when he talks of a dictator; and it was resolved to make an impression, to create a sensation. Public prayers were announced. Public flagellations were self-inflicted three times a-day. Lainez in the House of the Professed, Natalis in the College, presided over the verberation.¹

¹ Sacchin. lib. i. 78. "*Quomodo turbis occursum*—how the mob was met," is the marginal title of the section.

But this was not the main method of success. Lainez got possession of all the papers written by the rebels. These men wrote all they thought ; but Lainez held his tongue, and committed nothing to writing. Bobadilla and Pontius were either too honest or too imprudent to cope with the crafty vicar and his spies. Their papers were abstracted even from their rooms, and carried to their enemy. "But it so happened, by the Divine counsel," says Sacchinus, though he relates the dishonest means by which the *end* was effected—*divino tamen consilio fiebat!* Bobadilla soon found himself almost deserted. A cardinal was appointed by the pope to decide the question. Both parties were to be heard. Bobadilla set to writing again, and again were his papers abstracted and carried to Lainez.¹ Meanwhile the greatest moderation appeared on the vicar's countenance : no man could possibly seem more humble and resigned. He won over the cardinal:—nor were rebels, however justified or justifiable, ever countenanced at Rome, except they were Catholics resisting their heretic king. Lainez even made the rebels ridiculous. On one of them he imposed a penance. And what was it ? Why, to say one Our Father and one Hail Mary ! It was Gogordanus, the only one who had stood firm in the enterprise ; for Bobadilla took fright at last, withdrew his case, and was despatched to reform a monastery at Fuligno.² Deserted by his Pylades, Gogordanus stood firm to himself, and taxed Lainez with oppression in having penanced him for writing to the pope. "What was the penance ?" asked the cardinal. "An Our Father and a Hail Mary" ! He was forbidden to say another word ; and when the cardinal

¹ "Quæ item capita ad Vicarium perlata sunt."—*Id.* lib. i. 85. ² *Id.* lib. i. 86.

related the whole affair to the pope, Paul was filled with wonder, and made a sign of the cross, as at something strange and prodigious.¹ He reserved sentence ; but gave permission to the Jesuits to leave the city, and even gave them money to expedite the deliverance. Lainez sent Gogordanus to Assisium ; he reluctantly obeyed, though he would there be near his friend Bobadilla. We are, however, assured, that both of them set to work right vigorously in reforming or stimulating the monks of St. Francis.² Reform was the cry of the Company against "other men ;" but "*ut sunt, aut non sint*—as we are, or not at all," was her motto for herself, and The Greater Glory of God. Thus did the cool dexterity, the keen-eyed tact of Vicar-General Lainez "put down" this remarkable revolt. First, he frightened the masses of his subjects with the terrors of his religion ; secondly, he refrained himself from committing himself by recrimination—above all, he avoided "black and white," penned not a word, lest it should be turned against him ; thirdly, he avoided all *violence*—he permitted the rebels to give the only example of that invariable disparagement to every "party ;" fourthly, he made them ridiculous ; fifthly, he won off as many as he could, then he frightened the ringleader, and yet, not without the certainty of impunity—nay, with the immediate appointment of him to a congenial "mission."

¹ "Quod vulgò solemus in rebus maximè ab opinione abhorrentibus."—*Sacchin.* lib. i. 86.

² "Uterque tamen egregiè operam posuit." &c.—*Id.* lib. i. 86. Assisium or Assisi is the famous city of St. Francis, founder of the Franciscans, whose *Sagro Convento* at this place is the master-piece of the Order. It has three churches built one on the top of the other ; Divine office is performed in the middle one ; St. Francis is buried in the lowest, which is never used ; the highest is seldom frequented. These churches and the cloister are decorated with fine paintings by Cimabue, Giotto, Peter Cavallino, Giotto, Barrocci, and others.

A better specimen of clever management was never given. Certainly it was suggested by the circumstances in which the vicar-general was placed, his uncertain position with the pope, and his limited authority; but we must also remember, that it is not always the consciousness of peril and weakness which makes men cautious, collected, and inventive to achieve deliverance. Bobadilla, in his manifesto, had stated that it was difficult to relate how many blunders, absurdities, fooleries, and childish indiscretions Lainez and his assistants had in so short a time exhibited;¹ but Lainez seems to have resolved to prove that his first step towards reformation in his conduct would be the management and subjugation of the arch-rebel himself and his assistants. Bobadilla ventured to attack the Constitutions of Ignatius, which, Bartoli sarcastically says, he had never read, nor understood, even had he read them, because he read them only to turn them into ridicule,²—a strange accusation for a Jesuit to bring against one of his founders;—but Lainez resolved to show the rebel how he could imitate Ignatius in his astuteness, as well as uphold him in his Constitutions. This victory achieved by Lainez exhibits the character of the Jesuit as strikingly as any “great” occasion of his life—unless it be the moment when he gave out that “God had revealed the “Spiritual Exercises” to our holy father—yea, that it was signified to some one by the Virgin Godbearer, through the Archangel Gabriel, that she was the patroness of the “Exercises,” their foundress, their assistant, and that she had taught Ignatius thus to conceive them.”³

¹ Bartoli, *ubi supra*, f. 368.

² *Ibid.*

³ “Fidâ traditione inde usque à P. Jacobo Lainio . . . acceptum haberi, Deum hæc ‘Exercitia’ sancto patri nostro revelâsse : imò per Gabrielem Archangelum non nemini fuisse à Deiparâ Virgine significatum, se patronam eorum,

Thus subsided, for a time, the intestine commotions of the Jesuits. And the hostilities had ceased between the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome. The pope accepted gladly the proffered peace when he found himself at the conqueror's mercy, and dismissed the execrated foe with his pardon and blessing. On the very same night Tiber overflowed his banks, and deluged the holy city. Up to the highest steps of the Jesuits' church the angry waters foamed and floated the College. Immense damage was done to the city by the uxorious river ; but he seems to have only unsettled the Jesuits, as though he came, as in times of old, to pay a visit of inspection, after their late domestic convulsions—

“ Audiet cives acuisse forrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara juvenus.”

A rare, choice calamity was this to be converted into a Divine judgment by fanatics : and so it was, and ever will be. The “heretics” cried Judgment, and over Germany it was told as a fact that many thousand Romans had been engulfed by the exterminating angel of a river—among the rest seven cardinals—and that the pope himself had escaped with difficulty.¹ Meanwhile, the embargo being taken off the Jesuits of Spain, they come to the General Congregation. *Quem vocet divam populus ruentis Imperii rebus?*—whom of the professed Gods will they invoke to guide the helm in the storm, raging and still impending ? To the holy conclave twenty electors—only twenty electors out of more than a

fundatricem, atque adjutricem fuisse, docuisseque Ignatium, ut ea sic conciperet ; quo nomine se huic operi dedisse initium.”—*Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu.* f. 1.

¹ Sacchin. lib. i. 90. *Hæreticorum mendacia guttura, &c.*

thousand men—proceed to elect a general for the Company of Jesus. Holy obedience in the vulgar herd—the *ignobile vulgus* of the Company put their necks into the yoke,—why should we complain? If the Evil One may do as he likes with his own, why should we interfere by force or argument between a Jesuit and his soul? But see, in the midst of the assembled electors, a cardinal enters, unexpectedly, in the name of the sovereign pontiff! Not exactly like Cromwell into parliament, he comes:—but still in a significant attitude, saying to the startled Jesuits assembled:

“Paul IV. does not pretend to influence a choice which should be made only according to the Institute. The pope desires to be considered the Protector of the Order—not in a general sense, as he is of all the Faithful and all religious Orders—but in a sense altogether special and particular.”¹

The pope’s jealousy of Philip II. was not dispelled. Borgia had not left Spain: this Jesuit, by reason of ill health, we are told, and from “political motives,” could not abandon Spain.² He remained with the hated Philip. Reformed or not reformed, the pope would have the Company entirely to himself, admitting least of all, such a rival in his fond possession. Now, what if Borgia be elected general? In that event the pope would have confirmation strong for his suspicion. Pacheco, the cardinal, further announced that he was charged by Paul IV. to act as secretary, and teller of the ballot to the electing Congregation. The Jesuits were taken aback: but they soon trimmed sail to the wind—ever yielding to the storm when they cannot control it. There was

¹ Cretineau, i. 365.

² “Pour des raisons de santé, et des motifs politiques.”—*Id.* ib. 372.

no doubt of the vicar's election to the generalate ; and he had a large majority. Lainez took thirteen votes out of the twenty,—Nadal, Loyola's coadjutor and assistant, when lately disabled—took four,—Lannoy and Brouet, the angel of the Company, had only one each ; and Borgia, the duke-Jesuit, had a single vote. Lainez was

A.D. 1558. proclaimed general with immense applause and gratulation. *Te Deum laudamus* was sung, three sermons were delivered, one on the Trinity, a second by way of thanksgiving, and a third on the Virgin Mary. So great was the spiritual excitement on the occasion, that many said they had never been before so abundantly and solidly enlivened by celestial delights.¹

The ghost of Reform came suddenly upon them in the midst of their celestial banquet. Paul IV. insisted that the choral offices of the monks should be performed in the Society of Jesus. This is one of the most important exemptions of the Jesuits. It gave them seven or eight hours daily for—work. To have boxed them up in cloisters, and to have made them sing “the praises of God,” whilst they might promote the glory of the Society, by their numerous avocations—the composition of books in particular—in a word, to have made *monks* of them, was neither the notion of Loyola, nor contemplated by the Constitutions, nor in the least relished by the Jesuits in general. But this was not all. General Lainez received the next blow from St. Peter's Vicar. The pope required that the generalate should be only for a determinate period, as for example, the space of three years. This would at once make the Order a democracy—aristocratical more or less—but still its high monarchical elements would evaporate—fear and

¹ “Cælesti dulcedine usque eo affluenter ac solide recreatos.”—*Sacch.* l. ii. 31.

anxiety would hamper the triennial monarch, and open the way for further democratical influence. It would be impossible for the general to adopt schemes of any magnitude, requiring time for maturity and complete achievement: the work of the Jesuits was by its very nature progressive—a sort of new creation, in veritable geological days, unto the glory and rest of the Sabbath.

The Jesuits, in a respectful memorial, protested against these innovations. Lainez and Salmeron went to present it to the pope. Paul IV. received them freezingly. In the presence of the Cardinal of Naples, his nephew, the pope let fall upon them the weight of his displeasure. The two Jesuits attempted to explain the motives of their persistence—"You are rebels!" exclaimed his enraged Holiness; "opiniators verging on heresy—and I very much fear to see some sectarian issuing from your Society. For the rest, we are well resolved no longer to tolerate such a disorder."

Lainez replied:

"I have never sought nor desired to be general; and as for what concerns myself personally, I am not only not repugnant to resign at the end of three years, even this very day would I esteem it a favour if your Holiness would free me from this burthen, for which I have neither inclination nor fitness. Nevertheless, you know that the fathers, in proceeding to the election, have intended to elect a general in perpetuity, according to the Constitutions. Cardinal Pacheco announced to us that your Holiness desired two things: 1. That the general should fix his residence at Rome; 2. That he be appointed for life. The fathers were of the same opinion. The election being made in that manner, we are come to your Holiness, who has approved and confirmed

it. But I shall not hesitate an instant—I shall obey willingly, as I have said.”

“I do not wish you to resign,” rejoined the pope,—“it would be to shun labour ; moreover, at the end of three years I shall be able to prolong the term.”

How to deal with a furious old man! Laincz appealed to the bowels of his mercy.

“We teach,” said he, “we preach against the heretics : on that account they hate us, and call us papists. Wherefore your Holiness ought to protect us, to show us the bowels of a father, and believe that God would be to us propitious.”

All in vain ! Paul IV. was inexorable. He ordered the choir to be instantly established, and that this article should be *appended to the Constitutions* as the expression of his sovereign will.¹

The Jesuits obeyed, for it was absolutely necessary. The pope's death, within the year, freed them from this ostensible obedience ; they threw up the hateful choir ; and tore off the spiteful article superadded to their Constitutions. The pope's successor, the “dexterous, prudent, good-humoured” Pius IV. was not likely to look with more displeasure on this trivial disobedience to a mandate of his enemy Paul IV., than he had probably felt at the display of popular-hatred when Paul's statue was torn down from its pedestal, broken in pieces, and the head with the triple crown dragged through the streets.²

All circumstances favoured the Jesuits. The pope had died miserably,³ unpopular, detested by his subjects,

¹ Cretineau, *ubi supra* ; Sacchinus, lib. ii. ; Bartoli, lib. iv.

² See Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 80.

³ “At last, when laid low by an illness sufficient to cause the death even of a

as evidenced by the violent demonstrations which followed his demise. His Inquisition was pillaged and set on fire : an attempt was made to burn the Dominican convent Della Minerva. All his monu-
Reaction.
ments were to be destroyed, as the Romans resolved in the capitol:—they had suffered so much under him, and his infamous nephews the Caraffas—for “he had been an ill-doer to the city and the whole earth.”¹ So did, and so spake the masses, stirred through the length and breadth of their stormy sea as it rolled with the turning tide. From the tempest the Society emerged, as the moon what time her horns are full, rejoicing. “She was restored to her normal state, stronger than before the death of Loyola. She was more united—because she had just tested her unity.”²

And not only that : she triumphantly stood on the pinnacle of a splendid reaction. A year before, she was at the mercy of a capricious old man, wielding the bolts of the Vatican. There had been a dread hour when all seemed lost—the gulf yawning beneath her. On the brink she stood unterrified. A strong man in her van battled with destruction. He bridged the chasm : she crossed ; and sang the song of thanksgiving to the master-mind which had planned, and effected her deliverance. The reaction was one of the most wonderful recorded in history :—in the conclave for the election of a successor to Paul IV., Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, was proposed, and would have been *Pope of Rome* but for a prescriptive formality ! Custom

younger man, he called the cardinals once more together, commended his soul to their prayers, and the Holy See and the Inquisition to their care : he strove to collect his energies once more, and to raise himself up : his strength failed him : he fell back, and died.” (Aug. 18, 1559).—*Ranké, Hist. of the Popes*, p. 79.

¹ Id. p. 80 ; Panvin. Paul IV.

² Cretineau, i. 371.

required that the pope should be chosen from the college of cardinals.¹

Lainez was a Spaniard: the most exalted members of the Society, with the Jesuit-duke Borgia at their head, were Spaniards; the Society was a Spaniard's—in Spain she was best established;—and the interests of Spain were then paramount;—Italy had suffered—Rome had been threatened by the indignation of Spain's powerful king: he had designed to take the Society under his special superintendence: he was sure of its devotedness to his interests; and now, how splendid the prospect if, by one great stroke, both the Society and the tiara should become his vassals! A mere formality (but in the city of inexorable formalities) defeated the splendid design,—and “the partisans of Lainez gave their votes to Cardinal Medici, who took the name of Pius IV.”²

Simple facts as the Jesuit-historians record them: but how significant when transfixed and entomologically examined, by cool reflection, with memory at her side opening the archives of antecedent and contemporaneous events.

The Jesuits
in the field
of blood.

Bloody executions within two years avenged Pius IV. and the Jesuits for what both Medici and the Jesuits had endured from the late pope and his nephews, the Caraffas; and his relatives, Count Allifani and Cardini. They were condemned to death: it is not necessary to state the crimes of which they were accused, since the next infallible pope, St. Pius V. made restitution to their memory and their family, his appointed judges

¹ Cretineau, i. 305; Sacchinus and Bartoli.

² This Jesuit-fact is, however, somewhat suspicious. It is scarcely probable that the cardinals would elect any one who did not belong to their body. See Quesnel, ii. 10.

declaring "that Pius IV. had been led into error by the Procurator-General," who was duly put to death as a scape-goat.¹

Jesuit-fathers attended the condemned in their preparation for death. Silver crucifixes were kissed, the *De profundis* was gloomily muttered; the *Te Deum* too, at the suggestion of one of the Jesuits, alternated the lament of death. The Cardinal Caraffa was resigned, for he had made his confession, and was absolved, and had recited the office of the Virgin. And the grim tormentors approached ready to strangle the anointed of the Church. The cardinal shrunk in horror from the sight, and turning away he exclaimed with unspeakable energy: "O Pope Pius! O King Philip! I did not expect this from you!" He rolled on the ground, a strangled corpse.²

The bodies were exposed to public view: the effect did not correspond to the expectation. The Romans had detested the late pope's nephews—they would themselves have torn them to pieces without remorse: but the revenge of another hand only found (as usual) indignant pity in their breast: they bewailed the victims—the feeling was contagious—a tumult was imminent. The Jesuits were sent forth to restore tranquillity in Rome; and they succeeded.³

¹ His name was Pallentiere, the "Attorney-General" of the prosecution. Pius V. declared the sentence unjust; and Pallavicini, the Catholic historian, asserts that the cardinal's guilt was not made out, to judge from the documents which he had examined.

² Cretineau gives a long description of these executions, actually with the view of "showing off" the Jesuits in the cells of the condemned! But the fact is that the cardinal was *denied* his usual confessor. "He was not allowed his usual confessor: he had much to say, as may be imagined, to the confessor *sent* him, and the shrift was somewhat protracted. 'Finish, will you, Monsignore,' cried the officer of police, 'we have other business in hand.'"—*Ranke, Hist. of the Popes*, p. 83. ³ Cretineau, p. 369; Thuan. lib. 23; Ciacon. *Vita Pontif. Paul IV.*

If the conduct of these Jesuits in the field of blood was edifying, it compensated in some measure for that of another Jesuit, in the confessional, a few months before these dreadful scenes horrified and disgusted the hearts of Rome. There was at Grenada, in Spain, a repentant lady, who went to confess to a Jesuit, whose name is not mentioned by the Company's historian. This lady accused herself, in confession, of a certain sin which requires an accomplice. The Jesuit insisted upon having the name of the party revealed to him : the lady refused : the Jesuit withheld absolution, until, overcome by his importunities and menaces, she revealed the name of her accomplice. The Jesuit immediately imparted the crime, and named the criminal to the Archbishop of Grenada, who, according to the Jesuits, had advised his indiscretion. Immense scandal ensued. The whole affair transpired : the Jesuits were denounced by the public voice as not only betrayers of confession, but also as intriguers, making every effort to get at the secrets of those who did not confess to them, through the instrumentality of their penitents. Certainly it was unfair, unjust to denounce the whole body for the fault of one member : but, instead of respecting the sacred principle which aroused popular, nay, even royal, indignation, instead of denouncing the conduct of their member, they permitted, if they did not command, one of their best preachers to defend his conduct. He did so publicly. Sacchini gives us his argument : it is proper to know the Society's doctrine on the subject. John Raminius, the preacher, admitted that "It is never lawful to break the sacred seal of confession, though the destruction of the universe might ensue : but, there may be occasions when a priest may lawfully insist upon

being informed by his penitent of a criminal accomplice, or a heretic, or any delinquent tainted with some pestilential vice, if there be no other remedy at hand: that he may in confession exact permission to use that knowledge in the case of a fraternal admonition, or may exact it out of confession, for the purpose of a judicial accusation. Should the penitent refuse, he ought not to be absolved—just as no thief ought to be absolved, if he refuse to make restitution.”¹ It is impossible to point out all the abuses to which this doctrine invites a prying Jesuit. Accordingly, three ecclesiastics denounced it as “new, pernicious, impious, or rather monstrous,”—whose tendency was to alienate the people from the practice of confession. Nevertheless, the Jesuits found supporters: disputes ran high: the archbishop put a stop to the litigation by undertaking to decide on the matter, enjoining silence to both parties. But so strong was public opinion set against the Jesuits, on account of the transaction, that Borgia declared there had never before been such a storm raised against the Company. Throughout Spain and Belgium—even at the court of Philip II.—the infamous transaction excited merited indignation. The Jesuit-confessor may have erred through indiscretion: but Raminius seemed to speak, or did speak, the doctrine, and declared the practice, of the Company. It is thus that the Jesuits have almost invariably, publicly or in secret, accumulated execration on their heads, by never admitting an error, and by defending to the uttermost their sinning brothers.²

Fortunate coincidences often give an outlet from

¹ Sacchin. lib. ii. 130. Hispania Amatoria, ii. lib. vi. p. 79; Hist. des Religieux de la Comp. i. 234.

² Id. ib. 131. Also Hispania Amatoria, ii. lib. vi. p. 97; Hist. des Religieux de la Comp. i. 234.

difficulties—like the sun-lit dawn after a night of tempest. Frequently have the Jesuits experienced this alleviation of their toil and trouble. At the height of the execration which has just been traced to its origin, Charles V. died, appointing by will one of their body, Francis Borgia, a co-executor of his royal behests. Charles had never liked the Jesuits. Policy rather than esteem, seems to have motived his acquiescence in their establishment throughout his dominions. Borgia paid him a visit in his retreat at St. Juste's. They spent their time very agreeably together : it was a congenial amalgamation of ascetic feelings, brought more closely in contact from the similitude of their abnegations. There was even, perhaps, some little danger of Borgia's acquiescing in the ex-royal wish, that the Jesuit should leave his Society and take up his abode with penitent royalty. Charles "had his doubts" about the Company : he expressed them to his beloved visitor : but the Jesuit was forewarned of the temptation,¹ and left the royal monk in his solitude, after receiving "a small sum," by way of alms from one poor man to another, as the king expressed the sentimental charity.² This had occurred the year before, whilst Melchior Cano was denouncing the Jesuits, public report declaring Charles to be hostile to the Company. It was on this account that Borgia visited

¹ Cretineau, i, 375.

² Borgia knew how to win over the royal ascetic. Charles complained to the Jesuit that he could not sleep with his hair-shirt on his back, in order to macerate himself the more. The apostolical Jesuit replied : " Señor, the nights which your majesty passed in arms are the cause that you cannot sleep in hair-cloth—but, thanks be to God that you have more merit in having passed them thus in defence of your faith, than many monks have who number theirs wrapped up in hair-cloth." The "small sum" given to the Jesuit was two hundred ducats, and Charles said it was the best favour he had ever granted in his life—la mayor merced que avia hecho en su vida.—*De Vera*, Epitome, p. 253, et seq.

Charles ; and the result of his kind reception and the correspondence which ensued, was greatly beneficial to the Company as soon as the interview, friendship or "patronage," was given to the winds of popular rumour by the calculating Jesuits, who always knew the value of "great names" among the vulgar in mind or condition.¹ As a Jesuit, Borgia was unable to undertake the executorship so honourable to the Company : such secular offices were expressly forbidden by the Constitutions ; but Lainez and six of the most influential Jesuits decided to supersede the "dictates" of Ignatius for the sake of policy, though they stubbornly refused to do so for the sake of the pope, who so wisely advised them not "to build on sand." And they got the "reward" of expediency. "The Company, meanwhile, made no small advancement—*nec leve interim Societas incrementum accepit*"—says Sacchinus. Borgia performed his duty as executor with honour and integrity. It was, however, an easy matter : for Charles V. had left nothing either to the Jesuits, nor the monks, not even to the Church, nor for Purgatorial prayers to be said for him, which last omission brought his orthodoxy into doubt among the Inquisitors and the Jesuits, it is said, who quarrelled with the ex-king's memory, since he had not given them a chance for fighting over legacies.²

Certainly the Jesuits did not spare a friend of the deceased monarch, Constantine Ponce, a Spanish bishop, and a learned doctor of the Church, but suspected of heresy and Lutheranism. He had been preacher to

¹ "Dictu facile non est quantum hæc Caroli humanitas vulgo cognita et sermonibus celebrata, rebus Societatis attulerit."—*Sacchin.* lib. i. 115.

² *Hist. de l'Inquisit.* Liv. ii. p. 235, *et seq.* ; *Anecd. Inquisit. Hispan.* p. 503 ; *Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus*, i. p. 237.

Charles in Germany, and had accompanied Philip II. to England when he married Queen Mary. Constantine Ponce applied for admission into the Company of Jesus. He had been one of her many enemies in Spain. The wily Jesuits suspected some design upon their secrets. They deliberated on the application: consulted the Inquisitor Carpius: Ponce was arrested and cast into the prisons of the dread tribunal, where he died, but was subsequently burnt in effigy; ¹ undoubtedly a severe return for his advance to the Company. True, they might have rancorous recollections of his former hostility, and they might even have grounds for doubting his orthodoxy, but perhaps a milder method should have been adopted by the Companions of Jesus to revenge an injury and to reclaim a heretic.

Although as yet not officially connected with the Inquisition, the Jesuits might be considered its jackalls, as is evident from the last fact, and their professional maxims, as recorded by themselves.

The Jesuits
and the
Inquisition.

In 1555, a year before his death, Ignatius, with the opinion of a majority of the Fathers, had accepted the direction of the Inquisition at Lisbon, offered to the Society by King John of Portugal, with the advice of his brother Louis and the Cardinal Henry. The death of Louis, and the illness of the Cardinal, prevented the accomplishment; but the Jesuits Henriquez and Serrano filled the appointment of Deputies to

¹ Sacchin. lib. ii. 128; Thuan. lib. xxiii. Ann. 1559. In the barbarities he suffered in the prison, though he had not yet tasted the tortures, Constantine often exclaimed: "O my God, were there no Scythians in the world, no cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might but escape the claws of these wretches?"—*Chandler, Hist. of Persecut.* p. 186.

the General Council of the Inquisition in Portugal.¹ And it was in consequence of the urgent advice—*gravibus literis*—of the Jesuits in India that the Inquisition was established at Goa, with all its horrors, against our “false brothers of the Circumcision congregated in India from all parts of the world, pretending to be Christians, but fostering Judaism and other impieties privately, and sowing them by stealth. Therefore, if in any place, these Fathers thought the tribunal of the holy Inquisition most necessary, both on account of the existing license and the multitudes of all nations and superstitions there united.”² And it was established. The Jesuits did not get the appointment; for, from time immemorial, it was the almost exclusive patrimony of the Dominicans, whose cruel method of making converts to the faith, the Jesuits copied, when their milk of kindness was soured by disappointment in proselytising the heretic and the savage. None surpassed the Jesuits in the arts of persuasion whilst these could prevail; but, also, none exceeded them in terrible rancour when the destruction was next in expediency to the conversion or conciliation of their victims. And the flaming banner of Goa’s Inquisition flapped and expanded to the breeze, wide spreading the motto: “*Mercy and Justice!*” and unto a merciful good God it said: “*Arise, O Lord, and judge thy Cause,*” a cross in the middle, and a bald-headed monk of St. Dominic, with sword and olive-

¹ Franco (Soc. Jesu) Synops. Ann. Soc. Jesu in Lusit. p. 45. I must here remark that Orlandinus (lib. xv. n. 100) positively says that Ignatius declined the offer, or “received it unwillingly.” He does more: he pretends to give all the saint’s motives for so doing. In the face of this invention, another Jesuit, Franco, published the founder’s letter to Miron, on the subject, in which he shows even anxiety to obtain the appointment for the Company. Synops. ubi supra. This curious fact proves how little faith we can place in the Jesuit-exposition of Jesuit-motives, nay even of Jesuit-“facts.”

² Sacchinus, lib. i. 151.

branch in his hand, and a blood-hound mouthing a fire-brand, inflaming the world at his feet.¹ The views of the Jesuit-fathers were fully carried out ; the Pagans, the Jews, the Christians, whom they could not convert, were handed over to tortures too horrible to detail, and then unto the death by fire, when their souls went up to God, perhaps in their regenerated charity exclaiming : “ Father, forgive them ; they know not what they do.” The Inquisition was thus one of the blessings given to India by the Jesuits,—one of the religious ceremonies of the ancient faith.²

The musket had been long the cross of salvation to the Gentiles of India. Torrez, the Jesuit, procured royal letters enjoining the viceroys and the governors of India to lend their powers to the Jesuits for the purpose of converting the infidels, and to punish their opponents. This excellent scheme abridged their labours wonderfully. All they had to do was to ferret out the places where the Indians congregated to sacrifice to Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Then a detachment of soldiers, headed by some Jesuits, completed the success of the apostolate. Sacchinus, the Jesuit-historian, describes one of these evangelising forays. It happened in the island of Cyorano, close by Goa, where, says he, “ by a wonderful afflation, an immense number rushed to Christianity—*miro quodam afflatu ingens numerus ad Christiana sacra confluxit* (!) Not far from the church of the Blessed Virgin about forty heathens were lurking in a grove of palms. They had been informed against as having indulged in certain

The Indian
“mission”
in 1559.

¹ See Chandler, p. 276, for an engraving of the banner.

² For details see Chandler ; Geddes ; Dillon, Relation ; Buchanan, Christ. Research, p. 149, *et seq.* ; Moreri, vi.

rites publicly, contrary to the royal edicts. To these men Fathers Almeida and Correa were sent, together with a certain Juan Fernandez, a lawyer, and the lord of the grove of palms. This lawyer circumvented the pagans completely, we are told ; consequently, he must have had not a few muskets and men to shoulder them. He ordered some of them to be seized, whilst the rest took refuge in the bush. They were frightened, and one of them, the oldest of the troop, cried out, "What's the use of binding us ? let us be made Christians." "Nothing more *was* needed," continues the chuckling Jesuit. "Then a cry arose throughout the village that all wished to be made Christians. Almeida and his companion ran up ; and, whereas, previously the conversion of only seven or eight of the guilty men was hoped for, the *Divine Spirit in wonderful modes scattering celestial fire*, all of them, some rushing from one side, others from another, to the number of three hundred in a short time, shouted and declared that they would be made Christians ! When Consalvez mentioned the joyful affair to the viceroy, he said "it was the festival of the day when the Precursor of our Lord was beheaded ;"¹ and, we may add, with less guilt in the king who caused the murder, than in those who advised and practised "religious" murder and violence to please the wrinkled lady of Rome. There were no Brahmins among these captives of the faith ; "but the fathers, suspecting that they would escape beyond the reach of Portuguese power, placed sentinels and guards round about, by whom thirty were intercepted and added to the catechumens. In fine, by constant accessions, the number

¹ "Isque diem baptismi, quo sanctus Domini Præcursor obruncatus est dixit."—*Sacch.* lib. iii. 129.

gradually increased so much, that on an appointed day, when the viceroy visited the island, five hundred postulants of baptism presented themselves. They marched in a long train, with the Christian banner, and drums, and various sounding instruments of the nation. When they came to the viceroy, their salute was kindly returned, and all entered the church of the Virgin, the viceroy bringing up the rear. There they were baptised, and then, as the day was far spent, they were treated to a generous repast, and, lastly, with an appropriate exhortation. On the following day, they learnt how to make the sign of the cross.”¹ Such is a specimen of the Indian “mission” in 1559; about five hundred and thirty pagans, at one fell swoop, by the terror of the musket *and* “the Divine Spirit in wonderful modes scattering celestial fire,” were flung into the Jordan of Rome, then feasted, and lectured, and taught the sign of the cross, and thereby became sterling Jesuit-Christians of the Indian mission. In fact, it was nothing but a downright fox-hunting, boar-hunting, bear-baiting apostolate, when the Jesuits got tired of preaching to no purpose, with no results to boast of in the annual letters which, with other proceeds, were the bills of exchange and assets of the missions for the bank of devoteeism, and passed to the credit of the modern “apostles.” In the viceroy Constantine the Jesuits found ready patronage and support in their system of conversion. The Brahmins in India were like the Romish priests of Ireland to the people. By their authority and exhortations the superstitions of the people resisted the arguments of the Jesuits in their public disputation. What did the viceroy to make his Jesuits triumph in spite of their

¹ Sacch. lib. iii. 129.

discomfiture? Why, he ordered forty of the chief Brahmins to sell all they had and to leave Goa with their families, to make themselves comfortable where they could find a resting-place secure from tyrannical viceroys and apostolical Jesuits.¹ "Deprived of this defence, and terrified by this example," says the unscrupulous Jesuit Sacchinus, "the pagans of less note gave readier ears and minds to the word of God"! They actually banished the shepherds so as to rob the flock more easily! Now, how could these Jesuits complain when Elizabeth soon after banished the priests of Rome when she found that they "stirred" her people to rebellion? Or, had she been a fanatic, and finding that arguments would not do with the people in the presence of the priests, and proceeded to banish the latter, so as to entrap the former,—I ask, what moral difference would there have been in the matter? In truth, had England copied this Jesuit and Portuguese example in Ireland, in the time of Elizabeth, had every priest been sent forth, and the coast guarded against their return, we should long ere this have beheld that country as flourishing, as free, as happy, as honest, and honourable as any on the face of the earth. We have to thank the "roaring bellows of sedition and incendiary Pharisees" for the present degradation of Ireland. The method did not succeed in India except in producing hypocritical pagans, because there was so much in their rites and ceremonies which it was impossible to wear

¹ "Prorex cum videret Brachmanum quorundam auctoritate et suasionibus superstitionem tenuiorum stare, neque admodum multum disputationibus profici, quas priore anno institutas docui,—quadraginta eorum præcipuos, divenditiis rebus una cum familiis aliàs sibi querere sedes jussit. Quo et munimento exuti, et exemplo territi inferioris notæ mortales, procliviores aures, animosque Dei verbo dedere."—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 245.

out without many years of advance to civilisation ; but in Ireland, it was only the false hopes and incendiary harangues of the priesthood that kept the Irishman a savage for the sake of "his" religion—the beggarly trade of his *Brahmins*.

Following up this advantage gained by the expulsion of their priests, Antonio Quadrio, the Provincial of India, sent forth his Jesuits into the villages. Goa is an island about two leagues in length, and one in breadth : it contains thirty-one villages, with a population of two thousand souls. There were now but few pagans after this year's conversion—as it were the stray bunches after the vintage—and it was hoped that in the following year there would be a complete gleaning of the grapes, says Sacchinus—*absolutam racemationem*. The method of the vintage was as follows :—Quadrio sent out his missionaries by twos ; they explained the gospel to the neophytes briefly, and discoursed on the sum of the Christian law copiously ; then in the afternoon they perambulated the villages, made a gathering of "the boys"—*cogerent pueros*, with the sound of a bell, and gave them each a green bough to carry in their hands. These were marched to the church singing the rudiments of the faith—*fidei concinentes initia*. Lastly, they inquired into the wants of the pagans, and either gave assistance, or reported the case at head-quarters. The result was that crowds of the pagans assembled, either for the sake of the sight, or enticed (*pellecti*) by their neophyte friends and acquaintances, and easily imbibed a love of baptism from that religious display of prayer and song, and the charity and exhortations of the brethren. It was sweet, continues the historian, to see the congratulations with

A new invention to convert the Indians.

which the brethren returning home were received ; for all eagerly waited for their return, that they might see how large a troop each would bring to the house of the catechumens to be baptised ; and might hear what particular and special proof of mercy the celestial Father had on that day vouchsafed to the apostles. Each led his troop, and joyfully to joyful listeners his glorious deeds related—*et præclara lætis læti narrabant*. This method of propagating the faith, says Sacchinus, seemed the most adapted to change the superstition of all India into religion, and was now, for the first time, invented—*et nunc primùm inventa*. Six hundred were the first batch of Christians. Five days after, on the birth-festival of *John the Baptist*, it was impossible to baptise all the converts—five hundred and seventy received the rite—but more than two hundred had to be postponed ! It is pleasant to behold how many candidates a name of so little importance produced, observes the Jesuit—*tantumque candidatorum quàm levi momento nomen dederit*. But was it the *name* of John the Baptist ? Was it not rather the suggestion of poor persecuted humanity, crying out “*Quid opus est his vinculis ? efficiamur Christiani*—‘ what need of these bonds ? let us be made Christians,” since nothing but our receiving your rite, which we know nothing of, and care less for, is the only guarantee of rest and peace, and comfort. Besides, you promise to make us comfortable, to attend to our wants. We can understand that, at least : when our Brahmins get the upper hand again, and come back with their families, we ’ll shout again for Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and beat our drums and cymbals, and othersounding instruments for *them*, after the manner of our nation, just as we beat them now for you, great Christian Brahmins !”

In the face of these facts, in spite of our knowledge of the most peculiarly social paganism of the Hindoos, we are expected to believe that the historian really believed his pen, when it wrote these words: "The eagerness with which the Indians flew to the faith seemed not without a miracle"¹—verily, the miracle was that Christian men should be so blinded by their rage for exhibiting boastful catalogues of "conversions," as to abuse the sacred rite of Christianity with such unscrupulous recklessness, thus making the poor pagans as despicable hypocrites as they were before miserable victims of Portuguese tyranny and Jesuit persecution. Who can believe that such apostles really carried out the ideas of social organisation for the savage, which, in a former page, I heartily translated? Beautiful was that theory; but the men adapted to carry it into practice honestly, and in the Christian spirit of Christ, were not the Jesuits. Anon we shall see more than enough of these "apostles." The arms of Portugal flashed "faith" into the helpless hordes of India. It was the object of her viceroys to make the Hindoos totally dependent on their Portuguese masters. The rite of baptism was the infallible means to that end. It made them Pariahs, outcasts from their respective ranks, and compelled them to crowd the Christian temples, and cry *Credo Pater!* I believe, father,—so that their hungry stomachs might be filled. Thus were numbers actually demoralised, for they lost *self-respect*; and became, in their turn, decoys to others as unfortunate as themselves. Conversion was the expediency of the Portuguese, and the rage of the Jesuits, their faithful humble servants.

¹ "Alacritas quoque quâ Indi advolabant ad fidem, haud videbatur carere miraculo."—*Sacchin.* iv. 259.

“Numbers” declared success for both respectively ; and so we read that in the year 1559, by the authority of the viceroy, and his desire for the spread of Christianity, no less than three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pagans were baptised in the church of St. Paul at Goa!¹ You perceive that the Jesuit balance-sheet of conversion is as carefully “cast up,” as the sum of our national revenue with its imposing pence and farthings. The fact is, that the very gorgeous display of these multitudinous baptisms—enough to tire a legion of hundred-handed Titans, and drain a river—was just the thing to captivate the Hindoos, so passionately fond of festivities, which their Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and other thousand gods most liberally vouchsafe to them, and which they found ready for them in the cities of the Christians, different in very few points from their own outrageous “mysteries.” For the sake of “pomp and feast and revelry” they would submit to have their foreheads washed by a Jesuit, instead of dipping them in “Ganges, or Hydaspes, Indian streams.” The fact was *proved* in the year 1561.

“This year, the College at Goa did not receive the increase of Christians it hoped for,” says Sacchinus, adding,—“and here is the cause: the archbishop who arrived at the end of the preceding year, just came when the produce of that most lucky harvest was unusually abundant, when immense troops of Indians were daily added to the congregation of the faithful. Whereupon, being prejudiced by the reports of certain persons

¹ “Secundum Deum Constantini maximè Proregis auctoritate, &c. In Goano S. Pauli templo ter mille et ducenti triginta tres baptizati, præterque hos in privatis tectis valetudine non permisi exire, circiter centum”—making the 3333—a curious and striking lot of triplets for the gaping devotees to convert into a mystery.

more intent on money than the gain of souls, saying that the Indians were compelled to receive baptism, he ordered that all who were to be baptised should receive the rite in their respective parishes ; and that if the rite was to be celebrated with greater ceremony than usual, he reserved the case to himself. This arrangement, established with a pious design, by the most excellent bishop, did not succeed as was intended," adds the chuckling Jesuit ; "for," he continues, "as the Hindoos were, one by one, or certainly only a few together, almost in darkness, and in corners, *sprinkled with the sacred water*"—to translate the bombastical expression—"whilst that splendour of Goan magnificence—of the number of the candidates—of the new garments and decorations—of Portugal's nobility—the presence and eyes of the viceroy—and other attendant display—when all this was no more—*then* the estimation and desire of so great a mystery began to fall off and freeze amongst the uncivilised people who, in every part of the world, but there most especially, *are led by the eyes—oculis ducitur.*"¹ Here is an admission ! Can anything more be required to desolate the heart with the conviction that the Jesuit-christianity of India was altogether but a vile, deceitful, lying phantasm, which it "out-Herods Herod" to think of ? Yes, there *is* one thing more—and that is, the awfully debauched life of the Portuguese themselves in India—the "true believers" of that Christianity which these sight-loving, miserable pagans were

¹ "Quæ res pio consilio ab Antistite optimo instituta, &c.—Etenim cùm singuli, aut certè pauci, prope in tenebris, et in angulis sacrâ tingerentur aquâ ; ille autem splendor ex Goanâ magnificentiâ, ex numero candidatorum, ex novo vestitu, cultuque, ex nobilitate Lusitanâ, ac Proregis ipsius præsentîâ et oculis, cæteroque apparatu abesset ; cæpit tanti mysteriî opinio et cupiditas rudem apud populum, qui ubique terrarum, sed ibi maximè, oculis ducitur, cadere et frigere."—*Sacchin.* lib. v. 246.

tempted to embrace with their lips and their foreheads, by an appeal to their wretched vanity, in the midst of gorgeous display, rank, and decoration! The prohibition was taken off, and the Jesuits "went ahead" as usual.

From India, across that ocean which the Portuguese knew so well, let us advance into Abyssinia, to see how the first bishop of the Jesuits, Andres Oviedo, has managed his apostolate. Doubtless we remember the occasion of this promising mission—resulting, if we are to believe the Jesuits, from an express invitation of Asnaf, the Abyssinian king—the descendant of the famous Prester John.¹ The king of Portugal and Father Ignatius wrote letters to the king of Abyssinia. These letters went through the hands of the Indian viceroys, who sent them to Asnaf by "three other persons, that they might sound the Emperor's inclinations before the patriarch's arrival,"² a precaution scarcely necessary if Asnaf was really a party to the visitation.

The Jesuits
in Abyssinia.

Only two of the Jesuits (how cautiously they move) entered the country: but suspicion was there before them: king Asnaf, the descendant of king Solomon (as

¹ This time-honoured name is a curious specimen of learned absurdity, in seeking to explain a difficulty before verifying its existence. "Prester John" is consecrated to the royal skull of Ethiopia: but it was the name of a Nestorian priest, John by name. He was the Mohammed of the twelfth century; and his kingdom was in Asia, near China. According to Du Cange, William of Tripoli, and other writers, a Nestorian priest, about the middle of the twelfth century, assembled troops of his sect, and pretending to be of the race of the Magi, usurped the dominions of his king, Choriem-Ran, after his death. He vanquished seventy-two kings in upper Asia, and extended his empire to the Indies and Tartary. Meanwhile, Scaliger, and other geniuses, have grubbed out the etymology of the name in the Persian and Arabic; and Cretineau records the intelligence that "*Prester John is Ethiopian for great and precious*"! Just like *Gherkin* from *Jeremiah King*: naturally derived thus—Jerry king, Jer king, Gherkin. See for the above explanation of Prester John, Mem. sur l'Ethiop. in Lettres Edif. t. i. p. 686.

² A brief account . . . Hist. of Ethiopia. 1673.

the race royal of Ethiopia claimed to be deemed) suspected some sinister design in this expedition ; and even if he had applied for a Roman patriarch, there was surely no need of sending one in the shape of thirteen Jesuits. Asnaf argued very naturally that these Jesuits were but the forerunners of an European invasion. If he had not the head of Solomon, he had the eyes of an observer, and could look around at his neighbours in their exemplary misfortunes. It was, in fact, the common opinion round about that "he would become the tributary of the conquerors, and that the Catholic religion sanctioned all manner of spoliations ;"¹ so averse were the nobles to their admission that some of them openly affirmed that they would sooner "submit to the Turkish than the Roman yoke."²

Asnaf gave them an audience: one of them explained the doctrines of the Roman faith. Asnaf heard the Jesuits patiently, but dismissed them with a letter to the King of Portugal, which was as much as to say that "he had his doubts about the matter, and begged to decline their services."

The spokesman was Rodriguez: his special mission had been "to study the situation of the country," say the Jesuits themselves.³ He returned to his eleven companions at Goa, for further orders—an unfortunate precaution, for the king was given to understand that "a great number more were waiting at Goa to be transported into his kingdom."⁴ He was frightened at the idea of this Jesuit invasion,—although in sending forth thirteen Jesuits, Father Ignatius, it is said, only intended to represent Christ and the twelve apostles.⁵

¹ Cretineau, i. 486.

² Hist. of Ethiop., before quoted.

³ Cretineau, i. 485.

⁴ Prof. Lee's Brief Acc. in Gobat's Journ.

⁵ Ibid.

Rodriguez, the pioneer and explorer, decamped; not so Oviedo the militant bishop. The sturdy Jesuit resolved "not to yield his footing so easily." He challenged discussion with the schismatic monks: the king joined in the controversy, and "very much foiled the bishop," for "he knew more than his doctors."¹

Then the Jesuit-bishop came down with an excommunication of the whole church of Abyssinia!² Asnaf had threatened to put Oviedo to death, but contented himself with banishing him for ever from his presence.³ An enemy, two months after, appeared on the frontier: Claudius went forth to give him battle: fortune was against him: the Turk prevailed: the king was slain; and left his throne to Adamas his brother, a sworn foe of the Roman Catholics, "upon whose account," he said, "his brother had not only lost his life, but the whole empire of Ethiopia had been reduced nearly to ruin."⁴

Severe measures against the Roman Catholics ensued. Oviedo stood before the king. Adamas forbade him to preach Catholicism. The Jesuit replied: "'Tis better to obey God than men." At this bold reply, the king brandished his scimitar to cut off the Jesuit's head: but the Queen threw herself at his feet, the Jesuit stood unterrified, and the king withheld the blow.⁵ This is a fine Jesuit-picture; but another account says that Adamas only tore the gown from the Jesuit's back, which makes no picture at all.⁶

A persecution of the Catholics followed: "divers were imprisoned, tortured, and put to death." Oviedo and his companions were banished to a cold and desolate

¹ Crotineau, *Brief Acc.*, and *Lettres Edif.* t. i. p. 630.

² *Brief Acc.* in Gobat.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Crotineau, i. 486.

⁶ *Hist of Ethiop.*, before quoted.

mountain, for the space of eight months. A miracle set them free. "A princess of the blood royal, whom curiosity, or rather Providence, had led to the cavern of the banished Jesuits, beheld their persons surrounded by a miraculous light, and obtained from Adamas the recal of the holy missionaries." They set to work again ; made new conversions ; and the persecution was redoubled ; and "the miracle of Daniel" in the den of lions, "was renewed," say the Jesuits. "Five Abyssinians who had abjured error, were exposed to famished lions : the ferocity of the lions was changed into tameness." Adamas changed not, however ; and his cruelty eventuated a splendid miracle, unsurpassed either in the Bible or the legends of the saints. "He condemned Oviedo, his companions and disciples, to a more distant and horrible exile than the first. They were on the point of perishing from hunger and thirst,—when God, touched by Oviedo's prayer, caused to appear to their eye, a *river*, which, opening asunder after quenching their thirst, presented to them *a multitude of fishes*, enough to feed them."¹

The tyrant's severity was an admirable excuse for rebellion ; and accordingly a leader was soon found, who, with "thirty Portuguese" entered into a conspiracy against the king, "not without the concurrent instigation of the Jesuits who led the Portugal faction."²

Adamas tried to temporise with the Portuguese, and even invited the Jesuits into his camp : but the evil was done : battles ensued : Adamas was worsted ; and died soon after.³

Respecting his successor the accounts before me are very conflicting : some making him a persecutor, others

¹ Lett. Edif. i. 631.

² Hist. of Ethiop. 13.

³ Ibid. ; and Lett. Edif. i. 631.

“eminent in glory and virtue,” and a great admirer of “the morals and holy life of the Jesuits.” Nevertheless Oviedo was by no means comfortable, nor was his cause triumphant—for the pope recalled him from the mission, with orders to proceed to China or Japan, which, however, he did not, or did not live to obey. In great privation at Fremona, a town in the kingdom of Tigra, he had not even paper to write a letter to the pope, or to the King of Portugal (as another account states), and was forced to tear out the fly-leaves of his breviary or an old commentary,¹ sticking them together for the purpose. One account states that he expressed the wish to leave Ethiopia, “charging the miscarriage of his whole enterprise on the want of aids from Portugal:”—others assert that he stated the difficulties of his mission, but still affirmed his desire to remain on the ungrateful soil in spite of his tribulations. He was ready for martyrdom. “Yet” (by another account quoting his letter) “he must be permitted to inform his Holiness that, with the assistance of five or six hundred Portuguese soldiers, he could at any time reduce the empire of Abyssinia to the obedience of the pontificate; and, when he considered that it was a country surrounded by territories abounding with the finest gold, and promising a rich harvest of souls to the Church, he trusted his Holiness would give the matter further consideration.”² In effect what was wanting? Only Portuguese muskets and a viceroi. “All who have any

¹ Acosta says “non plus digitali magnitudine, e vetusto (ut videtur) aliquo commentario excerpta.”—*Rer. in Or.* 31.

² See, for the conflicting accounts of this mission, Cretineau, i.; Prof. Lee’s Brief Acc. in Gobat; Hist. of Ethiop., as before; Lettres Edif. et Cur.; Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop.; La Croze; Geddes; Tellez; Acost., *Rer. in Orient.* p. 31; Voyage aux Indes, iii.; Lobo, *Voy. d’ Ethiop.*; Sacchin. i. iii. iv.

experience of Ethiopia," says the Jesuit Tellez, "know that without arms in hand to defend and authorise the Catholic preachers we shall never have the desired success among those schismatics."¹ With these sentiments, Oviedo could not bring his mind "to see the Holy Church of Rome lose the most glorious enterprise under heaven—and this only for want of 500 or 600 Portuguese soldiers."² But the fact is, the promises of the Jesuits were mistrusted even in Portugal; and whether the Court had no reliance on the word of the Jesuits, or was unable to lend them assistance, it was resolved to command a retreat to all the Portuguese in Ethiopia, who were rather numerous there, and as infamously debauched as elsewhere.³ Some make Oviedo leave the country—others settle him for fifteen or sixteen years at Fremona, dying a saint, with miracles after death as numerous as those which he performed in life, according to the Jesuits. Such was the first expedition of the Jesuits into Ethiopia; and such was its termination after all the efforts of Ignatius, all the expenses of the King of Portugal. It was attended with great suffering and persecution to the people—

a. d. 1577. disgrace to religion—and good to none—not even to the Jesuits, whatever interpretation they might give to the word.

If the political designs of Portugal on Abyssinia

¹ "Esta sempre foy a pratica dos que tem experiencia de Ethiopia, que semas armas na mam, que defendam et authorizem a os Pregadores Catholicos nam poderam nunqua ter o successo desejado entre aquelles schismaticos."—P. 184.

² "Ver perder a Santa Igreja de Roma a mays gloriosa Empreza, que ha debayxo dos ceos, et isto so por falta de quinhentos, o seycentos Soldados Portuguezes."—Tellez, p. 195.

³ "Mas como nosso Senhor (a o que parece) queria com elle castigar as liberdades et solturas de que alguns Portuguezes uzavam em Ethiopia, assim tambem quiz, que elle nam passase sem aqouto."—*Id.* p. 178.

failed by the precipitation of the Jesuits, and the promptitude of the native sovereigns, the eastern coast of Africa presented fewer obstacles to the religio-political advance of the Jesuits. Not content with their sovereignty in Arabia, Persia, the two Peninsulas of India, the Moluccas, Ceylon, the Isles of Sunda, and a settlement at Macao—which last ensured them the commerce of China and Japan—the Portuguese invaded the opposite coast of Africa;—and in the beginning of the sixteenth century established an empire extending from Sofala to Melinda, from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Equator. Mosambique was its centre, well fortified and garrisoned, commanding the ocean and the African continent. Gold, ivory, and slaves, were its attractions.

The Jesuits
amongst the
Caffres.

Under the shelter of this absorbing power three Jesuits were dispatched into the country between Sofala and Mosambique, in the year 1560;—their leader was Gonsalvo Silveria, a Portuguese. Accordingly, we are assured that in a few days—*intra paucos dies*, the native king, his wife, sister, children, relatives, nobles—in a word, almost the entire population,—with great joy and gratulation became Christians, or rather, (to translate the original), the Jesuits “cleansed them in the sacred fount—*sacro fonte lustrarunt* ;” and a church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹

Andrew Fernandez boldly advanced among the horrid savages of Caffre-land. Threats and contumely dismayed him not:—inflamed with the zeal of a scriptural enthusiast, or strong in the terror by his country's arms inspired, he presented himself in the midst of a festivity celebrated by the savages, demolished with his

¹ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 32.

own hands the whole apparatus of the pagan rites, and trampled them under foot with impunity. The King of the Caffres was present,—the Jesuit humbled him, covered him with confusion, in the presence of his subjects.¹ Still, the king had been baptised : his presence at these pagan rites explains the depth of his conversion.

Meanwhile Gonsalvez left Mosambique, with six Portuguese for his escort, proceeding to Quiloa on the coast, by sea. A dreadful storm arose : all was over with them, as they thought : but the Jesuit “ raised his hands and eyes to heaven in supplication : ”—the winds ceased, and the waves were still.²

Through the lands colonised by the Portuguese, Gonsalvez advanced, reforming and baptising the slaves of the Portuguese, and was received everywhere with great demonstrations of respect by the native kings, who were vastly edified by the Jesuit’s disinterestedness. Thinking all the Portuguese alike, one of these kings offered him “ as many women, as much gold, land, and as many cows as he pleased.” The Jesuit replied that “ he only wanted the king himself.” Then the king ejaculated to the interpreter a moral universally useful : “ Indeed,” said he, “ since he will receive none of these things, which are so vastly coveted by others, he must be immensely different from other mortals.” The king dismissed him with the kindest expressions of friendship,—the Jesuit devising a method to convert the sable king, constitutionally fond of the “ fair sex,” if the term

¹ This is called by Acosta, *Andree ingens facinus*, Andrew’s mighty exploit. It seems that the king *licet baptizatum*, though baptised, was a bit of a rogue ; and the bold Jesuit compelled him to acknowledge that he had *no power over the rains of heaven* (so useful to the crops), as was pretended by the Caffre kings—a sort of Vatican prerogative to cajole the people and make them submissive. This humiliating confession of the king would at once cast him far below the wonder-workers of Jesuitism.

² Acost. *ib.* 32. *b.*

may, by courtesy, be applied to the ladies of Africa. It succeeded to admiration. Gonsalvez said mass next morning in an open spot, exposing on the altar a picture of the Virgin Mary, which he had brought from India. Some of the "courtiers" passing by, fancied they saw a real woman of great beauty. They reported accordingly to the king, who instantly sent to the Jesuit, telling him he had heard that he had a wife; that he wished him exceedingly to bring her to him. Gonsalvez covered the picture with a costly robe, and took it to the king. Before he exposed it to view, in order the more to sharpen the king's desire—*desiderium quò magis exacuât*, Gonsalvez told him that it "was the image of God's mother, in whose power and dominion were all the kings and emperors of the whole world." Then he uncovered the image. It received the king's veneration. He asked the Jesuit again and again to give it him: the Jesuit consented, and placed it in the king's chamber, fitting up the room as an oratory or chapel—*veluti sacellum quoddam precandi causâ peristromatis exornat*. Whilst the king slept that night "the Queen of Heaven appeared standing by his side, exactly as represented in the picture, surrounded with a divine light, shining with a sweet splendour, with a most venerable and joyful aspect." On the following day the king sent for Gonsalvez and told him that he was "wonderfully concerned that he could not understand the words of the Queen of Heaven, which she spoke to him every night." Gonsalvez was ready with his elucidation: he told the savage "that her language was divine, and not to be understood except by those who submitted to the laws of that Queen's son, who was God and the Redeemer of the whole human race." In conclusion, the king and three hundred of his "nobles" were solemnly baptised with

great pomp and ceremony,—the king being very consistently named Sebastian, after the King of Portugal, and his mother received the name of Mary, after the Queen of Heaven.¹ If you remember “the trumpeters in the nave,” placed by the preacher of Navarre, you may easily guess the secret of this *reflecting* and speaking picture, managed by the Jesuits.

Subsequent success tallied with this splendid beginning ; it seemed likely that the whole population would become Christians, when some powerful and clever Mahometans, in high favour with the king, made serious representations to his majesty respecting the Jesuit expedition, assuring him that he was endangering his life and kingdom, that Gonsalvez was an emissary of the viceroy of India and the chiefs of Sofala sent to explore his condition, to excite the minds of his people to rebellion, and ready with an army to follow up the movement with a hostile invasion. We can only record such imputations, having no means of verification ; but it is remarkable that savages, as well as civilised men, came to the same opinion respecting the Jesuits. True or false, the representations were deemed probable by the king ; Gonsalvez was doomed to destruction. He was killed, and his body was thrown into the river, “lest the corpse of such an evil-doer, if left on the ground, should kill them with its poison ;” for he was believed “to have brought with him various poisons and medicaments to work on the minds of the people and kill the king.” Fifty Christians whom Gonsalvez had baptised on his last day, shared the same fate. The Portuguese interfered, and threatened the king with the vengeance of war. This threat had due effect. The king expressed regret, threw the blame upon his advisers,

¹ Acosta, *ibid.* p. 35, *et seq.*

whom, with barbaric recklessness, he put to death without delay, to propitiate the Juggernauts of Portugal. When the intelligence of these transactions reached India, more Jesuits were despatched to the country, at the urgent request of the viceroy—*vehementer optante Prorege*, in order “to promote the beginnings which promised altogether happy progress.”¹

In Brazil, the Company of Jesus had produced a miracle-worker, such as the world had never seen before—whose like we shall never see again. The Jesuit Anchieta far excelled even Xavier in powers miraculous. The Jesuits call him the Apostle of Brazil, and the Thaumaturg of the age.² The wonders related of this man, by the Jesuits, surpass in absurdity all that can possibly be imagined. Let the Jesuits describe him: “His praises may be comprised in one word if we call him the *Innocent Adam*. It was only just for God to create an Adam for the mortals of the New World—*mortalibus Novi Orbis novum à Deo creari Adamum par erat*. I know not which to call his terrestrial Paradise—the Canary Islands, where he was born, or the Company which he entered; for, in the former, he breathed the breath of life; in the latter, the breath of grace. He shared the four endowments which Adam received in his state of innocence; namely, dominion over the animal creation, a right will, an enlightened understanding, an immortal body. His dominion over the animal creation was proved six hundred times by fishes, birds, wild beasts, serpents, all which he would call in the Brazilian language: they obeyed and followed him, by the privilege of Adam: ‘Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and

¹ Acost. p. 59.

² Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu, Josephi Anchieta.

over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.' Wherever he wished, fishes were found, and suffered themselves to be caught; hence he was called by the ignorant savages the father who gives us the fishes we want. And it sometimes happened that the people of a village being reduced to want by being hindered from fishing in stormy weather, he led them all to the beach and asked them what sort of fish they desired. By way of a joke, they would ask for a sort not found at that season of the year; and he would produce such a shoal of the fishes, that they caught with their nets, nay even with their hands, as many as they liked. He would call birds to praise God, and they flew to him and perched on his finger and chirped. A flock of crows had gathered round about some fishes laid out on the shore by the fishermen; at his command they moved off and waited for a promised part of the prey. Once on a voyage, when ill, and the sun's meridian rays were too hot to bear, he commanded a bird to go and call her companions to make him a shade—a parasol. And she went and gathered a flock and returned, and they shaded the ship with their wings, to the length of three miles, until he dismissed them, and they flew off with a joyful croaking. Often, whilst he was praying or preaching, little birds would perch on his head and his arms; so great was their beauty, that they seemed things of Heaven rather than of earth."¹ The savage beasts of the forest—the ferocious jaguar he tamed; two of them followed him as guards when he went to the woods at night to say his prayers, and when he returned he rewarded their fidelity with some fruit—*fructibus*—which enhanced the miracle; seeing that

¹ Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu, Joseph Auchiet.

their carnivorous stomach accommodated itself to an herbivorous digestion,—their intestines were elongated, as a matter of course. He even used the beasts of the country to instruct the savages, and impress them with their barbarity : thus, the death of a large monkey, killed by a Brazilian, furnished him with matter for a sermon and occasion for a miracle. “ The noise that this animal made in falling,” says Jouvenci, “ having brought to the spot all the other monkeys of the neighbourhood, Anchieta spoke to them in his language, commanded them to go and invite the little ones, the father, the mother, in fine all the relatives and friends of the defunct, to assist at his funeral and celebrate his obsequies. All these animals assembled immediately, making great lamentations, some striking their breasts with their paws, others rolling on the ground before the corpse, others tearing their beard and sprawling in the dust,—all moaning and pulling frightful faces. After these preludes, many monkeys approached, and lifted the defunct, and carried him on their shoulders, whilst the rest followed the funeral, leaping from tree to tree. There were some,” says the *historian*, “ which, imitating the ferocity of the barbarians, seemed to reproach them with it, by glaring on them with furious and threatening looks. Thus the funeral advanced to a village four miles off. Then Anchieta, dreading lest the savages would set upon these charitable animals, commanded them to return into the woods, and they obeyed. Thereupon the Jesuit, turning to the Brazilians who were already running to give chase to the monkeys, exclaimed : ‘ See how these beasts bewail the death of one of their kind, whilst you rejoice at the death of your fellow-creatures, and sometimes devour them alive.’ ” Whether Father

Jouvenci perceived the absurdity of this missionary Arabian Entertainment, or really wished to give us an idea of the natural and most excusable incredulity of these savages, he adds that this adventure of the wonderful Anchieta only made them laugh.¹ Nieremberg says that Anchieta stopped a tempest which was impending, in order that the Indians might enjoy a comedy which he had composed for them. It lasted three hours in the representation, and the tempest frowned pregnant with its cataract ; “but the prayer of God’s servant held them fast” until the people departed, and then the tempest burst with whirlwinds, floods, and dreadful thunders.² Savage bulls he forced to the yoke by the sign of the cross ; and sometimes, merely to amuse the Indians who happened to be with him, he would, for mere sport, *ad oblectamentum*, command the monkeys of the woods to gambol and to dance, and they did so, until he dismissed them. “Our Adam handled serpents without injury—*serpentes Adamus noster inoffensus tractabat*. So completely did he rule over vipers, that when he trod on one with his naked feet, and tried to make it bite him, it licked his foot respectfully, nor did it dare *to lie in ambush for his heel*.”³ We almost fancy that these marvels were invented expressly to ridicule all that Christians read with awe and adoration. Nor is the budget exhausted, by very many items. All nature was subject unto him : he spoke, and all obeyed him. Tempests he stilled, desperate diseases he cured, showers he suspended in the air, language he gave to a dumb infant, life and vigour to a dying father, limbs to the maimed. He cured leprosy with water, consumption

¹ Juvenci Hist. lib. xxiii. p. 766, apud Quesnel, i. 160.

² Varones Ilustres, ii. 519.

³ Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, *ubi supra*.

with the touch of his sleeve, head-ache with the shreds of his garments, and the sound of his voice dispelled anguish of mind and put to flight temptations. The elements themselves respected him as their master—*ipsa elementa observabant ut dominum*. Often when a shower came on during a journey, whilst his companions were wet to the skin—*permadentibus*—he appeared quite dry—*siccus apparuit*. The sea respected him as well as the showers. When in prayer kneeling on the beach, the flowing tide would pass beside him, leaving a vacant space where he was enclosed within a double wall of the heaped up billows—*velut in geminum parietem undis exaggeratis*—and leaving him a dry path to the shore in the midst of the waters. “But what need of many instances,” exclaims the Jesuit, “since he ruled nature not as a master but as a tyrant—*sed quid multis opus est, cum non tam dominatu, quam tyrannide naturam tenuit*, and sometimes forced her to produce what she did not possess—*cogeret interdum quod non habebat exhibere*. In a great scarcity of oil he produced some from an empty cask, and though dry within, it afforded for two years as much oil as was wanted for two colleges, for the use of the church, the table, and the poor.” He changed water into wine, to revive some one on a journey; and to humour the longing of a sick man, he changed a fish into an oyster—*piscem in pernam mutavit*.¹ A pagan, who falsely thought himself a Christian, had died. Joseph called back his soul, and led it back to his body, baptised him, and sent him back to Heaven—*alius Gentilis, qui se Christianum falso crediderat, obierat; ejus animam Josephus revocavit, reduxitque ad corpus, baptismo tinxit, ac cælo remisit*. He knew what happened in his absence,

¹ Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, *ubi supra*.

secrets, and things about to happen ; and he foretold them as distinctly as though his mind was the mirror of the Divine Wisdom to which all things are present—*quam si Divinæ Sapientiæ, cui præsentia sunt omnia, speculum esset ejus intellectus.* Inspirations, revelations, the peculiar endowments of beatified bodies he enjoyed, “for we know on good authority that whilst in prayer his body was often raised from the ground, surrounded with the most brilliant light, with heavenly music sounding the while.” They say he once forgot his breviary, leaving it behind, twenty-four miles off ; an *angel* brought it to him !¹ In the twinkling of an eye he performed long journeys—*momento temporis longa itinera decurrisset* ; yea, was in two places at one and the same time ; and when you liked he would make himself invisible, sometimes vanishing, then returning to astonish and stupify the spectators. It is scarcely credible that God created a man of such wonders for one world only—*virum hunc tantæ admirabilitatis viæ credibile sit a Deo fuisse uni mundo conditum.*² Surely there was enough in all these wonders and portents to make a *saint* for the glory on earth of the Company of Jesus ; but though the Jesuits expected that result,³ they were disappointed, and Joseph Anchieta remains the silly, stupid thing of their biographies, though he may have been, for all we know to the contrary, a laborious missionary, and author of a few books, rendered curiosities by the “solid falsehoods” of his brethren respecting their author.⁴

¹ Tableaux, p. 231.

² Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, ubi supra.

³ “Et spes est illum propediem ab sancta Matre Ecclesiâ utro mundo ad venerationem, imitationemque (!) propositum iri,” &c.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Among the rest, he wrote a *Drama* for the extirpation of the vices of Brazil—*Drama ad extirpanda Brasiliæ vitia.* *Ibid.* One would suppose that his miraculous powers ought to have given them “a twist,” as St. Patrick served

These angels of disturbance and inventors of fables— with the best possible intentions, if we are to believe themselves—were not less active in Europe than in India, Abyssinia, Caffreland, and Brazil. In 1560, the Jesuits penetrated into Switzerland: the Valteline, in the land of the Grisons, became the scene of contention. The invading force consisted of three priests and three other Jesuits not in orders. They insinuated themselves into the good graces of a certain Antonius Quadrius, a simple old gentleman of the Valteline, belonging to one of the first families of the country. How it happened, who can tell?—but the old gentleman gave the Jesuits all his wealth to build a college—*re suâ familiari collegio extruendo donatâ*. The Jesuits took possession; but it appears they were too precipitate. A mandate of the Canton fell upon their dreams like a nightmare. They were ordered to leave the country forthwith. The messenger added that “he was a Catholic, and on that account he was unwilling to proceed to force: he rather would give them a friendly hint, to return to their people, and not to wait for compulsion.” But it would never do to resign so easily a boon so promising: the Jesuits held out, and their patron, the old gentleman, protested against the mandate. There was a gathering of the people—men and women: the nobility joined in the fray. The old gentleman’s relatives were naturally excited. He had no children, and they were his heirs at law. They tried persuasion with the Jesuit-principal, Tarquinius Raynaldus. They begged that he would not rob them of all

The Jesuits
in Switzer-
land.

the frogs and toads of Erin, and “banished them for ever.” Besides his life in the *Bibliotheca*, and Neiremberg’s amongst his *Varones Illustres*, Illustrious Men of the Company, there are two lives of Anchieta by the Jesuits Berctarius and Roterigius, all horribly ridiculous.

their inheritance, contrary to the rights and customs of men. The Jesuit's reply was handsome, whether it be the composition of Sacchinus or Raynaldus. "It is only a few days since I have become acquainted with Quadrius [the old gentleman aforesaid]: religious men who have given up their own patrimony do not come into this valley in quest of another. We are here by command of those whom we have taken as the rulers of our life, in the place of Christ the Lord: we are ready, should occasion require, to give our life and blood for the salvation of souls, not only to the family of Quadrius, but all the world. But if Quadrius will listen to me, I will see that he bequeaths to you a great part of the inheritance. For, although it were better for him to consecrate the work to God, as he had resolved, still, in order to preserve peace with all men, I shall suggest what you demand. A few religious men will not be suffered to want sustenance, by the bounty of the other citizens, and the providence of the heavenly Father."¹ This fine address was really all they could desire: and so they went their way, rejoicing; but the Jesuits at once began to teach a multitude of boys, whom they divided into three classes; and vast was the daily conflux of accessions to the benches. They had sent Quadrius to appeal: they were working away joyously, when down came a final decree from the authorities abolishing the college. Resistance was vain: the determination to dislodge them was evident. The Jesuits yielded to the storm for the present, and took their departure, treasuring the remembrance of what they left behind—"drawing at each remove a lengthened chain." In the following year, the agitation was vigorously

¹ Sacchin, lib. iv. 59.

renewed. Sacchinus puts all the motives and expedients to the account of the *people*: but their source is too evident to be thus mistaken: they are as follows:—that Quadrius was a man of great authority, and would be respected by the princes of Germany, and the Emperor himself: that recommendations from all the princes of Christendom would prevail: that the consent and agitation of all the people of the Valteline would gain the day: that nothing was certainly *impregnable to money—pecuniæ certe nihil inexpugnabile esse*. The relatives of Quadrius could be won over by the hope of getting a great part of the inheritance—the Governor of the Valteline, being a Catholic, would undertake the business, and bring it to a happy issue.¹ Letters of recommendation were forthwith obtained from the King of France, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Bohemia, the Marquis of Piscaria, the Governor of Milan, the Duke of Bavaria, the Catholic Cantons, and other authorities, addressed to the Grisons in favour of the scheme. Is not this determined manœuvre worthy of admiration? Is it easy to get rid of the Jesuits when they have once had a footing? Nor was this all. They chose two of the citizens—sharp and sturdy men—*acres ac strenuos viros*—as their commissioners. These went about among the neighbouring people, praying and conjuring the Catholics to favour the common cause; and others they filled with promises—*cæteros implent promissis*. Their old patron was stimulated almost to frenzy: he was ready to resign all he had—even the shirt on his back—nay, he would even give up himself, with apostolical charity—*apostolicâ caritate superimpendere seipsum*. Meanwhile, the “heretics” were no less active

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 96.

on the other side, agitating with equal determination, perfectly convinced that there was not a greater pestilence against the Gospel than the Jesuits—*nullam esse Evangelio suo capitaliorem pestem quam Jesuitas*. In the midst of this fermentation, the cause was tried before the authorities. The Jesuit-commissioners delivered a speech, carefully prepared—*accuratè præparatâ oratione*—which you will find in Sacchinus, much too long and elaborate for translation, but duly eloquent and diffuse on the good qualities and pious intentions of the founder of the college which had been taken from the Jesuits, imputing the worst motives to his heirs at law, ascribing the banishment of the Jesuits to their avarice—the whole concluding with the following glorious peroration :—“ Therefore, most excellent gentlemen, preserve far and wide the reputation of your firmness and gravity, with our safety and dignity. The most Christian King of France begs this of you,” (saying this, they exhibited the letters) : “ the Emperor Ferdinand begs it : Maximilian, the King of Bohemia, Albert, Duke of Bavaria, the Republic of the Swiss, the Governor of Milan, our whole country, suppliant at your feet, our children, our grandchildren, our whole posterity, all join in the petition. If they could come hither, you might see the boys, the mothers of families, the whole population of the valley and all the vicinity, prostrate at your feet, uplifting their hands in supplication. For, most kind gentlemen, we have experienced the powers of this right Institution : we know the learning and talent of these men. They were only a few months among us, and already our boys are different to what they were : they are much more modest than before, more quiet at home and out of doors, more respectful to their elders,

more obliging to their relatives, and far more desirous of praise and learning. Confiding in the justice of our cause, in the wisdom of Quadrius, in the glory of his deed, and in your justice and kindness, we deem all the annoyances, or expenses which we have incurred in the matter, rightly placed, in order that the memory of so great a benefit, first conferred by Quadrius, and by you, who will restore it, shall live for ever in our mind, and that of our posterity.” The address was delivered with vehemence and with tears, says Sacchinus.¹

This glorious speech might have been a prize-essay of some pupil among the Jesuits. You will find other specimens in Jouvenci's Orationes, on a variety of topics or common-places.² But the speech shows its origin—and what the Jesuits say of themselves and their miraculous transformations amongst “the boys” and the mothers of families. As such it would have been a pity not to give an extract. The address of the Jesuit-commissioners overshot the mark, and was heard with apathy. The relatives of the old gentleman were skilful lawyers and spoke for themselves, and were heard with immense applause and success. They said that their relative was extremely old and without children: they were consequently the lawful heirs to his property: that it was unjust to permit his wealth to pass into the hands of adventurers, who, under the pretence of instructing youth, were only seeking to enrich themselves with the spoils of individuals, and to alter in their favour the maxims and fundamental laws of nations—that the great age of their relative had weakened his mind, and that these Jesuits had taken

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 101.

² Juvenci Orationes. See also Stradæ *Eloquentia Bipartita*, which is rather more sensible than the former.

advantage of his imbecility to induce him to give them his money, thus robbing his relatives and his country, and pampering a set of vagabond and turbulent monks with the wealth of the Valteline.¹ This appears to have been the general opinion of the audience ; for a decree was passed banishing forthwith the Jesuits from the country of the Grisons, as the enemies of the Gospel. The old gentleman's donation was cancelled ; and the administration of his affairs was given over to his relatives, though he was undisturbed in the possession and use of his property during life, but all was to descend to his relatives after his death. The Jesuits say there was immense lamentation at this decree, and that the fathers had not got five miles from the city before a severe earthquake shook the country, "so that the vulgar feared lest the earth should open and hell should swallow down all the people on account of the crime of those who had expelled the fathers."² I *expected* to read of some such portent at the end of the affair ; and would have been much surprised had I not found it recorded. In truth, it is hard to maintain the requisite impartiality of the historian when we have to do with such desperate partymen, such unreasonable and reckless inventors as the Jesuits. There is, however, an unintentional equivocation in the words "*scelus ejectorum patrum*:"—which may be interpreted into—"the crime of the *ejected* fathers" which crime may have had as much to do with the "earthquake" as anything else *below*. Disturbances and menacings among the Jesuit-party were left in fermentation : but it was thought useless to

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 102.

² "Vix ab ponte quinque millia passuum recesserant, cum tam gravi motu illa omnis ora concussa est, ut vulgus timerent, ne dehiscente terrâ ob scelusejectorum patrum (sic interpretabantur) omnes Tartarus absorberet."—*Sacchin.* lib. v. 106.

make any further efforts to regain the college. Still Sacchinus assures us that the old gentleman, Quadrius, again ratified the grant before his death, which followed close upon the edict—apparently to justify the stubborn pertinacity of the Jesuits in still clinging to the property: for Raynaldi again went to the city, and managed to make an impression on one of the heirs—but all to no further purpose, although the Jesuit tells of various calamities falling upon the “peculators of the sacred money.”¹ Whatever view we take of this expedition into the Valteline, it is impossible to make it reflect credit on the Company. An imbecile old man—the disturbances that ensued—the evident hand or toil of the Jesuits throughout the agitation—their subsequent hankering after the money.—all must declare that grasping spirit of possession which the Jesuits soon began to display—and the sort of victims they selected.

Whilst the Jesuits were thus expelled from Switzerland for the reasons above stated—the inhabitants of Monte Pulciano in the Duchy of Tuscany were endeavouring to get rid of them as the corruptors of their wives and daughters. It certainly does appear, from their own version of the affair, that the accusations were not without foundation. Sacchinus treats them as popular rumours: but the very facts which he does admit lead us to infer the contrary:—at all events, as in the Swiss affair, the Jesuits invariably appeal to popular demonstrations in their favour: they should, therefore, be the last to shield the guilt of their men by depreciating the credit of the popular voice. The facts

¹ Ib. 106. As an instance of Jesuit-mystery, take the following phrase, whose meaning is, that Father Tarquinius made a religious impression on one of the heirs: “Cum Pater Tarquinius pontem abiisset, *upium heredum religio subiit*”—religion went into the mind of one of the heirs!

are as follows. One of the Jesuits was accused of having offered violence to a respectable lady, who, trying to escape from his brutal passion, was, by the savage, fiercely pursued. One of their lay-brothers had also committed himself in a manner unbecoming a religious man, or any man, though Sacchinus says he was imprudent and too simple, and only asked a woman whither she was going. In addition to this, a Jesuit had been seen leaving the college, and entering a disreputable house, where he remained all night. The Jesuits—mighty men of disguises as they were—easily get rid of this, by stating that some rogue had disguised himself as a father, in order to increase the bad odour of the Jesuits—a method of exculpation, or rather a recrimination, which requires us to believe a double or a triple crime in another man rather than the simple one in a Jesuit.¹ Certain it is, as Sacchinus admits, that the Jesuits were extremely familiar and diffuse with the ladies of Monte Pulciano, and confessed almost all the women and girls of the city.² It is even said that the very walls of the Company's church breathed and begat devotion—*ipsos templi Societatis parietes spirare et ingenerare in adeuntium animis pietatem*. Accordingly the number of the women who frequently went to confession and the sacrament, was immense, and their devotion remarkable. This sacred tribunal was always the shoal of frail ministers; and must ever be the bitter source of never-ending temptation to the most virtuous. The close contact of beauty, the warm

¹ However he reasserts the fact subsequently, and says that he saw a document in which the man is stated to have confessed the disguise on his death-bed!—Sacchin. lib. vii. c. 25.

² “Sed feminarum ad confessionem et sanctam Eucharistiam crebro accedentium numerus et pietas erat insignis.”—*Id.* lib. v. 107.

breathings of the sanguine, the soft accents of blushing modesty, must naturally ruffle, and stir, and agitate the feelings of the confessor; but when to this gentle attraction of human sympathy is superadded by the fair penitent, the more or less protracted list of her temptations, her troublesome thoughts, her frailties, how horrible must be the intensity of that struggle with the clinging suggestions of nature in the confessor, who finds that his penitent is inclined to be as frail as himself! Against the Jesuits of Monte Pulciano suspicion succeeded to suspicion: the people shunned them, and one of the principal citizens felt himself called upon to protect the honour of his family. This gentleman had two sisters, very amiable both of them: they were the spiritual daughters of Father Gombar, Jesuit, and rector of the college at Monte Pulciano. They were accustomed to enjoy long conversations, on pious matters, with the Jesuit, apparently contrary to the stringent rules and regulations on the subject of female intercourse, which I have already laid before the reader. Rules and regulations are good things, but they are nothing if not observed. Public rumours frightened Gombar, and he bethought him of the rules and regulations, and, of course, offended his spiritual daughters, though very much given to piety—*plurimum deditæ pietati*. But he had not the strength to do more than half his duty, for he only threw off or cut short one sister, and retained the other, who was a matron, and had a son in the Company. The dismissed lady imparted a bad suspicion to her brother, actuated by jealousy, according to the insinuation of Sacchinus: but can we be even sure of the alleged cause of jealousy? It is so easy to invent the obvious crimination,—though it is impossible

to say what a jealous or slighted woman will *not* do for revenge. Be that as it may ; the result was a fact which spoke at least a strong conviction of the Jesuit's guilt or indiscretions. The brother of the ladies forbade both of them to confess to the fathers, and even to visit the rector. A great sensation ensued : all the noble ladies of Monte Pulciano were scared from the church of the Jesuits. A good-natured Capuchin monk, with brotherly sympathy, lent assistance to the Jesuit's reputation, and gave him a stave from the pulpit ; but, whatever was the intention of the monk, his sermon became a trumpet to the scandal, and everybody "took the thing in hand," determined to "sift it to the bottom."

A number of love-letters, either written to, or by Gombar, was found. It was also discovered that he had inveigled a large sum of money from a lady, which the grand vicar of the place compelled him to restore. Sacchinus says that the vicar treated him in a most honourable manner—when he proved that he had made restitution—*probatá satisfacione* : but it was a very bad case altogether, and Gombar, the Jesuit rector, took to flight, and nobody knew what had become of him, until it was made known to the offended world of Monte Pulciano that General Lainez had expelled him from the Company, saying, "He should have done anything rather than permit himself to appear guilty by such a flight, and cause the name of the Society and of so honest and holy a lady to be contaminated. If he had not the courage to die, he might have avoided the danger of death by hiding himself at home. Why did he not fly to Perugia, or to Rome, if he fled at all ?" The penalty was expulsion ;—though Gombar begged to the last to be set to any work, *even* to the tuition of

youth all the days of his life!—*ac nominatim ad pueros totam vitam docendos paratum*¹—hence we may see the estimation in which this department of the Company's functions was held by the members—the offer pointing to it either as an humiliation, or a labour of Hercules. But this wise precaution did not serve the purpose of General Lainez. The expulsion of a guilty or imprudent member was not permitted by Providence to restore the credit of the whole body at Monte Pulciano. The Jesuits who remained, or were sent to retrieve the Company's honour, were visited with the public and private inflictions of general detestation. Their church and their schools were utterly deserted. The city revoked the stipend of the public teacher. The college itself was taken from them by the parties who had originally given them the use of the building. They were reduced to the greatest necessity—actually starved out—as far as the Monte Pulcians were concerned. They suffered so much that the Jesuit Natalis facetiously said it was not a college but a house of probation. Lainez put a stop to the sufferings, bodily and mental, of his men, by dissolving the college in 1563, after seven years' duration.² Thus were the Jesuits quietly expelled from Monte Pulciano—by a most effectual method, it must be admitted, since neither great alms nor small alms—the tithes of the Jesuits—enabled them to proselytise the

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 110. For the Italian reader, Bartoli is unusually concise on this affair at Monte Pulciano. He coolly says, "It would be fastidious to relate the particulars." Actually the name of Gombar is not even mentioned in the whole chapter; and all that we have just read from the learned and often mysterious Latin of Sacchinus is wisely "left out," like the part of Hamlet, "by particular desire," from the tragi-comedy. And there is reason for the Jesuits to be ashamed of the transaction occurring in their best days, and before the *Monita Secreta*, or Secret Instructions were given to the public.—See *Bartoli, Dell' Ital.* lib. iv. c. 12.

² Sacch. vii. 20.

heretics, to lead the women captive, to train "the boys," *gratis*.

This affair at Monte Pulciano opens an inquiry into the domestic arrangements of the Jesuits, the result of

The confraternities and sodalities of the Jesuits. which was their immense influence with the people—as exhibited on more than one public occasion. I allude to their confraternities and sodalities. Sufficiently striking and impressive were their bands of self-scourging laymen, who congregated at their houses every Friday to bare their backs and inflict the propitious castigation; or who on festivals were led forth through the streets in procession, in the same predicament. It appears that Xavier invented the method among the people of Japan; and in the historical romances of the Jesuits, we read that besides arresting temptations of the flesh in the ardent islanders, the whips actually cured diseases by contact, and by the same process, alleviated the pains of child-birth.¹

We remember the efficacy of processional flagellation in Portugal, when the good name of the Company was

The efficacy of flagellation. to be restored. The question is, how could such means produce the result which is stated?

Simply by appealing to the superstitious associations of the people, who considered corporeal austerities the guarantees of holiness. Hence the method failed when the Jesuits tried it in Germany for the conversion of the heretics. These public and private "antidotes of chaste religion," as the Jesuit calls them, availed little or nothing against what he also terms "the venom of the impious."²

In other places they established what they called sodalities—clubs or réunions, cliques and conventicles, where

¹ Orland. x. 133, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* iv. 19, 20.

the secrets of families were collected, and pious frauds concocted. These began in Sicily in 1555, the year before the death of the Founder. The institution was called the Council or Office of Charity—The Council or Office of Charity. a captivating name for the multitude. The duties of the members consisted in distributing the collections made for the poor, in espousing the cause of widows and wards engaged in law-suits; and they had to see to the proper administrations of the churches, convents, chapels and hospitals: the administration of wills and bequests was no less a special duty of the brethren.¹ A more cheering prospectus could never be devised—except such a one as would announce an infallible method for preventing the abuses likely to result. These sodalities were generally filled with persons devoted to the Jesuits, in whose houses the assemblies took place. For a time results were satisfactory: but soon it became evident that the guardians against fraud had become victimisers in their turn; and the sodalities were abolished.² Abuses. The Company always fruitful in inventions adapted to promote their designs, supplied their place with other confraternities which they devised, destined to enjoy a longer duration. These were called the Congregations of the Holy Virgin. The Congregations of the Virgin Mary. On Sundays and Festivals the members assembled with the Jesuits to recite the Office of the Virgin—a set form of extravagant adulation in which the Song of Solomon, the Prophets, and other books of the Bible are made to do strange service to Mary. A Jesuit presided, heard their confessions, said mass to them, and administered the sacrament. These sodalities were very comprehensive. Their

¹ Orland, lib. xv. 17.² Hist. des Religieux, &c., i. 144.

organisation seems to have been modelled on that of the castes of India. They were divided into classes. The first was the sodality of the nobles and the highest ranks; the second comprised the merchants and simple citizens; the third consisted of workmen and servants. To make the castes more distinct—and in deference to the gradations of human vanity—each class had its particular assembly and chapel.¹ The whole sodality was governed by one of the Jesuits, a prefect elected by the congregation, two assistants and a council. There was a secretary, with twelve consultors, whose office it was to watch over those members who were committed to their care by the Jesuit father-president, or by the prefect, and to report on their conduct accordingly.² The greatest deference and obedience were inculcated by rule towards the father of the sodality, and other officials.³ No member was to leave the town of the sodality without apprising the father and prefect of the same; and letters patent were given to him to insure his admission into another branch of the sodality, wherever he might be travelling. Peace, concord, and brotherly love were to reign throughout the members of the association; and in order to promote their advance in “true and Christian virtues” frequent assemblies of the members were to take place, and there would be frequent intercourse with those who could assist them in their progress. As each member, even in his absence, shared “the merits of the sodality” it would be only fair for him to give information respecting himself and his concerns to the

Their organ-
isation.

Government.

Ways and
means.

¹ Hist. des Religieux, &c. i. 145.

² Leges et Statuta, &c., Congreg. B. V. Mar. part i. § viii. ³ Ib. part i. § 1.

prefect, commending himself to the prayers of the sodality:—always striving to show himself a true son of the sodality by his moral integrity, and endeavouring to edify all and entice them to the practice of virtue and piety.¹ It was the duty of the prefect to watch carefully over all the members, and their conduct. Any notable fault was to be by him reported to the father of the sodality, for admonition and emendation. Penances were enjoined for certain faults, or according to the devotion of postulants; and an official was appointed by the father to enjoin and direct the inflictions. The rules were plainly written on a board, or printed, and the greatest diligence was enjoined to promote their observance. There was a book in which were inscribed the names of those who frequented or were remiss in frequenting the assemblies.² When a member became scandalous, he was summoned before the whole congregation, the charges were made against him, and his name was erased from the list of the sodality: but the father always had the power of summary dismissal “in matters of moment—in *rebus gravibus*.”³ Strict secrecy was enjoined to the secretary of the association: “when it shall be necessary to observe secrecy, he must strive not to divulge nor hint at the resolutions or undertakings of the sodality, and he must not show any papers to any one without the express command of the father and prefect of the sodality.”⁴ He must have a book in which he will enter the names of the members, their entrance, country, and other particulars, according to

¹ *Leges et Stat., &c., part i. § i. 12.*

² *Ib. § v. 5.*

³ *Ib. § v. 11.*

⁴ “*Ubi autem oportebit servare secretum, studeat ita, ut neque loquatur, neque indicet, quæ fuerint constituta, vel agenda sint, neque vero scripta ulla cuiquam, sine expresso patris mandato, ac præfecti sodalitatís, ostendat.*”—*Ib. § vii. 1.*

the custom of each sodality. He will also make account of those who die, or marry, or be dismissed from the sodality : but he is not to state the cause of dismissal.¹ Such are the peculiar rules or statutes of this sub-Jesuit-Order. It must be allowed that it had something like an organisation, and was worthy of the Jesuits. Of course we cannot see what most of these regulations could have to do with piety and the advance in Christian perfection : but we *can* see how the sodalities multiplied the Jesuits, *ad infinitum*, wherever they existed ; and we *can*

An explanation.

now account for the demonstrations of their "friends" whenever they got into difficulties.

What the "resolutions and undertakings" of the congregations might be, it is little to the purpose to inquire ; but the certainty of Jesuit-leverage by means of these sodalities, must be evident at a glance. By these they could always tune the popular voice, command the assistance of the middle ranks, and influence the great, or their wives and children, which, in the long-run, answers the purpose equally as well. To entice devotees

Enticements to join the fraternities.

to enter these sodalities numerous graces and indulgences were proclaimed by the Jesuits.

On the day of his entrance the member gained "a plenary indulgence"—that is, a total remission of the penalties due to his sins, absolved in confession, according to Catholic doctrine. At the day of his death the same is awarded, besides other days consecrated to the festivals of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Nor was this all. All who "in a state of grace" followed the corpse of a sodalis to the grave, gained an indulgence of a year,—that is, they satisfied by that act just as if they underwent the ancient canonical penances for the space

¹ *Leges et Statuta*, part i. § vii. 2.

of a year. Innumerable other indulgences blessed the sodalis, and enticed the devotee to enter the congregation of the blessed. So indulgent were the Jesuits that they procured an indulgence for all the world on condition that they should on certain days visit the churches of the Company, on all days when Catholics *must* go to mass—a plenary indulgence in return for a *Miserere*, a *Pater Noster*, or an *Ave Maria*, rehearsed in behalf of the pope! ¹ Does not all this prove that the Jesuits knew the secret of influence, and set to work accordingly? Was not this a right good means “to bring water to their mill,” as the French would say? Meanwhile the women were not neglected; there was something specially for them, under the name of retreats. These were houses contiguous to their own residences, and built expressly for the purpose, to which ladies might retire from the tumult of the world and the dissipations of fashionable life, for a few days, in order to spend the time “with God,” and their father-confessor, the whole to conclude with communion on some grand festival. In these curious and interesting coteries of devout ladies under Jesuit-influence, the same distinctions were observed as to rank, as in the great sodalities. They classified the ladies; so that there was no fear of the shop-keeper’s wife coming into contact with the magistrate’s lady, nor of the servant-maid’s falling in with her mistress. The object of these pious inventions—which they even attempted to introduce subsequently into regiments of soldiers—is pretty evident. At Louvain, where these congregations began, it was perceived that the object of the Jesuits was thereby to entice the faithful to their churches, from

Houses of
retreat for
the women.

¹ *Leges et Statuta, &c.*, part v. § i. *et seq.*

their respective parishes. With regard to the retreats for women, we may observe that it was a very bold and presumptuous undertaking. It is written that those who seek the danger shall perish in it; and we all know that *this* is one of the greatest dangers to which the sons of Adam can expose their thoughtless frailty. The Jesuits should have been the last men to meddle with the thing. Their rules and regulations were clamorous against female conversation. They infringed, and scandal ensued. Strange and disgraceful reports got afloat—nor was it the least remarkable fact, that “some of these pious women were whipped once a-week by their father-confessors”—and the fact is admitted by Orlandinus—*nec falsa narrabantur*.¹ Clamours actually rose against the Jesuits; but they were strong in their sodalities; and they went on as usual in conscious triumph; so glorious indeed was the result of their operations, that on the Christmas following, one single Jesuit gave the sacrament to more than two thousand communicants!² Such a thing had never before been heard of, says Orlandinus.

The women gave them trouble in Venice as well. The Jesuits could not dispense with their influence in society; they strove to insure it, and suffered accordingly. There was in the city of the Doge a convent of female penitents, who passed for saints according to the representations of their father-confessor; but it subsequently turned out to be quite the contrary. Their priest was convicted of grave misdemeanors, and suffered the penalty of death. It appears, too, that the fair penitents were condemned

The Jesuits
whip the
women once
a-week.

The Jesuits
and the ladies
of Venice.

¹ Lib. xiii. 29.

² *Ibid.*

to strict seclusion. There were more than a hundred women thus shut up together, which, it seems, proved a hard matter in the given circumstances. They resolved to starve themselves to death, if not permitted to leave their convent.

An unfortunate Jesuit, Father Palmio, undertook to reduce the fair rebels. Palmio had the gift of persuasion, we are expressly told, and succeeded in quelling this female insurrection.

This success proved a sorry boon to the Jesuits. Their method was incomprehensible, and therefore liable to "misrepresentation." Now the fact was evident, that they were the confessors or directors of most of the women in the republic. It was therefore concluded that by this "subterraneous medium" they got at the secrets of the state. The senate took the matter in hand, and one of the members declared that "the Jesuits meddled with an infinity of civil matters, even The senators remonstrate. those of the republic; that they made use of the most respectable and holy things to seduce women; that not content with very long conversations with them in the confessional, they enticed them to their residences for the same purpose; that it was the ladies of the highest rank who were the particular object of the advanced Jesuits. The abuse was to be remedied without delay, either by expelling them from the country, or by appointing some person of authority and merit, such as the Patriarch of Venice, to watch over their conduct."

Such were the charges and the remedies proposed. The patriarch was their sworn enemy, and he had called them *Chiappini*, a very The patriarch and the Jesuits. contemptuous cognomen in Italy, to be modestly translated

into "bird-catchers" periphrastically; but a word which a patriarch ought to have "ignored."

The idea of supervision was too galling to be endured. A friend of the Jesuits defended them in the senate, and an appeal was made to the doge Priuli. At the same time the pope, Pius IV., himself wrote to the senate and the doge, guaranteeing the good morals and doctrines of the Society. This, of course, was conclusive, and the patriarch hid his diminished head. Nevertheless, the doge sent for Palmio, and thus addressed the Jesuit: "If you have calumniators, bear them with patience; it is the property of virtue to have to fight. The Society has amongst us hot defenders; but I am required to draw your attention to one or two points; they are the only ones which have been entertained in the heap of fictions debited by your enemies. In the first place, we see with pain that you, who are the best confessor in existence, avoid the duty; and, to the great regret of the whole city, you impose that function, with regard to several battalions of women, on young men scarcely twenty-five or twenty-six years of age!" Palmio affirmed the contrary: the confessors were more than thirty-two years of age; and, Constitutions in hand, he pointed to the precautions, the curious details of watchfulness enforced in the Society to preclude all suspicion in so delicate a function. There the matter rested.¹

This is a specimen of Jesuit-escapes from trouble, according to the statement of the Jesuits themselves. Their misdemeanors were, of course, still certain in the estimation of many; but, for this time, they triumphed

¹ The whole is an *ex-parte* statement of the Jesuit Palmio in a letter, whence Crefineau extracted the facts as above. Tome i, p. 390, *et seq.*

and went on confiding, reckless in their machinations. A less fortunate hour will surprise them anon in the same Venice. Still, they were doomed to feel the effects of Gombar's guilt or indiscretions at Monte Pulciano. The Venetian senators being apprised of that affair, forbade their wives to confess to the Jesuits, which was probably as painful a prohibition to the ladies of Venice as it was to the Jesuits.¹

At Rome, the affairs of the Society had received great development. Freed from the haunting ghost of Paul IV., the Jesuits had breathed freely once more, and at the exaltation of the old man's enemy, Pius IV., to the chair of St. Peter, they made every effort to win his good graces. It was at first uncertain what they had to expect on their own account, although, inasmuch as the pope's enemy, Paul IV., had treated them with considerable rigour, it was probable enough that they would be befriended, were it only to cast a slur on Caraffa, whom the Romans disgraced so horribly at his death. But the Jesuits had shirked the papal mandate respecting the public choir. This was disobedience to the Holy See. And the third year of the term prescribed to the generalate of Lainez was approaching. The general bethought him of the doom right anxiously; but there was little reason to fear, as events declared, that success was to attend him, and when all would be certain, he would make a show, like Father Ignatius, of resigning the generalate,—a delicate piece of superfluous magnanimity. As a cardinal, Pius IV. had shown no favour to the Company, he had had "nothing to do" with the Jesuits. Lainez began his operations round about the papal throne by inducing

Lainez resolves to sound the new pope.

¹ Antiquit. Venet. apud Quesnel, Hist. des Ref. ii. 4.

four cardinals to recommend to his Holiness the whole Society in general and himself in particular—*et nominatione Lainium*. Laincz then presented himself in person, and after the solemn kiss of the holy toe—*post osculum solenne pedis*—he proceeded to deposit the Company in

His protestations to the pope.

the pontifical lap, protesting that all were ready, without tergiversation, without a word about travelling expenses, at once to be sent

by his Holiness to any part of the world, to barbarians or heretics; in a word, that his Holiness might use them as his own commodity—*tamque sua re uti posset*—and he hoped to be useful in very many respects—*sicubi speraret usui fore quam multis nominibus*.¹ It must have been evident to the Jesuit that his point was gained by the matter and manner of this exordium.

I say it must have been so evident to him; for, according to his historian, he at once proceeded to ask a favour from his lord and master. The words ascribed to him constitute Jesuit-matter, and they are worth recording. Laincz hoped that his Holiness would patronise the Society, and particularly the Roman College. He said

Throws in a hint.

“there was now in that college an immense number of young Jesuits, about a hundred and sixty, all of them most select, almost all of them endowed with genius, excellent dispositions, gathered together from all the nations of Christendom; and now being trained most learnedly and piously, and were ardently progressing, in order to be despatched all over the world to preserve, to restore, to infuse, to propagate the Christian religion; that the Roman College was the source whence the colleges of all Italy and Sicily had arisen and were supplied; thence had colonies been

¹ Sacchin. lib. iv. 1, et seq.

sent into France, Belgium, and Germany, with constant accessions, to be ramparts against the assaults of the heretics; thence went forth colonics bearing the light of the faith even into India and the uttermost bounds of the East, to nations unknown from time immemorial; thence, in fine, had Spain and Portugal received subsidies. But the house is too small. We are packed together, dreadfully inconvenienced, in want of every thing. Health suffers, sickness blasts our fairest hopes, our brightest geniuses wither and die. We have neither food nor clothing. May your Holiness cast a kind look on this your progeny, your faithful and ready *cohort—fidam ac promptam cohortem*; and let us feel a particle of that paternal care which is over all. It is a deed worthy of the picty of the Roman bishop, the guardian of all nations, presiding over the Queen-city of the earth, the sole oracle of the world, the eternal palace of religion and piety, to preserve and perpetuate this refuge and rampart of all nations [the Roman College], and thus, by one deed, to bestow a meritorious favour on all the nations of the universe.”¹

Glorifies the
pope and
Rome.

After this speech it will surely be ridiculous to talk of Jesuit-modesty:—and we may be permitted to think that men who could thus boast of their “spiritual” deeds were scarcely actuated by spiritual motives. I allude to the leaders, the enterprisers of the Company—the “men in authority”—the Jesuit-*princes*: for undoubtedly there were amongst the body some hearty, honest, truly conscientious men, who laboured as God seemed to direct them, by the lips of their superiors. The latter I shall gladly cheer as I find them; and the former shall portray themselves as above—to my mind they are

¹ Sacchin. lib. iv. 1, et seq.

despicable throughout. The drift of the foregoing address, or its equivalent—not likely to be less to the purpose from the lips of Lainez—was nothing less than the covetous usurpation of a building which he thought admirably suited for a “refuge and rampart of all nations,” and more calculated to keep his “fairest hopes” from being blasted, and his “brightest geniuses” from withering and death. In truth it was a desperately keen device of this wily Jesuit. There was at Rome a large convent of nuns, which had been founded by the Marchioness de’ *Ursini*, the niece of the late *Pope Paul IV.* This convent was very extensive, and with its agreeable and commodious situation had for a long time tempted the cupidity of the Jesuits. Now, as they knew that the present pope was the mortal enemy of the Caraffas, whom he then kept in prison, and whose trial was proceeding, the Jesuits took advantage of the pope’s temper to solicit the grant of this convent, with the design of making it the Roman College. The preceding interview, address, and its disgusting sentiments, were the beginnings of the perpetration. The skilful mixture of presumption, falsehood, and flattery, produced the effect which Lainez had promised himself.

What he was driving at.

“Popes,” says Quesnel, “like other men, have always been open to the most extravagant flattery. It is one effect of the corruption of their nature, and of self-love, which is always alive in them. Pius IV. who soon sent the whole family of his predecessor to execution, was so intoxicated with the fulsome laudation Lainez bestowed upon him, that without any formality of justice, he expelled the nuns from the convent, which he gave to the exulting Jesuits.”¹ Their

A remark on popes, by a Catholic.

¹ Quesnel, ii. Sacchin. lib. iv. 5.

historian has the heart to be somewhat merry on the pitiful subject :—he actually says that the Marchioness de' Orsini, its foundress, was by degrees conciliated to the transfer of the convent, and so far approved the pope's action, that “ she confessed herself deeply obliged to the most Holy Father for giving her so many sons in lieu of a few daughters ! ”¹ I am no advocate nor admirer of the system which delivers up a number of women to the horrors of seclusion, or the temptations of luxurious sloth, to become bearded and hideous from physical causes—pining, corrupted, withering, raving in a harem infinitely more disgusting to think of than any which Turks can devise :—but this is not the question. It is a question of right and possession superseded by covetousness and tyranny. Be it so : let the Jesuits exult :—but let them beware : retribution will come betimes : they shall be done to as they have done by others : Providence will chronicle their spoliations, to be accounted for hereafter—in *this* world, be it understood—a crushing but merited retribution. Not content with flinging them this stolen property, the pope added a revenue of 600 ducats for the support of his “ faithful and ready cohort,” whose commander he was just declared, thus putting their bandit-possession on a footing for operations. Was there no voice raised against their spoliations, ten times worse than any which Henry VIII. ever perpetrated ? Worse, because perpetrated by the very men who held themselves up as the patterns of morality—the guardians of the Christian faith—the oracles of religion. Was there no

The pope enhances his kindness.

The spoliations of the Jesuits denounced.

¹ “ Ut magnam segratiam Beatissimo Patri habere profiteretur, quòd paucarum loco filiarum filios sibi tam multos tradidisset.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 5.

voice raised against these spoliations? There was—and in Rome. Their claim to the college of Coimbra was disputed. One Gomius Abreus showed himself “a very troublesome adversary” to the Jesuit, as they call him—*adversarius erat permolestus*. “It was a law-suit of great moment,” says Sacchinus, “and on its issue depended that noble safeguard, not only of Portugal, but especially of the Indies.” Abreus advanced against the Jesuits—held consultations with the judges, publicly and in private, denouncing the Jesuits as robbers of benefices and spoliators of the clergy, and commenced an action against them, with no small chance of success if the case was to be tried before a just tribunal. And the Jesuits evidently were of the same opinion: for their historian says: “So far had Gomius proceeded, that in so serious a loss which *was imminent*, the Company was less anxious about their wealth than their reputation;”¹—and well they might be—for their factitious reputation or “credit,” would soon be the basis of ulterior speculation. The most unprincipled rogue on ‘Change will, in a predicament, postpone his “*purse*” to his “*reputation*”—the infamous *Iago* tells you this, as well as the “Company of Jesus.” What followed? Interviews, a speech, and a supplication, doubtless from General Lainez to the fatuous pontiff. And the most Holy Father took the thing in hand—reserved the case to himself. Abreus insisted. What availed it?

The pope
decides in
their favour.

Nothing. The pope gave his cohort the verdict. He did more: he remitted them the *fees* of the “Apostolic diploma,” or letters patent, which confirmed their “right” to the property.

¹ “Eo rem adduxerat, ut in tam gravi quæ imminebat jactura, minor Societati rei quam famæ cura esset.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 6.

“By this benefaction,” says Sacchinus, “he gave us more than a *thousand ducats*, which we would otherwise have had to pay,”¹ A thousand ducats—about £500, for a verdict in the papal chancery! English law must certainly be cheap in our estimation, since at the very oracle of heaven the “costs” are so ruinous. But let that pass,—and compute or conceive, if you can, the immense revenues that the sovereign pontiff lost by the Reformation—when so many “cases” and “appeals” were decided without “apostolical diplomas”—and their thousand ducats. Was it not perfectly natural that the popes should go mad on the subject of abstract orthodoxy—all that was requisite to maintain the formalities whence they derived their enormous revenues—and was it not also quite natural that the pope should foster the Jesuits who *seemed* so likely—and who certainly flattered themselves with the notion—to reduce all the world to papal subjection. Accordingly, possessed with this irrational, mad idea, the pope thought he could not do too much for his faithful and ready cohort; and when Lainez went to thank his holiness for all his benefactions, the pontiff exclaimed: “There’s no need of thanks—I’ll shed my very blood to foster the Company!”² What could be more glorious for the Jesuits? And they “prospered” accordingly.

How the Reformation hurt the pope.

The pope's devotedness to his hand.

¹ “Quo corollario plus mille aureorum nummum, quod in id impendendum alioqui fuisset, donavit.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 6.

² “Haud opus gratiis esse: Societati se usque ad sanguinem facturum.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 7. Early in the next year the pope increased the revenue of the same college of Coimbra, by the donation of six farms and the township of Mont-Agrasso. All these were so many spoliations from the Archbishop of Evora, whose revenues were thus diminished in behalf of the cohort. He also gave them the revenues of another parish, which were abstracted from a dignitary or official of the Cathedral. The Jesuit says that the latter

Honours and appointments fell upon them like the debauching shower of gold wherein Jupiter descended to beget Perseus, who with the head of the Gorgon Medusa turned all his enemies into stone, if not otherwise defeated—a fit emblem of the Jesuit. Jesuits were appointed to examine the candidates for orders. Jesuits were made inspectors of churches, and directors of nuns. Lainez was in his glory—with more work than he could possibly perform, and yet he undertook to convert a poor Calvinist whom they had caught in Rome and condemned to be burnt. He intended to cajole him out of his faith—*blandè mulcere*: but when he went to the prison and saw a multitude of cardinals, bishops, nobles, and the pope's relatives, sitting around to witness the discussion, the vain boaster of Trent thought it a fine occasion for display, and “felt compelled to proceed in a manner more glorious to Catholic truth, though less adapted to the proud mind of the heretic.”¹ From his Collections of the Fathers, the Jesuit of Trent flung a volley at the heretic. All to no purpose. The man told him he did not care a straw for the fathers—in which he was quite right—and that he “stood by Calvin alone, whom he preferred to all the fathers.”²

He stood firm in spite of impending fire. A decided failure for the Jesuit. Had he been truly anxious to rid the man of what was thought “heresy,” he would

“consented” to the transfer: but he does not state the same respecting the Archbishop of Evora—*Hæc omnia Pontifex separavit à reditu Eborensis Archiepiscopi*—and there he leaves the spoliation.—*Franc. Synops. ad Ann. 1561, 14.*

¹ “Inire coactus est pugnae viam gloriosiore[m] Catholicæ veritati, sed superbo heretici ingenio minus idoneam.”—*Sacchin. lib. iv. 12.*

² “Exclamat uno se stare Calvino. Quidquid contra objiceret, hoc tenebat saxum, aliter sentire Calvinum . . . Calvinum malle: insar omnium habere Calvinum.”—*Id.*

not have yielded to the impulse of vanity which suggested a grand display—a glorious confutation of the Calvinist. *Haud nihil tamen profectum*—“but it was not altogether a failure ;” says his historian, “for the audience (bishops, cardinals, nobles, and the pope’s relatives) admired the wisdom of the Catholic doctor, and detested the blind stubbornness of the heretic.”¹ Verily he had his reward, this “Catholic doctor”—and when the soul of this poor heretic took flight, sped to our merciful good God for judgment—whilst the hard hearts, the cruel men of Rome were howling and exulting around *their* judgment, his body roasting in the flames—at that dreadful moment, oh, say, ye men of orthodoxy—did his God send his suppliant soul to Hell? And yet you call his constancy “the blind stubbornness of a heretic !” In the midst of these events truly so disgusting, but so glorious for the Jesuits, their historian, with the usual modesty, coolly observes : “I know not how it was, but really, at Rome especially, and far and wide over the north, this opinion increased, namely, that there was no other more available remedy for the reformation of morals and the restoration of religion, than to employ, to the utmost extent, the men of the Company.”²

Lainez fails to convert him.

Firm, established in papal favour at Rome, the Company of Jesus flapped her spreading wings over all Europe besides. The sons of Calvin in Savoy shuddered as

¹ “ Qui disputationi interfuerant, non sapientiam magis Catholici Doctoris admirati, quam cœcæ detestati heretici pertinaciam, læti, &c., recessère.”—*Ut antea*.

² “ Ac nescio quo pacto Romæ hoc potissimum anno, latèque per Septentrionis oras, hæc opinio percrebuit, ad corrigendos mores, restituendamque religionem, haud aliud præsentius esse remedium quàm hominum Societatis quam plurimum operâ uti.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 7.

the sound boomed athwart their mountains. "Coming! Coming!" it seemed to mutter, "Coming!" and she came. A young man—a mere novice—Antonius ^{Possevinus} Possevinus was her angel. He had been a ^{in Savoy.} student at Padua, destined for the priesthood, with a benefice *in commendam*. The Jesuit Palmio, so powerful with the nuns at Venice, *mesmerised* him into the Company; for we can apply no other term to the method as described by the Jesuit, Sacchinus.¹ He was admitted by Lainez in 1559, in the month of September. At the end of the month he began his novitiate. In the beginning of November he was sent to resume his studies at the Roman College.² Thus the important two years of probation, as appointed by the Constitutions, were dispensed with by the general. A single month was sufficient to ensure such an accession to the Company, and he took the vows accordingly. He was in his twenty-seventh year, and not in orders. He had "private business" to transact in Savoy: Lainez invested him with a commission to Emmanuel Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, and Prince of Piedmont. He left Rome with the dress and title of a beneficiary *in commendam*—*dis-simulatâ Societate*—pretending not to be a Jesuit, says Sacchinus, in order the more freely to transact his private business. On his departure, Lainez summed up all his instructions to the emissary in these words: "In

¹ Sacchinus states that he was meditating to join the company. "With these thoughts in his mind," continues the Jesuit, "with which Palmio was *not* acquainted, the Father held forth the host to Possevinus, [at the Sacrament], and said, in a whisper, 'O Lord, give to this man thy Spirit!' . . . Suddenly Possevinus was excited, and scarcely able to contain himself . . . falling on his knees before the Father, he cried out, 'Father, be my witness in the presence of God—I vow and promise to the Divine Majesty, knowingly and willingly, to enter the Company, and never to accept any benefice or dignity.'"—*Sacchin.* lib. iii. 43.

² *Biblio. Scrip. Soc. Jesu. Ant. Poss.*

your actions and deliberations think you see *me* before you." ¹ This was in 1560. It proved an eventful—a bitter year for the Calvinists of Savoy. And dread prognostics seemed to predict the monstrous births of the pregnant future. Lights in the skies, troops of horsemen in the clouds, mysterious sounds of invisible chariots, earthquakes, a comet, a conflagration in the firmament, a shower of blood, were among the supernatural terrors which agitated poor humanity in those days of "religious" warfare.² Where was the God of Christians? Where was his Christ?

Emmanuel Philibert gave Possevinus an audience. We have the Jesuit's speech in Sacchinus. It is a portrait. He began with telling the duke that as God had given him the country, so ought he to give the souls in the country to God. Eternal happiness in Heaven, and a steady reign on earth, would be the result. Those who had fallen off from the Roman Church, that is from God, —*hoc est à Deo*, were also continually unsteady in their allegiance to human potentates. What was to be done? eagerly asked Philibert, according to the Jesuits. Look to the monks, replied Possevin—see how miserably they have gone astray—unworthy of their holy families, unworthy of the holy garb whereby they are concealed and recommended; hurrying the people down a precipice with their corrupt morals and doctrine. Write to the generals of orders, and the cardinals who are their

A Jesuit-model of craft, effrontery and falsehood.

¹ "Cui discedenti, post alia, hoc instar omnium præcepti dedit. In rebus agendis consiliisque capiendis, presentem adesse sibi ipsum existimaret."—*Sacchin.* iv. 61.

² "Calamitates tam quæ huic Sub-Alpinæ regioni incubuerunt, quam quæ Galliam nostram postea per tot annos ad religionis causam divexarant, multa tunc coeli signa præsignerunt: nam et Clarasci et Travillæ ignis in aëre," &c. &c.—*Thuan.* xxvii. Ann. 1560.

patrons, and ask for proper leaders of the multitude unto good action and right feeling. Proper and zealous priests are required. King Philip is convinced of this, and has acted on the conviction. The consequence is, that Spain is in a fine condition, because the clergy are not diseased with ignorance—*inscitiâ non labore*t, says the classic Sacchinus. “Your advice is good,” replied Emmanuel, with a sigh, “but in the midst of such darkness, and so barren an age, whence can I get the proper supply of virtuous and learned priests?” That was the point of the nail which the Jesuit wanted to see, and he clinched it at once. “The Emperor Ferdinand,” said Possevin, “has two methods for producing such proper men. First, he sends from Germany youths of good hope to the *German college at Rome* to be educated, where they have the best masters in morals and learning, from whose training they come forth imbued with hatred against the heretics—*concepto in hæreses odio*—and having thoroughly seen the majesty and holiness of the Roman Church, and being, moreover, armed with learning, defended by innocence of life, when they return to their country they are a great safeguard. Secondly, knowing the virtue of the Company of Jesus—under whose training the German youths are educated—the emperor confesses that he can find no aid more seasonable in these most wretched times, than to get as many men as he can of this family into his dominions. Accordingly he is constantly founding colleges for them. By these colleges the young are religiously educated, and the Catholics are made steadfast in the faith; nor is the poison of the heretics only prevented from spreading, but many of them are converted from error, so that this result alone, or for the most part, preserves Germany

from utter ruin." Then he alluded to King John III., Xavier, Rodriguez, and the mighty results of the Jesuit-proceedings in Portugal, all in the same strain as above. "I think your highness has heard of the college at Coimbra," continued Possevin. "More than a thousand pupils are there educated with equal ardour in learning and piety ; for the seeds of piety are sown together with learning. They have appointed times to confess their sins ; they all attend mass together every day ; they often go to communion. Noble youths frequent the hospitals, and perform with alacrity all the functions and services of the lowest domestics for the sick. Far from those youths are impious and lustful actions and expressions. Far from them are disturbance and quarrels. Seeing these things and others—of which, next to God, the fathers of the Society are the authors—the people of Portugal call them by no other name than that of Apostles."¹ It is difficult to say whether falsehood or effrontery most predominates in these assertions. The result, however, was, that Philibert wrote to Lainez for men to take the charge of two colleges. Meanwhile, Possevinus scoured the country, insinuated himself amongst the unsuspecting Calvinists, and when he had satisfied himself on all the points suggested by his villainous zeal, he sent in his report to the Duke of Savoy : the result will soon be apparent.²

Calvinism was extensively prevalent in Savoy. Its chief strongholds were the valleys of Mont-Cenis, Luzerne, Angrogne, Perouse, and Fressinières. The Jesuits in Savoy. As long as this country belonged to France after its conquest, the people enjoyed religious toleration ; but after its restoration to the duke, and the

¹ Sacchin. lib. iv. 62, *et seq.*

² Id. lib. iv. 66.

visit of the Jesuit Possevinus, the fiend of religious persecution was let loose upon the wretched Calvinists. A great number perished by fire and torture ; many were condemned to the galleys ; and those who were spared seemed to owe their pardon to a dread in the mind of its ruler, lest the country should become a desert. But long before the fangs of persecution were blunted, dreadful deeds were perpetrated by its cruel ministers. Philibert fell ill, and the bloody executions languished ; but no sooner had he recovered, than, urged by the pope, advising the trial of arms, since tortures had failed with the heretics, he promptly raised an army, resolved on war.¹ The Calvinists held a consultation, and it was determined not to take arms against their prince, however unjust the war might be : they would retire to their mountains with all they could transport of their goods and chattels. Some retired to the Grisons, others took refuge among the Swiss, and some clung to their huts, resolving to defend their lives, but not before declaring by manifesto that war was forced upon them by despair, and that they would lay down their arms if the Duke of Savoy would permit them to live in peace. But that was not the maxim of kings in those days. It seemed that some infernal Fury had sent them to scourge mankind. The reply to the manifesto was an army of two thousand men, under the Count of the Trinity and the Jesuit Possevin. The fortune of war favoured both sides alternately : then followed negotiations towards reconciliation, and demands for indemnities and war expenses far beyond the means of the miserable children of the mountains. Poor as virtue can possibly be, the mountaineers in

Atrocities.

¹ Quesnel, ii. 14. Sarpi, v. 51.

their dilemma borrowed money to pay their oppressors, and were forced to sell their flocks to meet their engagements, with ruinous interest. They paid, and still were persecuted. They were disarmed: more money was demanded. Their ministers were banished: their houses were searched and pillaged: their wives and daughters were outraged; and, by way of a bonfire to celebrate the achievements of orthodoxy, their village was set on fire.¹ In the midst of these horrors, the intriguing, crafty, mendacious Possevinus—if Sacchinus The Jesuit has not belied him in the speech—was seen in the midst. rushing from place to place, posting preachers of the true faith everywhere, searching for the books of the heretics and handing them to be burnt by the pope's inquisitor, whom he had by his side, scattering pious tracts, and recommending the catechism of the Jesuit Canisius² to the persecuted, pillaged, maltreated men of the mountains, and their outraged wives and daughters. It is very ridiculous, but, at the same time, bitterly humiliating. And Sacchinus tells us that, in reward for all the dexterity of Possevin in bringing about these very sad proceedings, which he calls "an immense good of the Catholic religion," some "principal men—*principes viri*"—thought of getting the pope to make Possevinus a bishop.³

But this Jesuit-expedition into Savoy, clever as Sacchinus represents the scheme, was a total failure;—and after entailing misery on the Calvinists, The expedition is a failure, however. it was followed by one of those *beautiful* retributions recorded in history, which compels us to believe in a superintending Providence. Beautiful in the abstract, however painful in the concrete,

¹ Quesnel, ii. p. 15, *et seq.*² Sacchin. iv. 71.³ *Ibid.*

as all the woes of humanity must be, whether in the calamities of Catholics or Protestants, fellow-citizens or strangers, private foes or public enemies—the tyrants of earth. No sooner had the Count of the Trinity retired from the scene of the war, than the people made alliance with the Valdenses or Vaudois, their neighbours, who promised them assistance. Emboldened by support, and goaded by the memory of the past, they resolved on revenge. They sacked the churches of the Catholics, overturned their altars, and broke their images. War blazed forth on all sides, and various were its fortunes: but the Valdenses gained a signal victory over the Count of the Trinity, and their victory suggested a better line of policy to Emmanuel Philibert, notwithstanding his “head of iron” — *Tête de Fer*, as was his surname. In spite of the pope’s gold and exhortations for the continuance of the war and utter extermination of the poor heretics, Philibert, who was not so stupid as the Jesuit represents him, proposed an accommodation—when he saw that his troops had been often routed, and, in the last battle, completely defeated by the heretics, who nevertheless, and notwithstanding their vantage-ground, were inclined to peace with their sovereign—and of this he was persuaded. Complete toleration ensued—their pastors returned—restorations and restitutions were made to the heretics—the prisons gave up their confessors of the faith, and the galleys surrendered their martyrs. Was it not glorious? And why did Christian charity, human kindness, refuse these blessings which the hideous sword of war so lavishly bestowed? I have answered and shall answer the question in every page of this history:—but a reflection of Quesnel is

Retribution.

Toleration
forced.

much to the purpose. "With all deference to the popes of these times, and our Christian princes, but really it was not very necessary to sacrifice to their pious fury, as they did in those days, so many thousands of men, only to be subsequently compelled to accept *such accommodations* as these sons of the mountains achieved. And such has been invariably the issue of 'religious' wars, which the inordinate zeal of popes, the imbecility of kings, the fanaticism of the people have occasioned, and into which the interests of the true God in no wise entered."¹ In utter contradiction of the numerous conversions so mendaciously boasted of by Sacchinus as resulting from the terrors of warfare and the roguery of the Jesuit Possevinus²—in testimony of the futility of persecution, the Cardinal de Lorraine, one of the religious spitfires of those days, found the heretics swarming in Savoy: in the very court of the duke many openly professed their heresy; and although it was only a month since the duke had published an edict commanding all the sectarians to leave his dominions within eight days, he now prohibited its execution—and even pardoned many who had been condemned by the Inquisition, stopped and rescinded all proceedings in hand, and permitted all who had fled from persecution to return to the arms of toleration. Nor was it difficult for the duke to convince the cardinal that the interest of the Catholics themselves required him to adopt that line of conduct.³ This

The usual
issue of
"religious"
wars.

Emmanuel
Philibert.

¹ Hist. ii. 18.

² Lib. iv. 71, whose title is, "*Multi hereticorum sectam ejurant*,"—"Many of the heretics abjure their sect."

³ Sarpi, l. viii. 6. The events which I have described, and the representations of the Jesuits, are calculated to give an incorrect character to Emmanuel Philibert. The characteristic facts of his career are as follows:—In the armies of Charles V. he acquired great military renown; and he continued to serve his

treaty—so favourable to the Protestants, and honourable to the sensible duke, profiting by experience—utterly disappointed the Jesuits, and the pope, who denounced it in full consistory. The disappointment was natural. The Jesuits counted on solid foundations, establishments, colleges, all the peculiar *things* of the Company—*res Societatis Jesu*, as likely to result from an expedition suggested, promoted, and belaboured by their Father Possevin, whom Pope Pius IV. had sent express to the Court of Savoy. In effect, the duke, as I have stated, had written to the general, begging a large consignment of the apostles according to the samples described by Possevin, as truly miraculous in touching for mental ignorance and moral depravity—to say nothing of orthodox allegiance. Two colleges were ready to make them comfortable. You doubtless expect to hear that the Jesuit Lainez gladly seized the opportunity. But then, I must state that the duke, whose head had sense as well as iron in it, wisely

Aut Cæsar
aut nullus.

son, Philip II., for whom he won the battle of St. Quentin, so disastrous to the French, in 1557. He had accompanied Philip, in 1553, to England, where he received the Garter. After the declaration of peace, in 1559, he married the daughter of the King of France, by which alliance he recovered all the dominions which his father had lost, and subsequently enlarged them by his valour and prudence. He fixed his residence at Turin, and applied himself to restore order in every branch of the administration, and may be considered as the real founder of the House of Savoy. He died in 1580, leaving only one legitimate son, but six natural children; for his mistresses were numberless, notwithstanding his “piety,” which is commended by his biographer. He was surnamed *Tête de Fer*, Ironhead; and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel, surnamed *the Great*, of course on account of his military operations, for it is impossible to discover any other claim in him to the title. All Philibert’s natural children had glorious fortunes in church and state, and seem to have deserved the oblivion of their stain—if royal blood be not the hyssop to sprinkle and cleanse all such defilement. Pope Clement VII. is said to have appealed to the birth of the Redeemer, when people talked of his illegitimacy! See Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoie*; and Bruslé de Montplainchamp, *Vie d’Emmanuel Philibert*; and all the Biographical Dictionaries.

resolved to have some control over establishments which, by the late treaty, would be likely to infringe on the rights of his heretic subjects. The colleges were not to be endowed: but the stipends were to be paid to the Jesuits, just as to the other masters of the people. Lainez threw up the thing at once—as not adapted to the Company—the operations of his men would be hampered by these “half-and-half” colleges—*quod in mutilis hisce dimidiatisque collegiis fieri non sit.*¹ So, after giving occasion to vast annoyance, great suffering, confusion, bloodshed, torture, rape and rapine among the poor Savoyards,—the Jesuits decamped, Possevin was not made a bishop, no colleges were founded, the *res Societatis* was at a discount—and all was quiet as before. Thanks, however, to the Jesuit-expedition for teaching Philibert a lesson, by which he profited for the good of his subjects. Would to Heaven that it were my pen’s sweet office to state the same result of all Jesuit-visitations. Nothing is so pleasant as to see good coming out of evil—particularly when the parturition promised a monster.

A more disastrous consequence to themselves attended a scheme of the Jesuits in India, during the same year, 1560. The southern coast of India, inhabited by the Paravas, or the pearl fishermen, had long been the scene of rapine and extortion by the Portuguese against the natives. King John of Portugal had received complaints on the subject, during Xavier’s apostolate. The Portuguese oppressed the pearl fishers in every possible way. They insisted upon having all the pearls sold to themselves only, and on the most disadvantageous terms for the

The Jesuits amongst their own “converts” in India.

¹ Sacchin. lib. iv. 74. Quesnel, ii. 19.

natives. The “converts” were treated as the very worst of men—expelled from their houses by their friends, relatives, and parents, for thus losing caste; and the Portuguese aggravated their calamities by rapine, cruelty, and extortion.¹ The Jesuits had retained possession of the residences founded by Xavier. The Viceroy Constantine planned a scheme to transport the inhabitants of the pearl coast to an island opposite to Jafnapatam, in the island of Ceylon. The alleged motive was to protect them from certain pirates who annoyed and plundered them,—at least, so say the Jesuits: but as they add that Xavier himself had suggested the enterprise, this apparent anxiety to exhibit *a* motive for the transaction, does not prevent us from believing that it was not *the* object of the scheme. But Jafnapatam did not belong to Portugal. It was still a free kingdom. It was therefore necessary to invade and conquer the country before the pearl fishers could be transported. The Jesuits lent themselves to the scheme, and its preliminary wickedness. They had at their college a child of eight years, who they say had been a fugitive, expelled from his paternal kingdom by the king of Jafnapatam. This boy was to be re-established in his kingdom by the expedition—with Jesuits for his regents and prime ministers, or the Portuguese for his masters, undoubtedly. “The expedition,” says Sacchinus, “was altogether of great importance for the Christian name, of great importance for increasing the wealth of Portugal. Therefore Constantine equips a strong fleet for the purpose; and in the meantime he commands the fathers of the Company, to whose care the neophytes of the Paravas were committed, to *prepare* them for the

¹ Maff. Indic. f. 249.

transportation.”¹ It seems to me that the true motive is now declared—the expedition was of great importance for increasing the wealth of Portugal—*magni ad Lusitanas quoque augendas opes momenti expeditio erat*. In effect, the kingdom of Jafnapatam, which was the real object of the Portuguese viceroy, is, or was, one of the richest countries in the world,—abounding in most delicious fruits and aromatic gums, precious stones of all kinds—rubies, hyacinths, sapphires, emeralds, pearls, and the purest gold : in fine, all that the imagination of man pictures for his desires, has there been placed, with a profusion worthy of the Creator alone. Accordingly, it is the Ophir of Solomon,—in the interpretations of certain commentators ;² nay, men of that class have even affirmed it likely to be the Paradise of Adam—which might serve to account for the existence of Jews or something like them, amongst the pagans of India, as was duly discovered by the Jesuits, according to one of their “ Curious and Edifying Letters.”³ To the Portuguese viceroy, however, Jafnapatam was Eden,—and no flaming angel withheld his entrance :—it was Ophir,—and he might

¹ “ Interim Patres Societatis, quorum Commorinenses neophyti curæ commissi rant præparare eos ad trajectionem jubet.”—*Sacchin*. lib. iv. 260, 261.

² Bochart, Quesnel, &c.

³ Ceylon is almost joined to India by the island of Manaar, here destined for the Paravas, and their new fishing operations for their masters, the Portuguese. There is a ridge of sandbanks connecting that island to another, and called *Adam's bridge*, and there is a mountain in the island, called Adam's Peak, where he was said to have been created, and under which he is said to be buried. All these absurdities are attributed to the natives ; but it is evident that they originated with their “ Christian ” invaders. As early as 1520, the Portuguese had gained a footing in the island, and had fortified themselves in Colombo. The Dutch expelled them finally in 1656. The French gained a settlement subsequently ; but it now belongs to Great Britain. It is 270 miles long, by 145 broad, with an area of 24,664 square miles, with a population of only 1,127,000—not fifty inhabitants to the square mile. Talk of a surplus population in Europe with such a field open for a truly Christian and industrious colony.

reach it with his ships. First, however, he sent some barques to transport the Paravas. The pirates came down upon them on a sudden, in the midst of the embarkation. They put to sea: the enemy attacked and sunk their barques—few escaped by swimming—and among them was the Jesuit Henriquez. His brother-Jesuit Mesquita was captured by the barbarians, and retained as a hostage. Meanwhile the viceroy sailed with all his fleet against Jafnapatam, and stormed the royal city. The king had fled to the mountains: the viceroy had it all his own way: the “conquest” was made; a tribute was imposed, and he returned, with disease in his fleet, to Goa, to attend to other matters of “great importance.”¹ The young fugitive king was forgotten, if he was ever thought of; and a guard was placed over the few pearl fishers who escaped by swimming, in the island of Manaar: but few as they were they were useful to fish the waters of Jafnapatam in order “to increase the wealth of Portugal,” which seems to have been the true object of their removal: for is it not absurd to suppose that the Portuguese would transport a tribe in order to enable them to live in peace? Besides, why not more effectually defend them by a strong garrison? But, in the face of the alleged motive, we may ask, How these Paravas were really more protected from the pirates at Manaar than on their original coast? In truth, their masters wanted their services elsewhere: the season was advancing: that fishery promised to be more lucrative: the resolution was taken; and the Jesuits lent their assistance, as in duty bound, to *their* masters. They disgustingly deceived the poor fishermen, with their usual “Ad

¹ Sacchin. lib. iv. 269.

majorem," but were most sincere in "lending a hand" to increase the wealth of Portugal, and thus promote—*res Societatis*—the wealth or thing—for the word means anything and everything—of the Company. And yet, how quietly the Jesuit narrates the transaction—as if no reader would know enough of the Portuguese in India, to see through the thing—as if all would bend in admiration of the Company's *motto*, totally oblivious of their *aim*.

The various occupations of the Jesuits in any given year, month, day, at any hour of their career, if represented in miniature by their artist, Tollenarius, would be the most curious sight imaginable—a veritable "phantasmagoria of fun"—to themselves and the thoughtless or careless: but "no joke" to the victims. A case of spoliation of nuns, cajoling a rich old gentleman, frightening the Venetian senators and husbands, under punishment at Monte Pulciano, stirring up persecution in Savoy, apostles, after the manner of Judas, amongst the wretched Paravas, and a thousand other avocations pursued at the same time in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. And now we must accompany a Jesuit-expedition into Ireland and Scotland.

Panorama of
Jesuit occu-
pations.

Mary died in 1558, "to the inestimable damage of religion," says Sacchinus, on the same day that Cardinal Pole breathed his last, "which clearly showed that God was angry with Britain,"¹ says the same oracular Jesuit, alluding to the *exitialia dogmata*, the "pernicious doctrines" which were about to reascend after violent depression, like a pole hurled into the depths of the sea, to remount with

Queen Mary
—opinion
touching her
death.

¹ "Quo eodem die, ut planè videretur Britannicæ Deus iratus," &c.—ii. 134.

the force of the reacting waters. Consequently, the death of Mary and the cardinal seemed, to the party depressed, a certain sign that God was becoming *pleased* with Britain ;—and it is curious to note the different opinions on the subject, the various interpretations of an event by which nothing at all was shown, except that they *were dead*, or, in the beautiful words of the ancient sufferer, “Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down : he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.” Elizabeth mounted the throne of Britain. To the Protestant sovereigns of Europe she declared her attachment to the reformed faith, and her wish to cement an union amongst all its professors. To the Pope of Rome, by the “ambassador” Carne, she protested that she had determined to offer no violence to the consciences of her subjects, whatever might be their religious creed.¹ Paul IV. received the announcement with contempt. He raved at the queen as though she had been a Spaniard, or he was “in his cups.” He said “she was a bastard, and therefore had no right to the crown.” He added that he could not revoke the Bulls of his predecessors, who had invalidated Henry’s marriage with Anne Boleyn, the queen’s mother. This was little to the purpose : for he told the Jesuits what he thought of his predecessors’ Bulls and mandates. He said the queen was “very bold and insolent in daring to mount the throne without asking *his* consent : this audacity alone made her unworthy of favour :—but, however, if she would renounce her pretensions, and submit the decision to him and the Holy See, he

Elizabeth is
civil to the
pope.

Paul IV.’s
brutal reply
to the queen.

¹ Lingard, vi. Camden, i. 23.

would try to give her proofs of his affection ; but he could not permit any attack on the authority of Christ's vicar, who alone is authorised to regulate the rights of those who pretend to regal crowns.¹ According to the Jesuit Pallavicino, he also said, that Mary Queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.² There is nothing to wonder at in this insolent resistance to the voice of a nation. The "Church of Rome" had not as yet been "taught to forget" her unreasonable, inconsistent prerogatives. Three hundred years of *Protestant* inculcation have been required to teach her the lesson, which she has learnt at last, that all her prerogatives were founded on the superstitions of the people, and that in the present stage of this eventful planet's progress, her very existence depends on her strict neutrality in the politics of men. So delightfully has she imbibed so expedient and necessary a lesson, that she has even enthusiastically fraternised with the Republicans of France, consigning royalty, with its "rights," to the tombs of its ancestors, to which, as far as "the Church" is concerned, it may take its departure as soon as possible, the voice of the people being the voice of God, whose very *existence* was proved, in the estimation of the famous Parisian preacher, Lacordaire, *by the late Revolution!*³ A more

How the Roman Church has learnt "to forget" her old self.

¹ Quesnel, Leti, i. 315 ; Camden, Rapin, &c. Lingard ascribes these sentiments to the suggestion of the French ambassador, vi. 253. ² Lingard, ib.

³ "In the cathedral of Notre Dame, the Abbé Lacordaire commenced his series of sermons. An immense crowd was present. The rev. gentleman first read the archbishop's letter. On the demand of the government, the archbishop gave orders to have the 'Domine, salvum fac Populum' henceforward sung in all the churches. The abbé, addressing the archbishop, said, 'Monseigneur, the country, by my voice, thanks you for the courageous example which you have given ; it thanks you for having known how to conciliate the *immutability*

stinging sarcasm could never have been uttered against prostrate royalty : but it rebounds on "the Church : " *History* snatches and pins it on the back of "the Church," as a moral, an axiom, a principle for universal edification.

The pope's insulting notification to Elizabeth produced such an effect as would have followed the same conduct at the present day in the Church of France.

Effects of
the pope's
insult on the
queen.

Setting aside the queen's natural resentment on the occasion, it became evident at once to

the queen's ministers and supporters that it was only by strengthening her "party" that she could hope for security on the throne ; and they resolved, by all means in their power, to promote Protestantism and suppress Catholicism. It was the selfish suggestion

What the
queen should
have done.

of party—a line of policy at all times, and even now as much as possible, prevalent in all "parties," whether "religious," political,

social, and literary. The better part to be chosen by

of the Church and the sanctity of oaths with the changes which God effects in the world by the hands of men.' The preacher, as if to give proofs of this immutability, wished to continue the development of the doctrine which he had set forth so eloquently for several years. He appeared to desire to entrench himself behind divine tradition, and to preserve it from the invasion of *history* ; but the fire burst out, and the Dominican of the people, arriving at the proofs of the existence of God, cried out, ' Prove to you God ! Were I to attempt to do so, you would have a right to call me parricide and sacrilegious. If I dared to undertake to demonstrate to you God, the gates of this cathedral would open of themselves, and show you this PEOPLE, *superb in its anger, carrying God to his altar* in the midst of respect and adoration.' The whole auditory were so much moved, that they testified loud applause, which the sanctity of the place could not restrain. The *Débats*, alluding to the scene, says, ' It is well : let the Church take its place like us all. Let it show itself, the people will recognise it. Let it not have any dread of the Revolution, in order that the Revolution may not be afraid of it. God has delivered the world to discussion : *Tradidit mundum disputationi*. Let the Church use its arms, the Word and charity, instruction and action. Let it aid itself, God will aid it.'—*Daily News*, March 1, 1848.

Elizabeth and her "party" would have been to conciliate her Catholic people by keeping her original resolution, and following it up with perfect equality to the complete exclusion of "religious" tests and declarations: but, of what avail would so *Christian*, and, therefore, most expedient, a resolve have been, whilst the pope had his monks, and his priests, and his Jesuits, to "stir" the people to dissatisfaction and rebellion? What a blessed thing for humanity, had there been either no pope, priests, monks, and Jesuits at all, or that these leaders of the multitude had merged their selfishness in the divine cause of human happiness, peace, and prosperity. Elizabeth was angered: her party was anxious: the pope and *his* party were equally angered and anxious—and we shall soon see the consequence. Meanwhile Pius IV. had succeeded to the papal throne, and sent a nuncio to Elizabeth, requesting her to send her bishops to the Council of Trent. Her reply was, that she had been treated just as if she was not a Christian: that she did not think the Council a free and holy assembly, but only a conventicle gathered at the solicitation of certain princes, for their particular interests: and, lastly, she was convinced that the intention of the Court of Rome, in sending the nuncio, was less to invite the English bishops than to inspire the Catholics of her kingdom with still more aversion than they already exhibited towards the Protestants.¹ The whole reign of Elizabeth proved that her sagacity was not at fault in this last surmise. Pius IV., perceiving by this reply the error of his predecessor's conduct towards Elizabeth, did not at once acknowledge the queen, as

But it would
have been
useless.

The queen's
reply to Pope
Pius IV.

¹ Quesnel, Leti, &c.

he ought to have done for the welfare and peace and happiness of his Catholic children, but resolved to send into Ireland one of his "roaring bellows of sedition,"—"incendiary pharisees"—to spring a mine, destined ere long to explode, with fearful damage to the wretched people, who, without the priests to blight their generous hearts, would have been the admirers of a queen who knew so well how to reward and promote gallant loyalty, when once convinced of its existence in her subjects. Long had the Jesuits panted for a settlement in Britain. Ignatius and his troop had thought much of the matter, and it was even said they made proposals to Cardinal Pole on the subject ; but *they were declined*. Their proposal was similar to the spoliation of the nuns at Rome ; for they coveted the monasteries of the Benedictines, to convert them into colleges, promising, in return, to promote *the restoration of Church property*—on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief.¹ Perhaps the cardinal saw through the

Designs of
Ignatius on
England.

¹ "One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the proposition the Jesuits made him, of bringing them into England . . . They suggested to Pole, that whereas the Queen [Mary] was restoring the goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old foundations ; for the Benedictine order was become rather a clog than a help to the Church. They therefore desired that those houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining schools and seminaries, which they should set on quickly : and they did not doubt, but, by their dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the Church. The Jesuits were out of measure offended with him for not entertaining their proposition ; which I gather from an Italian manuscript which my most worthy friend Mr. Crawford found at Venice, when he was chaplain there to Sir Thomas Higgins, his majesty's envoy to that republic : but how it came that this motion was laid aside I am not able to judge."—*Burnet*, Reform. ii. 509. Bartoli states the offer by Ignatius to Pole, of the German College for the education of English youth : but says no more respecting the application to the cardinal. By his account Philip II., the husband of Queen Mary, was solicited on the subject by the Jesuit Araoz, a particular favourite of the king, by Borgia and Leonora Mascareynos, a "tender mother" of the Company. "But it is true," says

“cohort,” though he is said to have complimented its founder, and answered his letters, as well as those of Lainez.

Glad of the present opportunity, as on a former occasion, the Jesuits at once offered a man for the Irish expedition. He was an Irishman—David Woulfe by name. A Jesuit sent to Ireland. The pope, says the Jesuit-historian, wished to make a bishop of him, and despatch him with the title and display of an apostolic nuncio : but to credit this proud anecdote, we must give the pope credit for extreme imprudence, or exceeding ignorance of Ireland’s position at that time, respecting the Catholic cause. He would never have been admitted. Lainez thought a more inconspicuous method more applicable to “religious humility,” and “the freedom of action—*ut liberius ipse agere posset*,”—less calculated to offend the heretics, and hinder him from doing his work covertly and quietly—*quo tectius ac quietius ageret*—and the pope yielded to the Jesuit, according to Sacchinus. Invested with his powers of apostolic nuncio, without the attendant paraphernalia, this Woulfe departed, carrying with him a great quantity of expiatory chaplets and such like Roman amulets for Ireland.¹ His cargo of Roman wares. Passing through France, he was arrested and imprisoned at Nantes, being suspected for a Lutheran.

Bartoli, “for various reasons, *on which it is useless to enlarge at all*, the result did not correspond with the desire.” This *Che non relieva punto il fermarsi intorno* is somewhat remarkable in so very diffuse a writer as the Jesuit Bartoli. I should state that Ribadeneyra was sent by Philip II. to console and assist Mary in her dropsy—*a consolare ed assistere in suo nome alla Reina Maria, inferma dell’ idropisia.*—*Dell’ Inghil.* f. 72. But even his presence in England availed nothing, adds Bartoli. After all, it *does* seem that Cardinal Pole was no patron of the Jesuits.

¹ “*Bonoque piacuarium sertorum, aliarumque his similium rerum numero instructus.*”—*Sacchin.* iv. 46.

He was probably *disguised*, and went along swaggering : otherwise it is difficult to account for such an error, supposing he said and did nothing to excite suspicion. After four days' confinement, he reached St. Malo, embarked his luggage for Bordeaux, but preferred to walk to that place, which, says Sacchinus, was a Divine instinct,—*divinus instinctus*,—because the vessel foundered on her passage ; but this depends, perhaps, upon what he did in his journey, and, in the uncertainty, the instinct might just as well have been from Beelzebub. But surely the large collection of expiatory chaplets, Agnus Deis, and miraculous medals, *ought* to have saved the ship from foundering. After spending five months on the journey, he reached Cork ; and his description of the state of Catholic matters, in 1561, is both curious in itself and curiously worded. He states that he was engaged, amidst the snares of the heretics, in consoling and inspiring confidence to the Catholics, and in regulating the affairs of the Irish Church ; that he was received with wonderful joy by the Catholics of Cork, where he spent a few days. With the greatest secrecy he got the Catholics informed of his presence and its object, and describes that he saw, throughout the space of sixty miles from Cork, crowds of men and women, with naked feet, and covered with a shirt only, coming to confess their sins and beg absolution for their incestuous marriages, more than a thousand of which he ratified by apostolic authority, in the space of a few months. He further states, that the Irish were very much entangled in this vice : but free from *heresy*, which corresponds with another Catholic's remark, that "they sin like devils, but believe like saints," as I have elsewhere

His bad
account of
the Irish
Catholics.

quoted. He goes on to say :—“ That *all* the priests and monks everywhere kept mistresses.”¹ “ The people,” says he, “ wonder that I don’t charge them anything, and receive no presents ;” which His good example. seems a sort of reflection on the old inveterate “ begging box ” of Ireland, and the wages of the sanctuary.

“ Man’s food in Earth’s bosom is rotting—
 But Charity’s dole is allotting—
 To whom ? At God’s door, the pampered once more
 To plunder the Pauper is plotting.”²

The Jesuit David, however, would do nothing of the kind, as he assures us, “ although,” he adds, “ I lost all my baggage by the wreck of the French vessel from St. Malo, and I am desperately pinched—*vehementer inopiâ confictari.*” It was then he probably felt the loss of his chaplets, Agnus Deis and miraculous medals : for he *might* have sold these for the good of the apostolic treasury, and supplied his pinching want without scruple, after posting the amount to the pope’s credit with *Res Societatis* at the top of the folio. David says that “ he eschewed all their convivialities—declined their invitations,—*ne locum gratiæ aperiret*, lest he should put himself under any obligation,” if that be the meaning of the strange expression. “ I find it by no means easy to beg,” he continues, “ for here you can scarcely find bread in any house during the day, because the people seldom eat dinner, and at their supper eat new bread, which, for the most part, they do not bake before

¹ “ Nudis pedibus, uno tantum indusio tectos, peccata confessuros, et absolutionem super incestis matrimoniis rogaturos. Plus mille conjugum paria non multis mensibus ex injustis nuptiis, auctoritate Apostolicâ legitimis ab se juncta. Hoc maxime implicatum vitio populum : cæterum ab hæresi purum esse : Clericos cænobitasque passim omnes cum muliereculis suis.”—*Sacchin.* lib. v. 148.

² *Lay of Lazarus*, in “ Facts and Figures from Italy,” p. 17.

evening. Some of the priests, taking offence at my abstinence, make a jest of my poverty: but continuing my practice of abstinence, I abound in the fruits of holy

He is ridiculed by the priests for his abstinence.

poverty, and I joyfully endure their mockery, accounting it an increase of my gains." So

far David Woulfe, Jesuit, and Apostolic Nuncio in Ireland. His account of himself is very flattering: but by no means so to the priests and monks, and people of Ireland—excepting their orthodoxy. Meanwhile, however, temptation overpowered him: the man who went to reform, added himself to the number of the fallen. "Happy would he have been," exclaims Sacchinus, at the conclusion of his letter, "Happy, if he had continued such good beginnings! For, at length, from being left to himself, and without a check, he

He falls at last, and is expelled the Company.

became gradually remiss, more useful to others than to himself, and the man behaved in such a manner that it was necessary to expel him

from the Company.¹ Such was the second Irish expedition of the Jesuits. It scarcely corresponded with the pope's expectations. About three years after, three more Jesuits were dispatched to Ireland with an archbishop to erect colleges, and academies, having been invested with papal power to transfer ecclesiastical revenues to the purpose. Into England also a Jesuit was sent at

¹ "Felicem si talibus exordiis convenientia attexuisset. Nam demum per solitudinem et impunitatem, remissâ paulatim curâ sui, utilior multis quam sibi, itâ se homo gessit, ut segregandus ab Societate fuerit."—Lib. v. 149. This Jesuit has been confounded by Cretineau with a *Father David*, mentioned by Sacchinus, lib. viii. 98; and Dr. Oliver, in his excessively partial and meagre "Collections," says just nothing of David Woulfe, except that "he had been chaplain to James Maurice *Desmond* de Geraldinis, as I find from that nobleman's letter, dated, &c. The earl expresses himself most grateful to the Society for having admitted him to a participation of its prayers and good works at the request and recommendation of the Rev. Father William Good"—which is a curious application of the Company's merits.—*Collect.* p. 270.

the same time—an Englishman, Thomas Chinge by name—“for the good of his health,” says Sacchinus, “and for the consolation and aid of the Catholics. He is said to have made some “conversions” among the nobility, and the year after “changed his earthly country for the celestial.”¹ In 1562, Pius IV. sent the Jesuit Nicholas Gaudan to Mary Queen of Scots to console and exhort—to no purpose, as events declared.

A Jesuit in
England.

It is admitted by all parties that excessive abuses prevailed in the Scottish Church before the Reformation was introduced into Scotland; and Dr. Lingard expressly says that of all European Churches that of Scotland was amongst those which were best “prepared to receive the seed of the *new gospel*,” as he slyly calls the Reformation. The highest dignities of the Church were, with few exceptions, lavished on the illegitimate or the younger sons of the most powerful families.² Merely as such they certainly had as good a right to these dignities as to any other—provided they were competent by nature and by grace. But whatever might have been their other qualifications, they failed in the essential characteristics of honest and competent churchmen. Ignorant and immoral themselves, they cared little for the instruction or moral conduct of their inferiors.³ As everywhere else the clergy were proud. They consulted their ease. They neglected their duties without scruple: but exacted their “dues” with rigour. And the people lashed them accordingly with their tongues,⁴—which they will always do—until a rod is put into their hands, and they are taught how to use it. The new preachers appeared. They preached to willing ears respecting those doctrines

The Reformation in
Scotland.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 96.

² Lingard, vi. 269.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

which promoted existing abuses ; and if to suit the times, to season their discourses, they bitterly inveighed against the vices of the churchmen, they only took a natural and infallible course to the favour of the neglected, despised, and oppressed people. In order to be felt, things must be made tangible ; and so when Possevinus would recommend his Company to Philibert, he inveighed, as we have read, against the vices of the monks in Savoy. In the matter of the Scottish clergy, as elsewhere, the obvious course to be followed by the churchmen was *reform*:—an awful, day-of-judgment-contemplation, doubtless : but that was the necessity upon them. What was done ? The usual thing. A “convocation” enacted “canons”—to regulate the morals of the clergy—to enforce the duty of public instruction—to repress abuses in the collection of clerical dues.¹ It was too late, as usual : and besides, the enactments of “convocations” are not the things to produce the results so desirable. Meanwhile, the preachers were not neglected. Old statutes were revived against them as teachers of heretical doctrines, and new penalties were superadded to show how the churchmen thought they could “put down” the spirit of transition.² It was a mistake as well as a crime ; and they suffered the penalty for both. Earls, barons, gentlemen, honest burgesses, and craftsmen, plighted hearts and hands in the congregation—and finally John Knox fell as a

John Knox. thunderbolt on “the Church” of Scotland. This terrible reformer was the son of obscure parents : Haddington and Gifford in East Lothian dispute the honour of his birth : the University of St. Andrews made him a Master of Arts. In his thirtieth

¹ Lingard, vi. 269.

² *Ibid.*

year he renounced the religion of Rome : and seven years afterwards, in 1542, he declared himself a Protestant. The heart of a Scot—firm, tenacious, immovable from its purpose—qualified him for his appointed work : the enthusiasm of a Scot—which is infinitely more thoughtful, more calculating, more to the purpose than that of any other nation—made him terrible in his denunciations of what he abominated ; and the philosophy of Aristotle, scholastic theology, civil and canon law, built in his mind that rampart of controversy, so indispensable at a time when, to confute a heretic, was only second in glory and merit to roasting him on the spits of the Inquisition. This man was condemned as a heretic for denouncing the prevalent corruptions of the churchmen : he was degraded from the priesthood—for he had been ordained—and was compelled to fly from the presence of the fierce, cruel, and vengeful Cardinal Beaton, who, it is said, employed assassins, thus to “get rid” of a determined opponent. Persecution envenomed his heart—nerved his enthusiasm—and of his mind made a deadly dart to transfix his constituted foes—who were the foes of his cause—and thus a sacred impulse, “with solemn protestation,” urged him “to attempt the extremity.” Events checked his efforts for a time. A party of Reformers, led by Norman Leslie, a personal enemy of the Cardinal, murdered Beaton in 1546, to the utter consternation of the catholic cause, which the relentless Cardinal had laboured to promote by imprisoning, banishing, hanging and drowning the heretics. Open war followed the murder. The conspirators were besieged in St. Andrew’s : French troops aided the besiegers : the place was surrendered, and amongst the prisoners was Knox. Nineteen months’

close imprisonment was his fate—he was then liberated with his health greatly impaired by the rigour he endured—biting his lips and biding his time. He came forth to “attempt the extremity.” Indefatigably he proclaimed his peculiar doctrines—intemperate in words—obstinate in mind—austere, stern, vehement—a hero fashioned by persecution and the requirements of the age, and his country. Against the exaltation of women to the government of men he bitterly inveighed. The key-note of his trumpet was undoubtedly given by the specimens he found in power—the Queen-dowager Mary of Guise, in Scotland—and Queen Mary in England. All his doctrines were more or less tinged with Calvinism. All sacrifices for sin he deemed blasphemous; all idolatry, superstition—all that was not authorised by Scripture he denounced—he was altogether opposed to episcopacy or the government of bishops. If in strictness, in austerity, Scotland’s Protestants exceed those of England, John Knox lays claim to the initiative—the solid foundation. In 1556 he went to Geneva to minister to the English congregation who appointed him their preacher.¹ In 1559 he returned to Scotland, where he remained to his death in 1572. Intrepidity, independence, elevation of mind, indefatigable activity and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the post which he occupied: and whilst he was a terror to every opponent—an uncompromising inflicter of castigation on all without exception of rank or sex, when he thought they deserved it—still,

¹ Dr. Lingard is somewhat merry on this fact, which he describes as follows: “Preferring the duty of watching over the infant church to the glory of martyrdom, he hastened back to Geneva, whence by letters he supplied the neophytes with ghostly counsel, resolving their doubts, chastising their timidity, and inflaming their zeal,” vi. 270.

in private life, he was loved and revered by his friends and domestics. Persecution and tyranny had roused him to his enterprise: throughout his life he inflicted vengeance on the principles of their supporters—and unhesitatingly directed the indignation of his followers against the oppressors of the “brethren,” whom they were “bound to defend from persecution and tyranny, be it against princes or emperors, to the uttermost of their power.”¹

At the height of this agitation the Jesuit Nicholas Gaudan wormed his way into Scotland. It was a hazardous undertaking. The Catholic religion was proscribed: its public worship was prohibited. Puritans, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians were beginning those terrible contests amongst each other, whose remembrance gives maxims to the wise and a pang to the Christian. Human passions made religion their pretence or excuse—like Rome’s infernal Inquisition—and men slaughtered each other with swords consecrated by a text perverted. Was it not in prophetic vision that it was said: “Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you nay; but rather division.” Sad and gloomy was that foreknowledge to Him who piteously said: “Come to me all ye who labour and are heavily burthened.” *He* foresaw how the passions of men would abuse His coming—and turn his peace into cruel division, and call it “orthodoxy”—with fire burning and sword unsheathed.

The Jesuit
Gaudan sent
to Queen
Mary.

The Jesuit Gaudan entered Scotland disguised as a

¹ See M'Cric's Life of Knox. Review of the same in *British Critic* of 1813; *Edinburgh Review*, xx. 1; *Quarterly Review*, ix. 418; Robertson, *Hist. of Scotland*; Bayle, *Diet.*; and *Penny Cyclopædia*, xiii.; *Ling*, vi. 270.

hawker.¹ It was a clever device—since it admitted him to the homes of Scotland without reserve—into places where he might observe without being noticed—sound the nation's heart throughout the land of contention—find numberless opportunities to blow the “fire” and spread the “division” so mournfully predicted—these things might he do—and yet seem an honest pedlar withal. But how many falsehoods must not that disguise have compelled him to tell, for the sake of his mission?

Access to the Queen of Scots was most difficult to the Jesuit. Who could envy the lot of Mary? A widow in her eighteenth year,—torn from the gorgeous gaiety of the French court, where she was educated—with a dread presentiment on her mind, she had reached the throne of her ancestors, and saw herself surrounded by advisers in whom she could not confide,—whilst without, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the Scottish Reformer's trumpet roused congenial hearts and minds unto deeds and desires which neither by nature, nor by grace, could she be induced to relish or approve. The Jesuit managed to notify his arrival and mission. The queen contrived a secret interview. She dismissed her attendants and her guards to the “congregation of their brawler,” says Sacchinus, and admitted the Jesuit by a postern.² Gaudan met the Queen thrice. His steps were traced by the enemies of his cause: he was pursued: a price was set on his head: death impends—but his orders were stringent—he may not depart until his end is gained. He was to impart to the Queen the pope's advice in her predicament—as if her doom was not pronounced by

¹ Cretineau, i. p. 463.

² “Per posticum admisso, cum ea suum fratrem reliquosque custodes de industriâ summovisset ad concionem rabulæ ipsorum dimissos.”—*Lib.* vi. 107.

the character of Mary Stuart. What was the pope's advice? We are not told, excepting that she protested to the pope her determination to defend the holy faith to the utmost of her power, and was ready to endure for it every calamity.¹ But this was an act of faith that every Catholic should fervently make, without any advice. Whatever was the pope's advice, however, we are told that "the queen's *voluptuous* imprudences will not permit her to follow it in the hour of *revolutions*."²

The Jesuit left Scotland and her queen to their troubles, bearing away with him several youths of Scotland's best families to be educated in Flanders—"hostages whom he delivers to the Church, subsequently to return to their country, as Apostles of the Faith."³ An anecdote curiously illustrative of Jesuitism is told respecting this expedition. Gaudan's An anecdote. disguise as a hawker brought a French pedlar into trouble. They seized him for the disguised nuncio, and gave him a severe whipping, though he protested that he was no nuncio, and they would have dispatched him had he not been recognised by some acquaintance. "And then," observes Sacchinus, "he was dismissed, richer for the strokes he had received,—wares indeed not a little more useful than those which he carried *si uti novisset*,—if he had only known how to use them"—which is a rare consolation, and applicable to all the calamities which the Jesuits have directly or indirectly brought on humanity, themselves included.

Proscribed in Scotland, the Jesuits had the misfortune

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. 108.

² "Des conseils que ses voluptueuses imprudences ne lui permettent pas de suivre à l'heure des révolutions."—*Cretineau*, i. 463.

³ *Ibid.*

to be under the displeasure of Philip II. in the Catholic dominions of Spain : but here the mandate was that they should not *leave* the country. An express order was sent to the Spanish Company enjoining them to keep *the laws of the land* ; forbidding them *to export money* to other kingdoms, and prohibiting them from leaving Spain, either for the purpose of giving or receiving instruction. It was also intimated to them that they had given offence at court in many ways ; and an official visitation of their houses was ordered by the king.¹ The facts on which this royal displeasure was based, are not stated by Sacchinus. We are therefore left to imagine in what ways the Company of Jesus infringed the laws of Spain, and condescended to export money from the Spanish dominions. The historian of the Jesuits dismisses the subject with a few words only, and strives to impute motives or suspicions as the causes of the calamity—among the rest, the sudden and secret departure of Borgia from Spain, the frequent remittances of money to Rome—*ex pecuniis sæpe Romam translatis*, and the king's displeasure with Lainez on account of his intimacy with his majesty's enemy, the Cardinal Ferrara, whom he accompanied into France.² This peculiar Jesuit-method of dismissing grave charges is by no means satisfactory : particularly when we find that, even in the most frivolous cases, their historians enter into tedious details, when they believe they can confute an accusation, or extenuate the fault of a member.

Whilst the court of Madrid was striving to repress the cupidity and pious avarice of the Jesuits, the latter were making determined efforts to achieve an establishment in France—a legal establishment—for there were

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 36.

² Ibid. 37.

Jesuits in France at all times. The *Province of France* existed by fact, if not by legal fiction. We remember the first attempt, and its disgraceful consequences, on both sides of the battle. This was the *tenth*. Nine times had the indefatigable Jesuits scaled the walls, and were repulsed ; but defeat to the will of Ignatius within them, only redoubled their resolve to achieve victory at last. They had patrons at the court of France ; they were befriended by the Guises—that restless family of ambitious leaders, now more powerful and active than ever. Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was sleeping with his fathers, neither too good nor too bad for this world ; and Charles IX., his younger brother, had succeeded, with Catherine de' Medici as queen-regent of the kingdom : both are destined to become famous for the general massacre of the French Protestants—a religious ceremonial dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Times of trouble were at hand : the fearful “religious” wars were about to break out ; and the “lights and ramparts of the Gallican Church, the cardinals de Lorraine and Tournon,” gladly patronised the foxes to whose tails they could append flaming firebrands to “set all on fire,” as they listed. And so the Jesuits said that the cardinals thus addressed them when they craved their co-operation, “Oh how fortunate is mankind to whom the Divine Majesty has vouchsafed to give such men in these times ! Would that by His mercy every province in this kingdom might receive so great a good ! Ye who have it, keep it. Embrace this sodality of Jesus Christ—walk in their footsteps—cling to their advice. In your name, and in duty bound, we will strive so that France may not be deprived, in any way, of so great a

Tenth attempt to enter France “by law.”

gift of God.”¹ This was the opinion which the Jesuits wished mankind to entertain—the *fama Societatis*—the good name of the Company—their “credit;” but, on the present occasion, in spite of all I have said respecting their unflinching pertinacity, perseverance, and resolution to *get* into France legally—in spite of these noble energies, I must unfortunately declare that the *res Societatis*—the purse of the Company, was a stirring motive for the present penetration. William Du Prat, we remember, left them a legacy of 120,000 livres.² The executors of the bishop’s will, seeing that the Jesuits could not make use of the donation, since their Order was not legally acknowledged in France, proposed to rescind the bequest. The grant specified the building and maintenance of a college;³ so, as this was impossible without legal admission in France, the money, though inactive itself, was actually stirring desires in a variety of hearts. The benevolent bishop had given all his property to the poor, the monks, and the Jesuits: the latter had not forgotten their share, and the former were not, as usual, satisfied with theirs; and coveted *la part du diable*—the Jesuit-slice as well,—the poor, the monks, the mendicant friars, even the directors of the hospitals, begged that the money might be distributed to the poor, alleging that it would be much more usefully employed than by the Jesuits; an opinion which the latter by no means entertained. The chance

¹ “O vos beatos, quos divina Majestas temporibus his horum virorum dono dignata est! Utinam ejus misericordiâ fieret ut singule hujus regni provinciæ tanto potirentur bono! Tenete vos, quibus concessum est. Amplexamini Sodalitatem hanc Jesu Christi, et vestigiis ejus ac monitis inhærete. Nos ex vestro nomine, et pro officio nostro dabimus operam, ut Gallia tanto Dei munere nequaquam privetur.”—*Sacchin.* lib. v. 195.

² “Or 150,000, with nine or ten thousand livres revenue besides, an immense sum in those days.”—*Coudrette*, i. 156.

³ *Coudrette*, iv. 91.

or the danger of losing the bequest goaded the fathers to redoubled efforts for legal admission into France. On the occasions of their former disappointment, one of the motives against their admission was their abuse of their excessive "privileges," which trenched on the "liberties of the Gallican Church." The objection still remained. The parliament was inexorable. In vain the Jesuits induced their friends the Cardinals de Bourbon, Lorraine, and Tournon—even the queen-regent, to write in their favour: the parliament cared no more for these soft impeachments, than it had cared for those of Francis II. Desolated by the hideous fact, the Jesuits compromised the matter, and consented to sacrifice somewhat of their "privileges," which, as it chanced, happened to be nicely balanced by just 35,000 livres. They kicked the beam, and the money came down; but it was a hard struggle on both sides, and the presence of General Lainez was required. The fiend of controversy beckoned him to France, as well as Mammon.

In 1561, when the quarrels of "religion" began to run high, the colloquy or conference of Poissy was opened, like all the other diets on religious matters, without offering anything palatable Lainez in France. or digestible to the barking stomachs, into which they would force hard stones, *on both sides*. Conciliation was the object of this conference. It met with great opposition from Rome: Pius IV., in his papal pride, thought it an infringement on his authority, and sent Lainez to put a stop to it,¹ or, to make bad worse, as the Jesuit's violent orthodoxy was sure to do. The Cardinal de Ferrara was also sent by his Holiness to watch over the

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. 193; Queanel, ii. 33; Vie de Coligny, 235; Browning, p. 28; Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme, livre iii.

interests of the Holy See ;—since Catherine held to the resolution, alleging her desire to show some favour to the Calvinists and to reconcile the “ parties,” which was simply impossible. Catholic bishops and Protestant ministers were assembled. The king and his court, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, were there—nor was the queen-regent absent. Five cardinals, forty bishops, a vast number of doctors, were arrayed against a microscopical knot of *twelve* reformers. But Theodore Beza, and Peter Martyr, were each a host, and they failed not on that occasion. Lainez would put in a word—a very elaborate speech, the original of which, we are told, is still preserved in the archives of the Gesa at Rome. He began with saying that, “ all his constant reading had convinced him how very dangerous it was to treat, or even to listen, to the heretics. For,” said he, “ as it is written in Ecclesiasticus, ‘ Who will pity the charmer wounded by his serpent, and all who go nigh unto the beast ? ’ Those who desert the Church are called wolves in sheep’s clothing and foxes, by Scripture, so that we may know we should be greatly on our guard against them on account of their hypocrisy and deceit, which are the characteristics of the heretics of all ages.”¹ He boldly turned to the queen, and told her that “ she must understand that neither she, nor any human prince, had a right to treat of matters of the faith Every man to his trade,” said the Jesuit—“ *fabrilia fabri tractent*. This is the trade of the priests—*sacerdotum est hoc negotium*.”² Peter Martyr had said that “ the mass being an image and representation of the bloody sacrifice on the cross, Christ himself could not be pre-

The conference at Poissy.

¹ Sacchin, lib. v. 201.

² Id. lib. v. 203.

sent, because the image of a thing must cease to be where the thing itself is present :” which is a fair specimen of the controversial acumen displayed in the discussion. Lainez was a match for him. “Suppose,” said he, “a king has won a glorious victory over the enemy; and suppose he wishes to celebrate the event by a yearly commemoration. Three methods present themselves for the purpose. He may simply order the narrative of the exploit to be repeated. Secondly, he may have the war represented by actors. Thirdly, he may enact a part himself—may perform in person the part he took in the war. This is what takes place in the most divine and unbloody sacrifice of the mass.”¹ “Without examining whether this comparison be apposite,” observes Quesnel, “it evidently smells very much of the *colleges*, on which, it seemed, that the fancy of the general and his brethren was running, full to overflowing.” The conference was agitated beyond endurance by an exclamation of Beza. Concerning the Lord’s Supper, he cried out: “As far as the highest heaven is distant from the lowest earth, so far is the body of Christ distant from the bread and wine of the Eucharist.”²

Controversial
acumen of
Lainez.

¹ Beza bantered Lainez for this comparison, remarking that the Jesuit had made a comedy of the Sacrament, and a comedian of Jesus Christ. “Que ce Pere avoit fait de ce Sacrement une comédie, et Jesus Christ un comédien.”—*Du Pin*, Hist. du Concile, i. 489.

² Melchior Adam. Vitæ German. Theol. 644; Bayle, i. 689; De la Place, Comment. lib. vi. Ann. 1561. By this authority, we learn that Beza wrote to the queen next day, assuring her that “by reason of the outcry that arose, his conclusion was not understood as he wished and had proposed.” After a long and tedious explanation, he says: “Here are the words which I pronounced, and which have given offence to the bishops. ‘If any one thereupon asks us if we make Jesus Christ absent from the Lord’s Supper, we answer no. But if we look at the distance of places (as we must do when there is a question as to his corporeal presence, and his humanity distinctly considered), we say that his body is as far from the bread and wine, as the highest heaven is

The Parliament had referred the Jesuits to the conference, on the subject of their admission. Cardinal de

The Jesuits admitted on hard conditions. Tournon, their friend, presided at the sittings. To him Lainez, covered with his controversial glory, applied in behalf of his Company—presenting their bulls, statutes, and privileges—and protesting that the Jesuits would submit to every restriction and proviso deemed necessary by the Bishop of Paris, in their admission. These conditions were nevertheless very onerous—if complied with,—which was decidedly not the intention of the Jesuits. They were to take some other name than that of Jesus or Jesuits. The diocesan bishop was to have an entire jurisdiction, superintendence, and a right of correction over the said Society and their college—all malefactors and bad livers (these are the very terms of the act) he might expel, even from the Company:—the Jesuits were to undertake nothing, either in spiritual or temporal matters, to the prejudice of the bishops, curés, chapters, parishes, universities, and other religious orders—but all were held to observe the common law, without possessing any jurisdiction whatever—and, finally, the Jesuits were to renounce, previously and expressly, all the privileges granted them by their bulls, and must promise for the future neither to solicit nor obtain any others contrary

from the earth, considering that, as for ourselves, we are on the earth, and the sacraments also; and as for Him, his flesh is in heaven so glorified, that his glory, as St. Augustine says, has not deprived him of a true body, but only of the infirmities of the latter." He then goes on affirming the "spiritual presence" of Christ in *la sainte cène*. In this old chronicler, La Place, there is a full account of the affair; as also in the Jesuit Fleury (not the Church-historian), *Histoire du Cardinal de Tournon*. As Browning observes, this Jesuit appears unable to restrain his indignation in describing this conference. He is lavish with abuse and calumnious insinuation, p. 367. The Jesuit Maimbourg is, as usual with him, more temperate and sensible, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, livre iii.

to “these presents”—in which case the present approbation and admission would be null and void.¹ Sacchinus is struck dumb on this transaction. He ignores the whole of it—giving merely the result in these words:—“Lainez reached Paris to complete the joy of the brethren and his hosts, being the glad messenger of the Company’s admissions at the Conference of Poissy.”² Doubtless their joy was not diminished by the knowledge of the hard conditions. Lainez would easily grant a dispensation to his “most sweet children”—*dulcissimos filios*—as Sacchinus calls them:—he who had swallowed the pope’s camel of a mandate touching the choir, would certainly not strain at the gnat of a bishop. To the glorious Jesuits who feared no man, the restrictions, supervisions, and jurisdictions, were mere cobwebs which hold together until they are *broken*,—which is an easy matter to anything, flies only excepted.

Certainly the reader is surprised at this silence of the Jesuit-historian on this transaction—so elaborate and diffuse on the most trifling occurrences in the Indies and other lands unknown. One would think that the determination with which the Jesuits urged their admission into France—the grand occasion—the pregnant hopes of the fact—should have merited some little minuteness of detail:—but you have read all that Sacchinus says on the subject. The fact is, the circumstances were by no means honourable to the Company; and secondly, it was impossible to tell Indian or Arabian tales to the French, on that subject. This

A remark.

¹ Quesnel, ii. 38; Felib. Hist. de Paris, livre xxi.; Pasquier, Plaid. Mercure Jesuit, p. 321; Hist. Partic. des Jesuites; Coudrette, i. 74, *et seq.*

² Sacchin. lib. v. 198.

is another warning to put us on our guard against the “facts” of the Jesuit-historians, when they are interested in the circumstances.

Nothing could exceed the glorification which General Lainez received for his achievements at the conference of Poissy. The pope was lavish with his Triumph and bon-mot of Lainez. holy laudation: he compared Lainez to the ancient saints, because, said his Holiness, he had maintained the cause of God without caring either for the king or the princes, and had resisted the queen to her face.¹ In effect, he had deeply wounded the lady by his severe animadversion and bitter advice: he had brought tears to the eyes of humiliated royalty. Two days afterwards, the Prince de Condé observed to Lainez: “Do you know, *mon père*, that the queen is very much incensed against you, and that she shed tears?” Lainez smiled and replied: “I know Catherine de’ Medici of old. She’s a great actress: but, Prince, fear nothing—she won’t deceive *me*.”² Admirable words—brave words for a long-headed Jesuit—but scarcely to be called the pious aspirations of an ancient saint, by favour of his Holiness.

Troubles balanced this apparent glorification of General Lainez. His vicar at Rome, Salmeron, was accused at Charges against Salmeron. Naples, where he had been working—the foulest charges were confidently uttered against him: priest, nobles, gentry, talked the scandal over, and children sang his infamy in the streets of Naples. Extorting money for absolution from a rich lady was

¹ “Gli piacque molto il zelo del Gesuita; diceva, potersi comparare a gli antichi Santi, avendo senza rispetto del Re e Prncipi sostenuta la causa di Dio, e rinfacciata la Regina in propria presenza.”—*Sarpi*, ii. 113.

² Cretineau, i. 421.

the least of the charges—the greatest being, of course, *heresy*—for they even said that he had turned Lutheran! Whatever foundation there may have been for these charges—and there was probably very little—the pope, who seemed inclined to canonise Lainez, defended Salmeron, and the “infamy” was at rest.¹ The pontifical murder of Pope Paul IV.’s nephews followed apace, and in the midst of that “legal” iniquity a Jesuit figured as the minister of consolation to the unfortunate convict. I have described the scene elsewhere, as a tail-piece to the death of Paul IV.

The inexhaustible activity of the Jesuits had tempted them to try another field for their labours. The pope was anxious to compensate in “other worlds” for the kingdoms which he had lost in Europe.

The Jesuits
in Egypt.

Egypt took his fancy in 1561. Two Jesuits were despatched to the Cophts, with the view of reducing *their* church to that of Rome. The

The Cophts.

Cophts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians; but the race can boast little of the blood that flowed in the veins of the Pharaohs. Greeks, Abyssinians, and Nubians, in the earliest days of Christianity, grafted their pedigree and their religion on the children of the Nile, the worshippers of dogs, cats, onions, crocodiles, and an extraordinary fine bull, as sacred to the Egyptians as the cow is to the Hindoos. The Christianity of the Cophts is, and was at the time in question, very similar to that of Rome—only it did not acknowledge the pope of Rome:—it had its own patriarch and hierarchy; and was very comfortable on all points of faith—never giving a thought to Rome—nor would Rome have thought of this stray Christianity, had not so many of

¹ Sacchin, lib. v. 156.

her own Christians strayed from her pale, and diminished the map of her dominions. By a list of the Cophtic peculiarities in the matter of religion, you will perceive that there was very little necessity for a "mission"—except the last named consideration. They held the real presence ;—only they gave the sacrament, as of old, under both forms—but only to the men. Women received only the "body," moistened with the "blood," and it was carried to them out of the sanctuary, which they were not allowed to enter. They practised confession. They differed respecting the succession of the Holy Ghost, like the Greek Christians ; and admitted but one will, one nature, one operation, in Christ. They baptised by immersion, and practised circumcision ; marriage, confirmation, extreme unction, were not recognised as sacraments. They were not forbidden to marry after a divorce and during the life-time of the wife put away. Their patriarchs traced their line of succession up to the apostle St. *Mark*.¹

The pope sent presents with the Jesuits, to the patriarch. They were both very civilly received. The Jesuits set to work with argument ; and after a very short discussion coolly required the Cophtic patriarch to write a letter to the pope in testimony of his "obedience." This was positively refused, to the horror of the Jesuit, who was thoroughly deceived in all his expectations : in fact, it turned out that both the pope and the Jesuits had been tricked by an impostor, pretending to be an envoy from the patriarch to the pope, offering an union of the churches ! Thus the expedition failed : the Jesuits remained, making fruitless efforts towards the point at issue : but apparently to very little purpose ; and they returned

The expedi-
tion fails.

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. 122, and others.

ingloriously—one of them being compelled to disguise himself as a merchant, and to keep his handkerchief to his face, pretending to blow his nose, in order to get safely on board a ship sailing for Europe. A dreadful storm at sea completed his horror and disgust at the expedition ; but Sacchinus consoles his memory by comparing the Jesuit to St. Paul in the same predicament.¹

A very unpleasant disappointment for the pope and the Jesuits it was : but they could console themselves with publishing to the world their success in India. Imagine the sum total of conversions for the preceding year : “ In the space of one year,” says Sacchinus, “ ten thousand men were baptised—*anni spatia ad decem hominum millia sacro baptisate expiarunt !*”² The Jesuits also pretend that the water of baptism, when swallowed with faith, cured various diseases—such is the piety of the people, he adds ; and then quietly tells us of a case of fever brought on two neophytes by the craft and envy of the *devil*, but cured by holy water. “ Give holy water,” said the missionary, “ and when they had done so, in the same moment the fever left both of them.”³ But terror still

Jesuit-con-
versions in
India.

¹ “ Mercatoris sumpto habitu, cum insuper ad obtegendam faciem, emungendæ naris applicito sudariolo necessitatem simularet, in navim . . . imponitur.”—*Sacchia*. lib. vi. 149.

² *Sacchin*. lib. vi. 172.

³ “ Aquam inquit ‘sacratam potum dare ; quod cum fecissent eodem momento febris utrumque deseruit.”—*Sacchin*. lib. vi. 174. I was told by a Jesuit, in the novitiate at Hodder, the following curious fact, illustrative of the superstitions still prevalent in *England*. One of the fathers, on the mission in *Lancashire*, was applied to by a peasant for some holy water. The father happened to be out of the usual supply ; so he proceeded to bless some there and then, in the presence of the peasant. During the rehearsal of the prayers appointed in the ritual, the peasant exclaimed, twice or thrice, “ Make it strong, Meg is *fearful ill*—make it strong !” When the holy water was given to the man, the Jesuit asked him what he wanted it for, and he replied, “ to give it to the *cow* !” His cow was “ *fearful ill*.” This is no Protestant “ concoction,” observe, but a veritable fact related to me by a Jesuit in the English novitiate. Truly, this land is still

continued the grand precursor to the Jesuit-baptism. In the expedition of the Portuguese governor Henriquez against the Celebes, the Jesuit Magallianez baptised one thousand five hundred natives in a fortnight. Thus it was that—to quote the words of Sacchinus—“the salutary ray of the Christian religion penetrated into the kingdom of the Celebes.”¹ The modern missionaries

A modern method. cannot propagate the faith by gunpowder ; but they are not less inventive in devising the expedients of craft, so as to be able to contribute their thousand and ten thousand “converts” to the Annals of the Propagation. To read their trumpery letters, one must believe that all India ought to have been made Christian within the last ten years. But only fancy the cool “religious” roguery of the following resolution, penned only *five* years ago by one Dr. Besy, “Vicar-Apostolic of Xan-tong,” in China : “We have amongst our resolutions taken that of opening schools in all the villages, and of selecting in each locality a certain number of pious widows, somewhat acquainted with medicine, who, *under the pretext of administering remedies* to the dying infants of the pagans, will be able to confer on them *baptism*.”² What do you think of that for the nineteenth century ? We denounce the tricks of “trade,” but those of “religion” deserve approbation !³

benighted, and a few thousand pounds of Foreign Mission funds might be usefully spent in bettering the minds and bodies of the ignorant poor at *home*, where we can insure *duty* without requiring the usual clap-trap of missionary letters, Annals of the Propagation, &c.

¹ Sacchin. lib. vii. 122.

² Annals of the Propagation, &c., v. 328. Each of these dying infants, so numerous in *China*, will be one of the thousands “converted.”

³ This bishop shows himself scarcely honest by the following addition to his method borrowed from the Brazilian Jesuits. He says, “As to the *expenses* occasioned by this good work, I have willingly charged myself with them ; I have engaged to cover all the costs, like those poor people who have not a penny to pay their debts, and who generously offer to their friends lands and money,

In Japan the success of the Jesuits continued to surpass their expectations, if that was possible. As these new apostles always went in the rear of the Portuguese fleets, the kings of the country, desirous of promoting commerce in their dominions, and therefore anxious to attract the Europeans, vied with each other in receiving baptism, and permitted their subjects to do as they pleased in the matter. The king of Omura not only permitted the Jesuits to preach, but even gave to "the Church," that is, to the Jesuits, a maritime city, by name Vocoxiura; and to entice the Portuguese into his kingdom, he promised them that not only their merchandise, but even that of the Japanese who should trade with them, would be exempt from all imposts for the space of six years.¹

Progress in
Japan.

It was precisely the same tune, with a few more flourishing variations, in the theme of the Brazilian mission. One Jesuit began his march by baptising one hundred and twenty idolaters in a single village; in another, five hundred and forty-nine; in a third, four hundred and over; in a fourth, two hundred and forty—all these in a single year "with magnificent pomp and display, as usual, he generated to the Church by the vital waters," says the Jesuit Sacchinus.² This professional Baptist's name is Louis Grana: it were a pity to consign it to oblivion. One thousand three hundred and nine Christians made in one year by one Jesuit! But his companion, Father

Infinite con-
versions in
Brazil.

although they are clothed in rags.' And then follows the horse behind the cart. "After God my hope is in you, members of the Association. Let not my hope be disappointed! Be my security, and your alms will people heaven with new legions of angels." I suppress the remark which this word "legions" suggests.

¹ Sacchin. lib. vii. 133; Quesnel, ii. 61.

² "Celebritate apparatusque, ut solebat, magnifico, vitalibus aquis Ecclesie genuit."—*Sacchin.* lib. vi. 197.

Antonio Rodriguez, utterly left him behind in his evangelical expeditions. On one single occasion—*und lustratione*—he baptised eleven hundred and fifty Christians—*Mille centum quinquaginta duæ animæ ad ecclesiam appositæ eâ lustratione sunt*. At another place he baptised one hundred and eight Indians; at a third, eight hundred and seventeen; in a fourth, one thousand and ninety. On his return, at one time, he baptised one hundred and seventy; then one hundred and thirty-eight; then one hundred and fifty-three; then two hundred and two; and, finally, three hundred and twelve; making in all (errors excepted) five thousand five hundred and thirty-nine Christians in one year.¹ The idea is frightful. But the Jesuits must have belied themselves. It is, may I not say, impossible for men of common respectful deference to the religious sentiment, thus to trample under foot the sacred rite which they believed to have made themselves brothers of Christ and heirs of salvation. Heavens! was it but to send glorious accounts of the missions that these Jesuits actually did this wickedness? Nay, let us rather believe that they were infatuated with the idea of “conversion,” and in their blindness of mind and heart, considered mere baptism its exponent and its guarantee. For, alas! what was the hideous consequence?—the consequence that makes us, even at this distance of time, gnash the teeth in unavailing indignation, or wring the hands in the bitter memory of the past, asking, Why was light given to the wretched, and life to them who were in bitterness of heart? Sacchinus tells us that consequence—in *his* infatuation he *does* tell all—

Christian
virtue in
Brazil.

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. 197, *et seq.*

and here it is in its horrible monstrosity:—the title of the section is "The virtue of a Man of Brazil—a convert Chieftain." "By this man's persuasion and example, the Christians and Brazilian catechumens dared to join the Europeans, and fought against their own countrymen, which, before that day, had scarcely ever occurred. So that not only acquaintances fought against acquaintances, friends against friends, but even children against their parents, brothers against brothers—all ties were broken. *Thus may you recognise the salutary division which the Prince of Peace confessed He was bringing to the earth.* A piteous sight, truly, unless the defence of the holy faith made the former as worthy of praise as the barbarous cruelty of the latter was worthy of hatred, rather than commiseration."¹ Need I add a single reflection on these dreadful facts, and as dreadful a sentiment? What a disappointment—what a falling off, was that! When the Jesuits arrived in Brazil, they found the savages maltreated, persecuted by the Europeans. The "men of God" came with the men of the devil, hand in hand, apparently heart in heart. They strove to conciliate the savage. He mistrusted them. What good could possibly come with such infernal evil as that of Portugal? Yet the Jesuits, by dint of perseverance, contrived to fascinate the simple people, lived with them, seemed to take their part, seemed resolved to do so for ever. Thus they befriended

Reflections.

¹ "Hujus et suavis et exemplo ausi sunt Christiani et catechumeni Brasili, quod antè eam diem nunquam ferè evenerat, consociati Europæis, ferre contra suos arma. Itaque non solum noti prius amicique inter se, sed etiam filiorum quidam contra parentes, fratresque adversus fratres (ut agnosceres salubre dissidium quod Princeps Pacis profitebatur se terris inferre) alii contra alios variis conjunctos necessitudinibus dimicant, miserando sane spectaculo, nisi quam hos sanctæ fidei propugnatio laude, tam illos barbara crudelitas odio faceret, quam miseratione digniores."—*Sacchin.* lib. vi. 203.

the savages : thus the Jesuits at first were, in some sort, a blessing to the persecuted, oppressed, deceived Indians. And what was the result ? The Indians flocked around them, listened to them, submitted to their ceremonial aspersion—in a word, joined those who seemed to be their friends. And then, again, what was the result ? They were induced to become the enemies of their country : to take a part in its subjection to the stranger, in its utter ruin. Their Christian teachers sowed division amongst them, and thus made them an easier conquest to their enemies. They separated fathers from their children, sons from their parents, friends from friends—all who had been united by any tie whatever—and they put arms into the hands of those whom they thus depraved, to slaughter their own kindred, and thus to display their “virtue” ! A thing that had never happened before, or scarcely ever, as the Jesuits admit—*quod ante eam diem nunquam ferè evenerat*. So the savages were better men, infinitely more moral before they became “Christians,” or, rather, before they were fooled, deceived, decoyed by the Jesuits into the service of the Portuguese, under pretence of making them “heirs to salvation.” Jesuit-Christians and despicable traitors—nay, rather, miserably-fooled children of nature—perverted, debased by those who should have enlightened them unto righteousness, and cursed with the name of “Christian,” which they thought they honoured by the foulest infamy that clings to the name of man. And how they were punished by the very men for whom they turned traitors ! Very soon afterwards, in 1564, pestilence and famine reduced the poor Indians to the last extremity. The Portuguese seized the opportunity, took advantage of their wretched condition, laid

hands on some as their own property, bought others from those who had no right to sell them : the rest took flight, in a panic, back to their woods once more, leaving the Jesuits to devise plans for “converting” and “reducing” them again.¹

From the Conference of Poissy Lainez had proceeded to the Council of Trent, which resumed its sittings in 1562. Doubtless he was well remembered at his reappearance ; and he was not to be forgotten or be made inconspicuous, after achieving such deeds as imperatively gave renown amongst the men of orthodoxy—not without stirring envy, however. Already were the achievements of the Jesuits in all their “missions” blazed to the world by oral tradition, at least ; and if there were afloat on that matter some “solid falsehoods,” as Pallavicino should call them—still they made the Company famous—and the end justified the means :—all would be made to promote the exaltation of the Church and the downfall of the heretics. A dispute arose as to the place that the general should occupy in the Christian council. Lainez evidently thought himself entitled to a place above the generals of the monastic orders—for to the master of the ceremonies he announced himself as general of a clerical order, well knowing that etiquette placed the clergy above the monks. The result gave mortal offence to the monkish generals, and they protested against his exaltation. Lainez bowed to the pride of the monks with the prouder pride of the Jesuit, and proceeded to the rear. *Hæc minima nostra Societas*, this our least Company—did not insist on the privilege. *Esse quam videri*—to be the first rather than to seem so—is all that

Lainez at
the Council
of Trent.

¹ Sacchin, lib. viii. 198.

is necessary for the present. Thus, doubtless, argued the Jesuit to himself, biting his nether lip. His friends supported him, the cardinals backed his idea : but the monkish generals were in a ferment—declaring that they would instantly vacate their seats altogether should Lainez be placed above them. Lainez was requested to absent himself for a day or two, until the matter could be adjusted ;—and then he was assigned an *extraordinary* place among the *bishops*.¹ Already had the seeds of jealousy or envy been sown in the hearts of the monks against the Jesuits :—this flattering gale of favour to the Society did not blight the crop now vigorously rising with the promise of luxuriant poison. A pulpit was assigned the general of the Company of Jesus—conspicuous to all—that the prelates and doctors might lose nothing of his harangues ; for, according to the Jesuits, there was a *mira cupido*, a devouring desire—“ to hear the man himself.” His high forehead, brilliant eyes, sweet look, and smiling lips, were his captivating exordium, if we may believe the Jesuits, though Father Ignatius positively slurred his personal appearance—*no tenga persona*. His placid countenance, they continue, his pale complexion, delicate appearance, and remarkably aquiline nose, lent to his person an air of suffering which his multitudinous labours of every description, his

¹ Pallav. p. 42, t. iii. ; Sacchin. l. vi. 77, *et seq.* See also Sarpi and Courayer's note, p. 269, t. ii. ; Ital. ed. p. 287, t. ii. French trans. Some say that Lainez himself retired indignantly, by way of mortifying the council by his absence for some days. It must be remembered he was the *Pope's* legate.—See *Quesnel*, ii. 69, and his authorities. Of course the Jesuits make Lainez the very pattern of Christian humility on this occasion ; but surely all the altercation would have been obviated by his going at once to the *last* place, without telling his papal rank, as *General of Ulers*, had he been an humble man. Not that I blame the *Jesuit* : it is only the conduct pursued by a *companion of Jesus* that seems us extraordinary as the place assigned to the *Jesuit*.

watchings, his journeys, could attest.¹ On the other hand, the presence of the Jesuit at the Council of Trent was precisely the same as elsewhere—the cause of strife or unrest, if we may believe an enemy's account. The Jesuits—for Salmeron and others were with Lainez—opposed every opinion that seemed likely to gain a majority. They could not be silenced: they encroached on the time allotted for each speaker; and boldly insisted on their “privilege” as pontifical legates. Nevertheless, the Jesuits call them the oracles of the Council of Trent:—“so that this most august assembly of holy dignitaries, which, with the most insatiate ears, drank in the golden stream of eloquence rushing from his eloquent lips like a torrent, could not believe it was a mortal who addressed them from his pulpit, but a *Seer descended from heaven, pouring forth oracles from his tripod*, speaking mysteries, pronouncing decrees . . . O Lainez, how vast and unparalleled was thy reputation throughout the universe!” Thus boast the Jesuits in their famous *Imago*.² Certain it is that Lainez and Salmeron took a conspicuous part in every discussion—not without broaching what were deemed heretical opinions concerning grace and free will; and Lainez was

Suspicious
of heresy.

accused of *Pelagianism*—one of the bugbears which from time to time, the proud, luxurious, and useless Church singled out to set people by the ears, and uphold authority. It is not worth the while to explain the nature of *Pelagianism*, or any other *ism*, excepting *Jesuitism*—

¹ Cretineau, i. 269.

² Ut augustissima illa sacrorum Procerum corona, quæ aureum eloquentiæ flumen, quod ex facundo ore, velut è torrente, fundebatur, avidissimis auribus imbibebat, putaret non hominem aliquem è pulpito verba proferre, sed Vatem cælo delapsum e tripodè oracula fundere, mysteria eloqui, decreta pronuntiare . . . O eximiam illam et inauditam de te, Laini, orbis universi existimationem! —*Imago*, p. 139, et 438.

which deserves the deepest inquiry in every department. It blazed forth intensely on the occasion, that celebrated occasion, when the power of the Papal power. pope and of the bishops was discussed. Who had been more hampered, harassed, tormented, than the Jesuits—by the bishops? It was therefore a question peculiarly their own. Now we remember on how many occasions the papal Bulls and privileges exhibited by the Jesuits in their own defence, were positively slighted and made nothing of, by various bishops—in France particularly—and even in Spain, where it was certainly a curious demonstration. But it was a vital necessity for the pope to have his unlimited authority declared in a council of all Christendom—as represented—at a time when so many thousands and millions had utterly cast away the authority of Rome. All doctrine, all discipline, depended upon the decision. The monarchy—the absolutism of Christendom was to be ratified or annulled. See you not herein that antagonism to the democratic opinions beginning to be prevalent? A time when, as always, the misdeeds of governors do not escape punishment, merely by their shrewdness, and craft, and power: but, on the contrary, only until the governed are enlightened to a knowledge of their rights, and the God of justice decrees a stunning retribution.

At the time in question there were three dominant “religious” sections in the Roman Church—the monks—the Jesuits—the bishops. The monks were essentially democratic in their institutions. Their generals, the rectors of convents, their provincials, were appointed by election. Thus each province, each convent had, so to speak, a set of interests peculiar to itself: in wealth and comfort overflowing—where the Lutherans made no

incursion—these monks slept their lives away without caring much for aught but the continuance of their blessings. On the other hand, the Jesuits were strictly, essentially, monarchical. The masses amongst them had no voice whatever—except to denounce what they could “spy” amiss in a brother as debased as themselves. Every house, every province, however distant, was under the eye of the general, elected by an aristocracy, and aided, if necessary, by the same. The general was as absolute in his Company as the pope *wished* to be in his Church. Now, the men who proposed to practise obedience to such authority among themselves were just the teachers required to enable the pope to enjoy that high eminence, by their inculcations, over the nations:—and the Jesuits certainly, on every occasion, strove to propagate the theory of pontifical absoluteness. It is this reasoning which may induce us to think that the wily Paul III. had a larger hand in the Institute of Ignatius than the Jesuits will admit. I suspect that “the finger of God” which they say he discovered in the affair, was only his *own*, seen through the microscope of conceit. The bishops, lastly, were so many popes in their sees,—differing more or less in their powers and “privileges”—but, very little obnoxious to papal revision, and not vitally dependent on papal existence. Hence the pope could not depend upon them: they were even anxious to achieve more freedom than they enjoyed, in an age when all were striving to be free—to the detriment of the papal autocrat—and of the Jesuits whom he caressed, defended, and supported, in order to be himself supported in return.¹

The three dominant sections in the Church.

¹ The reader will find some very apposite matter on this subject in *Botta, Storia d'Italia*, ii. 25, *et seq.*

Lainez dashed into the battle with desperate energy—as though his very salvation was at stake.¹ There was a fixed, determined purpose in the opinion which he was resolved to deliver. He spoke *last*, as usual with the man who is determined to measure his argument with that of every opponent—and to triumph in debate by demolishing all that is arrayed against him—having dissected all, and vigorously created the new portent of whelming confutation or defence. The question was, whether the power of bishops was immediately from God. The French bishops, as a matter of course, with their high *Gallican* notions, held the proposition as almost an article of faith:—but Lainez knew that *he* need not try to deprecate *their* indignation. The Spanish bishops, also,—even King Philip II. upheld the independent doctrine:—but the king had averted his royal countenance from the Company, and there *seemed* no probability of his turning it again. The *universal* monarchy was the Jesuit's fortified port, his embattled rampart: there he planted his spear and flung defiance to all the world beside. “I expect neither a red hat from the pope, nor a green one from Philip”—was his significant exordium, and then he advanced, affirming boldly the paramount authority of the pope over all bishops—deducing the authority of bishops from the pope, and not directly from heaven, as was contended.² The effect of these opinions, and many others touching the immunities of the popedom, was a sensation. According to the Jesuit, the Court of Rome had a right to reform all the churches of Chris-

Lainez fights
for papal
prerogative.

¹ Sarpi, viii. 15.

² Cretineau, i. 274. “Lainius inde exorsus: nec à Pontifice se rubrum, nec viridem à Philippo galerum expectare.” *Saachin.* lib. vi. 35.

tendom—but none had a right to reform the pope's particular church at Rome, simply because "the disciple is not above the master, nor the slave above his lord." Hence it was evident that the Court of Rome was not to be obnoxious to the reforming energies of the Christian council. He said that those who pretended that the Church ought to be reduced to the same footing on which she stood at the time of the apostles, did not distinguish the difference of times, and what was befitting according to their mutation—alluding of course to the wealth of the Church, which he called God's providence and bounty, and termed it impertinent to say that God gave her riches without permitting her to use them—as if it is incontestably evident that God *did* give her the riches she enjoyed. The Jesuit flung Right Divine over every corner of the pope's prerogatives: tithes, annates, from the people—similar dues from the clergy, all were appointed by Right Divine—which was quite true if he equivocated, meaning the Divine right of Mammon, whose blessings to the popedom turned curses to Christendom.¹ Of this Jesuit's speech on this glorious occasion, the Cardinal de Lorraine said: "It is the finest shot fired in favour of the popes;" and the legates in full council exclaimed: "The Holy See owes much to *one* man for all he has done in *one* day."² This was a bold stroke of the Jesuit—even if he was only the exponent of the pope's party in the council. He exposed himself to the aggravated enmity of the bishops, and consequently endangered the extension of the Society: but the pope was his friend, and indebted to him on that occasion, as well as on many others, and we shall soon

¹ Sarpi, viii. 15. Quesnel enters largely into the whole discussion, ii. 71, *et seq.*

² Cretineau, i. 274.

see that the Jesuits were made, by papal privilege, independent of bishops in their rights and pride. Great was the Jesuit's glory—an enviable lot in the midst of the congregation where vanity, pride, selfishness, sycophancy, and bigotry swayed the destinies of faith, raised the phantoms of hope, and always pointed to the golden objects of their charity. Lainez had all he could desire. No honour was denied him by the pope's party. Others must stand to speak : he, in his conspicuous pulpit, might sit on his tripod, *divinoque afflante spiritu*¹—and under the inspirations aforesaid, deliver his oracles. He was the arbiter of the council's time—spoke as long as he liked—was listened to with applause ; whilst his antagonists, however concise, were always too prolix for his “ party ”—the legates.² Vain was the indignation of the Spanish and French bishops, who were convinced of the collusion whereof the Jesuit was the mouthpiece. His insolence and presumption cut deep into their pride and vanity. Lainez resolved to keep the wound open, and printed his speech, which he distributed. It was one of the copies, doubtless, which, reaching the Cardinal de Lorraine, suggested his exclamation so boastfully recorded by the Jesuits,—for the cardinal was absent from that session. In a subsequent address, when the episcopal party was strengthened by the arrival of the cardinal in debate, Lainez moderated his opinions on papal authority ; but in the Roman College of the Company, public theses were maintained that year, at the opening of the classes, and papal authority was the all-absorbing proposition : his absolute dominion over all

Honours
awarded to
Lainez.

Doings and
sayings at
the Roman
College.

¹ A phrase applied by Sacchimus to Lainez, vi. 82.

² Sarpi, ut antea.

—councils included—his infallibility in matters of faith and morality—every prerogative was mooted, and, as a matter of course, triumphantly established on the Scriptures, on the fathers, and —on *reason*—these being the three everlasting highways of controversial freebooters.¹ The secret of this papal exaltation was the simple fact that the cry for reform in the Roman Court was universal in Catholic Christendom, and the abuses—the pecuniary abuses which the Jesuits defended—were amongst the most prominent. Pius IV. was as Pius IV. and reform. intractable in the matter as any of his predecessors. To the reformation of abuses in the universal Church he was happy to consent: but as for those of his Roman department and his Roman Court—these were his own affair. Deformities there might be in that queen of all Churches—but she pleased him notwithstanding—like the mistress of the ancient Roman, with her nose so unsightly, and yet, for some reason or other, most dear to her lord. Pius IV. was of opinion that if they wished so ardently for reform, they had only to begin with the courts of the other Christian princes, which, he thought, required it quite as much as his own, and the opinion is worth knowing to the reader of this history—but as for himself, as his authority was superior to that of the council, and as inferiors had no right to reform their superiors, he would, if he thought proper, labour to reform whatever he found amiss in his Church and his court. Thus the successor of a poor fisherman raised himself to an equality with the kings of the earth, in pomp and magnificence, and pretended to justify by their example that luxury and extravagance which his title as Peter's successor, and

¹ Quesnel, ii. 84.

Christ's vicar on earth, should alone have induced him to condemn.¹

The Jesuits—the self-appointed reformers of sinners—the evangelising Jesuits—the apostles in Portugal—the The Jesuit Canisius on the same subject. the thaumaturgs in the East and in the West—the last hope of the sinking Church—the pure, the *honest* Jesuits lent their tough consciences to the pope—for a consideration. What Pius IV. said at Rome was repeated in Germany, to the Emperor Ferdinand, one of the princes who desired and ardently demanded the reform of the Roman Court. Representations were being expedited, ringing that awful peal to the holy city. The Jesuit Canisius was sent to expostulate with the Emperor. We have the Jesuit-speech in Sacchinus. After an appropriate exordium he proceeds to observe :—

“It does not become your majesty to deal severely with the vicar of Christ, a pope most devoted to you. You may offend him, and check his inclination to proceed with the reform. As he has promised to apply himself to the business, you must not mistrust the promises of the Supreme Bishop and of such a man : but you ought rather to cheer and assist him in his endeavours. Besides, can there be a doubt that this book [of representations] will fall into the hands of learned men, and will create new altercations and disturbances, and will rather aggravate than alleviate the matter in the council, which is, in *other respects*, sufficiently afflicted—*satis alioqui afflictam*. According as the dispositions and desires of each party are constituted, these will snatch at motives for new contention. Who will then hinder the minds and tongues of men

¹ Quesnel, ii. 78.

from thinking and saying that the emperor is afflicted with the prevalent epidemic of those who oppose the Church, who continually declaim against the depravity of morals, who prefer to impose laws rather than receive them; and whilst they pretend not to see their own great vices, speak against ecclesiastical rulers without measure and modesty. Moreover, there is danger lest this anxiety, the result of immoderate zeal, should not only be unsuccessful and useless, but may rather exasperate to a worse degree the diseased minds in the Roman Court, which you wish to cure—as soon as they perceive that they and the morals of their court are so roughly handled, that laws are prescribed to cardinals, that the pope is submitted to the council for correction, the authority of the legates diminished;—demanding the formation of private cliques and the separation of the debates into conventicles of the different nations there represented:¹ rendering the secretary of the council an object of suspicion—in fine, furnishing arms to turbulent men for raising greater outcries and disturbance in the council. Therefore, again and again, there is every reason to fear, lest, whilst we wish to heal the diseases of Rome or Trent, we produce worse distempers, especially in this, as it were, rage of the nations rushing into impious schism. You see what

¹ This was what the Court of Rome and the pope's legates dreaded above all, and so we see in the council all the intrigues and cabals set on foot to obviate that result. The reason why they so strongly opposed it was, that almost all the bishops of Christendom, if we except the Italians, loudly called for a reform, with which the pope was unwilling that they should meddle, and which would have been carried in the council if the decisions had been made according to the nations there represented. But the legates refusing their consent to the regulation, the Italian bishops whom Pius IV. had sent to Trent in great numbers, prevailed over that "article," as well as some others, by their multitude. Hence the Protestants said that the council was the council of the pope, and not that of the Church. See *Queenel*, ii. 90, *et seq.*

times we have fallen on :—how low the majesty of the most holy Apostolic See is reduced :—how in every direction they rush to secession, to contumacy, to defection, from the obedience due to the supreme pastor and vicar of Christ. If good men do not oppose this disastrous onslaught, as it were, of a hellish torrent—*tartarei torrentis*—if those who possess power and supreme authority do not bring their wealth to the rescue, but rather if they seem to incline in the same direction [as the “hellish torrent,”] then it is all over with religion—*actum de religione*—all over with probity—all over with peace—all over with the empire itself.¹ In these circumstances, the easiest and most advantageous measures you can adopt are those which will result from your firm and intimate connection with the pope himself. Such is the present uncertain, doubtful, troubled state of affairs, that we can scarcely hope for the continuance of the council! When matters are inclined to move in a certain direction I would not drive them headlong. We must, therefore, consider the circumstances of the time. To conclude, if we desire the good of the Church, if we wish the welfare of the empire, O most excellent prince, and if to that end it be of use to listen to the opinions of all wise men who are exempt from national prejudices, free from private considerations,—not one will be found

¹ Quesnel, a Roman Catholic, appends a note to this passage in his version of the Jesuit's speech to Ferdinand :—“One must be as blind and as unreasonable as a Jesuit in his sentiments, to proscribe, as an hostile assault, the right which General Councils have always had to reform abuses, even those of the Roman Church. We cannot say as much of what Canisius here says, that it was all over with faith and religion if men wished to reform the excessive abuses of the Roman Court. On the contrary, every one knows that it was those very abuses which chiefly occasioned the two last heresies, which, says the orthodox Quesnel, have effectually annihilated the faith and the Catholic religion in two thirds of Europe. See Father Faber's *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, which serves as a continuation to that of M. l'Abbé Fleuri.”—Ib. 93.

who will not exclaim that we are not to care so much for the conduct of strangers at Rome, as for that of our own folks here at Rome—whom we behold daily more and more rolling in a headlong course of all impiety.”¹

This wisest of men—a Daniel—a Solomon—Jesuit, was nothing less than a spy at the German court, to report to his general, Lainez, all the emperor’s measures and resolves on the subject of papal reformation.² His speech, which is a very curious specimen of Jesuitism, had no effect on the emperor : he continued to press for reform ; whereupon Lainez, in another session, advanced with the pope’s legates, as determined as ever in upholding his Holiness in his bad eminence and inveterate perversity. His address gave great offence, and the Spanish and French bishops very naturally, if not truly, pronounced him a sycophant retained by the court of Rome, very worthy of the title which Lainez as bold as ever. was already generally given to the Jesuit, styling him the advocate and apologist of all that is bad.³ No man can quarrel with the Jesuit, however, for upholding the pope in his prerogatives, however liable to corruption, since the most distinctive operations of the Jesuits depended upon certain “privileges”—hereinafter to be given—which were the immediate application of these prerogatives. But if we permit Lainez to be thus far consistent, a curious document, inconsiderately A curious document brought to light. given to their historian, by the Jesuits, for publication, compels us to think that somewhat less energy in fighting for the pope and his immunity from reform would have been advisable. The

¹ Sacchin. lib. vii. 46.

² Sarpi, vii. 65.

³ Quesnel, v. Pallavicino also mentions their suspicions, lib. xxi. c. vi. 15.

Jesuit Pallavicino admits that Lainez contended for leaving the reformation of the pope to the pope himself—that he placed the pope above all councils—and that he lashed the opponents of that doctrine without reserve—*nec sibi temperavit quin illos perstringeret qui eam negabant*.¹ Sarpi further reproduces those remarkable words, which Pallavicino, who strives to demolish all that Sarpi advances, does not deny to have been uttered by Lainez: “Many have attributed matters to abuses: but when these matters are well examined and sifted to the bottom, they will be found either necessary, or at least useful.”² The analysis of the whole speech which I have given, leaves no doubt on the mind that Lainez was no advocate for papal reform. Now, in the face of this, we find a letter written by him to the Prince de Condé—the leader of the Huguenots—only a very few months before, when in France, at the Conference of Poissy. It must be premised, as we are assured by the Jesuits, that Lainez was very intimate with Condé, with whom he frequently corresponded. The letter replies to the difficulties which Condé had raised against the reunion of the two Churches; and proceeds to say:—

“The principal cause of this separation is the conduct of the ecclesiastics who, to begin with the supreme head [the pope] and the prelates, down to the inferior members of the clergy, are in great need of *reform* as to *morals* and the *exercise of their functions*. Their *bad example* has produced so many scandals that their doctrine has become an object of contempt as well as their life.”

Nothing can be truer than this sentiment: but at the same time, nothing can be more opposed to the

¹ Pallav. ib.

² Ubi suprâ.

sentiments of the Jesuit as expressed in the council, in the capacity of papal legate. The letter concludes with another sentiment, and with a curious substitute for the writer's signature :

“In order to see this union so much desired, I would sacrifice a hundred lives, if I had as many to offer. Thus, from the misfortune of these divisions, the Divine bounty would bring forth, besides union, the blessing of the reform of the Church in her *Head* and her members.

“Your Excellency's very humble servant, in Jesus Christ.—The person who spoke to your Excellency in the King of Navarre's chamber, and whom you commanded to address you in writing what he had spoken.”¹

This substitute for his name is not so remarkable as the opinion that the Divine bounty might bring forth the blessing of reform in the Catholic Church, and all the hierarchy, by means of the Reformation or the Protestant movement—which is an opinion I have advanced, doubtless not without hurting the pride of Catholics. On the other hand, the conclusion to be drawn from these contradictory sentiments of Lainez on different occasions, is, that *policy* was the rule of his conduct ; and he soon gave another instance of his calculation. To serve the pope was a general rule of prudence, but policy made exceptions to it in particulars, as appeared on the occasion when the topic of *Clandestine Marriage* was discussed in the council.

By clandestine marriage is meant a secret union contracted without any other formality than the mutual consent of the parties. The Court of Rome declared its illegality, insisting on priestly intervention. We

¹ Cretineau-Joly, i. 423.

would give that Court full credit for moral motives in this prohibition if we never heard or read of costly “dispensations” and other celestial devices for rendering the passions lucrative, if they could not be made moral. If interest—and the topic of marriage involved very many profitable investments—induced the Court of Rome to cry against clandestine marriage, the Courts of France and Spain supported the pope on this occasion, in order to counteract the misalliances of their royal families and nobility. Lainez opposed the pope and the bishops;¹ and he was perhaps wiser in his generation than either the pope or the bishops in that determination. The love of woman had often made wise men mad, and robbed the Church of an important son or two. The royal, the noble, the rich penitent, might and would again hesitate between priestly power and love’s fierce clamour. In fact, there was much to be said on both sides of the question—as in all matters where private interests get hold of a religious question. Can we imagine that the Jesuits were ignorant of the tendencies of the age? The licentiousness which characterised the preceding century was not so threatening to “religious” influence as that of the sixteenth,—since the latter was accompanied by a powerful reaction against all ecclesiastical authority. Now, when the mountain would not go to Mohammed, he wisely said, “Then let us go to the mountain”—so the precarious tenure of priestly power depended on its levelling, and smoothing, and beflowering the path of orthodoxy. Hence this matter of love-marriage was important in a licentious and rebellious generation, and very likely to give some trouble to the *confessors* of

¹ Cretineau, i. 272.

kings, and nobles, and the great in general, who, it is evident, were the principal objects of the contemplated enactment. The "masses"—the poor—the "people" could always be managed by a burly priest or Jesuit: but kings, and nobles, the rich and the great, must always be managed by a gentle consideration directed to "the rank of the individual," and so forth—which is at least very ridiculous in the ministers of Him who is "no respecter of persons." On the other hand, if "clandestine marriage" were legalised, it was impossible to say how many abuses might not be safely tolerated under the wings of expedience. Nevertheless Lainiz espoused the thing, and generated argument accordingly. He alleged the marriages of the patriarchal times. He pointed to the abuses of parental authority in prohibiting marriage, and thus promoting licentiousness in their children, whilst clandestine marriages were declared illegal. He went further: he asserted that the regulation would not be adopted by heretics, and might be rejected even in many Catholic countries. Hence, he concluded, rather significantly, that "an infinite number of *adulteries*, and a deplorable confusion in the order of inheritance, would result."

"It seems to me very doubtful," he exclaimed, "that the Church can enact such a law, and this for a reason which others have declared, namely, that the Church shall never have the power to alter the Divine right, nor prohibit what the Gospel allows. Marriage is offered as a remedy against incontinence to those who cannot otherwise live chastely:—therefore, as all are bound to take the means to insure their salvation, the Church has not the power to hinder marriage, either as far as a certain age, or in fixing certain solemn formalities."

In conclusion, he admitted the dangers of “clandestine marriages:” but he thought them more than overbalanced by “the return to the principles of the Gospel, and consequently to *social equality*.”¹ If these were his real sentiments Lainez would have been a philosopher, had he not been a Jesuit. It was decided against him, though he again printed and dispersed his argument. The “formalities” were enjoined: but the decree began with the following words: “Although it is not to be doubted that clandestine marriages, with the free consent of the contracting parties, are ratified and true marriages—as long as the Holy Church has not annulled them,” &c.² Thus Lainez lost the point, but gained the handle:—clandestine marriages were declared ratified and true marriages. It must however be admitted that his arguments were more specious than valid. Marriage without attested formalities implying a bond of union, must presuppose more constancy in the human heart than has hitherto become proverbial.³

¹ Cretineau, i. 270, *et seq.*

² “*Tametsi dubitandum non est, clandestina matrimonia, libero contrahentium consensu facta, rata et vera esse matrimonia, quamdiu Ecclesia ea irrita non fecit,*” &c.—*Dec. de Ref. Matrim.* Sess. xxiv. c. 1. It was in the Council of Trent (Sess. xxiv. c. 1) that the publication of banns for three Sundays was first enjoined—and it is one of the least objectionable of the many things of Rome which the Church of England has retained—to the grief and regret of all who sigh for the purification of Christianity, in doctrine and in discipline.

³ The proposed intention was good, and similar to that of his brother-Jesuit, Salmeron, who permitted a still more objectionable abuse: “*Quær. 2. An permitti possint meretrices? Prima sententia probabilis affirmat, camque tenent Salm. de 6. præcept. c. 2. punct. 4. n. 84, cum S. Thom. Cov: Trull. Led., &c.: huicque clarè adhæret S. Aug. l. 2 de ord. c. 4. Ratio, quia demptis meretricibus, pejora peccata evenirent (!) præter prævaricationem mulierum honestarum (!) Ideò, S. Aug. loc. c. ait: Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus. (!)* On the other hand, Liguori quotes a contrary opinion of other divines, but concludes with a favourable opinion, distinguishing as to the *locality*: “*Licet in vastis urbibus meretrices permitti possint, nullo*

The sagacity of General Lainez was not less conspicuous in the last, or twenty-fifth, session of the famous Council. Amongst the various abuses which had crept into the Church, was monkish ^{His sagacity.} vagrancy, mendicity, or beggary. Under pretence of their pious intentions, the mendicant or vagrant monks were a pest to communities, and a shame to religion, from the practices to which they were compelled, as they argued, to resort for their livelihood. The pope willingly consented to reform every abuse in which he was not himself interested : so a reforming remedy was applied to this monkish ulcer, by permitting most of the Orders to possess funded property. The permission gave general satisfaction to the monks themselves ; for, though they had been always individually poor and collectively rich, it was absolutely necessary to grant the present statute, at a time when the monks were become so despicable, on account of their clamorous poverty, and the practices to which their alleged necessities compelled them to resort. Zamora, the General of the Minor Observantines, begged, in the name of St. Francis, whose rule his people followed, to be excluded from the privilege : the General of the Capuchins followed his example : the exemption was duly granted. Why did the General of the Jesuits—those men of transcendental poverty—not put in a claim in the name of Father Ignatius ? He did : nor could he consistently do otherwise on so trying an occasion ; and his demand was granted. But behold, next day, he requested to have his Company excluded from the exemption, saying,

tamen modo in aliis locis permittendæ sint.”—*Ligorio*, Theol. Moral. t. iii. lib. 4 ; Tract. 4. 434, p. 165 ; Ed. Mechl. 1845. Such is the Catholic theory, which evidently would suppress the *Society for the Suppression of Vice*. But such a decision published in the year of our Lord 1845 !

doubtless, with one of his boldest faces, that “the Company was indeed inclined always to practise mendicity in the houses of the professed : but, she did not care to have that *honour* in the eyes of men, and that it was enough to have the merit before God—a merit which would be greater in proportion to the fact of being able to avail herself of the Council’s permission, and yet never proceeding to the practice.¹ His object was to be free to use the permission or not, according to circumstances ;² and, like a true Jesuit, he expressed his mind in that neat metaphorical fashion, which never leaves the Almighty or His glory exempt from the assaults of Jesuit-profanation.

It was in the same session that the Company was called a “pious Institute.” That little word “pious” has been amplified into mountains of approbation, turned ^{The “pious} and twisted into every possible sort of lauda- _{Institute.”} tion by the Jesuits. Nobody will gainsay them the fullest use of the word, when it is known that, in the same sentence, the Council of Trent—with all its admitted cabals and contentions, not to say browbeating, sycophancy, and corruption—is called the *holy synod—sancta synodus*. The simple fact is, that having made some regulations respecting the novices of the monks, the decree proceeds to say, that, “By these regulations, however, the holy Synod does not intend to innovate or prohibit the clerical Order of the Company of Jesus, to serve the Lord and his Church according to their pious Institute, approved by the Holy See.”³

¹ Sarpi, viii. 72.

² Id. ib.

³ “Per hæc tamen sancta Synodus non intendit aliquid innovare, aut prohibere, quin religio Clericorum Societatis Jesu juxta pium eorum Institutum, à sanctâ Sede Apostolicâ approbatum, Domino et ejus Ecclesiæ inservire possint.”
—Sess. xxv. c. 16.

It was only quoting the words of Paul III., when he accepted the Order.¹ Such is the frivolous circumstance on which the Jesuits have rung incessant and interminably varied changes in all their apologies for the Company of Jesus ; but it is excusable in comparison to the fact, that they have not scrupled to appeal to the so-called, self-boasting “enemies of the Christian religion” for what they think an approbation. More anon on the subject. But surely the Jesuits, who boast of this little word pronounced in the “holy Synod” of Trent, could never have read or considered the extravagant epithets applied to the members of the Council on the day of its closing—the day of “Acclamations.”

It is one of the most ridiculous documents that Rome has bequeathed to a posterity which will at last shake off all the cobwebs she has heaped upon humanity. I will endeavour to give you an idea of that glorious day. Eighteen long years had the Babel-Council battled with confusion worse confounded. Infatuated—all the world knows how—there were calls for mortar, and bricks were presented—calls for water, and sand was given—calls for a plummet, and a brickbat was brought. And then they “gave it up.” As nothing *could* be done, all *was* done. Every old dogma remained exactly as it was before—only with additional anathemas. Certain reforms respecting the discipline of the hierarchy were certainly “decreed ;” but—and the fact must be well impressed on our minds—these would never have changed the old order of things, had it not been for the world’s enlightenment, mainly promoted by the Protestant movement. Similar regulations had been made in other “holy

The glorious
Acclamations
at the end of
the Council.

¹ “In eorum pio vivendi proposito.”—*Confirm. Instit. Lit. Apost.*

Synods," or Councils, many a time before, and to what purpose, during the undisputed reign of proud Orthodoxy, bastioned by her bristling prerogative? ¹ I repeat it—if the Roman Catholic be now gratified with the pleasant sight of a more moral clergy, he has to thank Luther's "Heresy" for this most desirable consummation, and he may grant the fact without sacrificing his orthodoxy, though his religious pride may be somewhat humbled.

And now for the "acclamations of the fathers at the end of the Council—*acclamationes patrum in fine Concilii*"—such being the title of the chapter. It was the 4th of December, 1563. A voice exclaimed, "Most reverend fathers, depart in peace." All cried, "Amen." And then followed the "acclamations." It was a succession of *toasts*, without wine to moisten their parched tongues withal. The Cardinal de Lorraine proposed the toasts. I shall give them literally. "To the *most blessed* Pope Pius our lord, pontiff of the Holy Universal Church, many years and eternal memory." The fathers responded: "O Lord God, preserve for many years, and a very long time, the most Holy Father for thy Church." The "Peace of the Lord, eternal glory, and

¹ The general reader will find enough to convince him of this, in a French work entitled, "Dictionnaire portatif des Conciles," Paris, 1764. The book should be translated into English for the enlightenment of our Catholics, who really know little of these matters. The work was compiled by the *catholic Alletz*—author of many useful and religious publications. By a reference to that work, p. 701, it will be found that one of the commonest infamous crimes during the time of Popes Julius, Alexander VI., Leo X., and the rest, was declared punishable by total sequestration from the rest of the Christians during the life of the sinner, after receiving one hundred strokes of a whip, being shaved and banished for ever, without receiving the sacrament excepting on his death-bed. See *Council of Toledo*, in the year of our Lord 693—eight or nine hundred years before. I have before alluded to the decisions of councils in the matter of discipline—Book I.

felicity in the light of the saints," were cried to Paul III. and Julius III., who began the Council. "To the memory of Charles V., and of the *most serene* kings who promoted the Council." Benediction was shouted, waking the unnatural echo, "Amen, Amen." "To the *most serene* Emperor Ferdinand, always august, *orthodox* and peaceful, and to all our kings, republics, and princes, many years." And the holy synod shouted: "Preserve, O Lord, the *pious* and Christian emperor: O celestial Emperor—*Imperator cælestis*—guard the kings of the earth, the preservers of the right faith." To the legates of the apostolic see, and the presidents of the Council, "Many thanks with many years," were imprecated: to the cardinals and "*illustrious*" orators, the same: to the "*most holy*" bishops, "life and a happy return to their sees": to the heralds of truth, "perpetual memory": to the orthodox Senate, "Many years." "The most holy Council of Trent, may we confess her faith, may we always observe her decrees." And they lifted up their voices, crying "May we always confess—may we always observe." Confess what? Observe what? I do not know, for it is not stated, and cannot possibly be imagined—*semper confiteamur, semper servemus*. "Thus we all believe; all feel alike; all subscribe, consenting and embracing. This is the faith of Saint Peter and the Apostles: this is the faith of the fathers: this is the faith of the orthodox." "So we believe, so we feel, so we subscribe," was the roar of the confessors in congregation. "Adhering to these decrees, may we be made worthy of the mercies and grace of the first, great, and supreme priest, Jesus Christ of God, with the intercession of our inviolate mistress, the holy God-bearer, and of all the saints." "So be it, so be it; Amen, Amen,"

—and at last, there was one final toast. And here let me ask, have you not often with horror imagined the dreadful sound of that howl, when the cruel Jews cried, “Crucify him—Crucify him?” Then you may fancy the sound, when the cardinal cried: “Anathema to all *Heretics*”—and their parched tongues gasped the final acclamation: “Anathema, anathema!”¹ I trust that we have found more than mere *epithets* to interest us in this astonishing affair. It is, however, most curious for the Jesuits (with their “pious” picking) to observe, that

¹ At the conclusion of the acclamations, “the legates and presidents enjoined all the fathers, *under penalty of excommunication*, to subscribe with their own hands, before they left Trent, the decrees of the Council, or to approve them by a public instrument.” There were 255 in all, composed of 4 pontifical legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, procurators lawfully absent 39, generals of orders 7. For the whole of the affair, see *Il Sacro Concilio di Trento* (Latin and Italian), Venezia, 1822, p. 389, *et seq.*, end of 25th Session. The pope made a batch of nineteen cardinals, all selected from his partisans in the Council, and he admitted and confirmed the decrees by a bull dated 26th January, 1564. They were immediately published and received in the churches of Italy as at Rome. Spain and Poland also received them: but the Germans and the Protestant princes would not hear of the Council, and stuck to the Confession of Augsburg. The Emperor Ferdinand, who had such fine epithets in the acclamations, the Duke of Bavaria, and the other Catholic princes demanded communion in both kinds for the laity, and the marriage of priests. In France the *doctrine* of the Council was received “because it was the *ancient doctrine* of the Church of Rome,” says Dupin, a doctor of the Sorbonne. But the decrees about discipline, which are not according to the common-law, were never received there, either by the king’s or the clergy’s authority, whatever efforts were made to get them received and published in that country.—*Dupin, Hist. of the Church*, iv., p. 116. Such was the very doubtful settlement of the faith by the universal Council of the Christian Church—the most holy synod of Trent. Its immediate effect was redoubled rancour against the “heretics,” giving all the selfish feelings fierce motives for persecution, ending in the horrible “religious” wars of France. One thing may be said in favour of the Council; it enriched the city of Trent, by the concourse of so many wealthy and sumptuous bishops, ambassadors, and others; and made it “illustrious” on the map of Northern Italy—illustrious to the devotee, the fanatic, and the calculating Pharisee; but to the right-minded, to him who thinks as he reads, to the *Christian*, that city is a monument of human infatuation, a true comedy of “Much Ado about Nothing.”

the names least provided with laudatory adjectives, are those of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.

From Trent to Rome the progress of General Lainez was a triumph, minutely described by his historians, as the result of his exploits in France and in the Council, his sustained credit, the celestial mission for which he was appointed, and the immense authority of his fewest words—*dicta ejus vel pauca vim ingentem habebant*—but, unfortunately, in the midst of his triumph, his mule took fright, dashed him to the ground, and ran over him. He escaped unhurt, which deliverance all confidently ascribed, says Sacchinus, to the special patronage of God and the God-bearer Mary—*singulari Dei ac Deiparæ patrocínio haud dubie factum*. One of his first official acts was the appointment of Francis Borgia to the post of assistant, in the place of another, who was discharged; and one of the first hopes and expectations of the Jesuits was the quiet possession of a seminary in contemplation by the pope; but the result was not as agreeable as the hours of hope. Admitting the grasping spirit of the Jesuits, we must still take into account the selfish passions of their opponents: immense opposition was made to the proposed appointment, by the Roman clergy.¹ The Roman professors, like all other professors, hated all monopoly, excepting their own; and they accordingly sent to the pope their protestation, showing—“that it was neither for the honour nor the interest of the Church to confide the education of young ecclesiastics to *strangers*; mothers who nurse their own children are most esteemed on that account, and the children are better brought up. Rome was not deficient

Lainez triumphs from Trent to Rome.

Opposition to the Jesuits at Rome.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 4, 10.

of men of very great merit, more capable than the Jesuits to fashion young clergymen in science and piety. The instruction which these Jesuits give to their pupils is not solid ; and they will carry off the best pupils of the seminary to turn them into Jesuits ; all they want is to add revenues to their colleges—in fine, the rights of the clergy of Rome are threatened.”¹

About the same time, Father Ribera and all the Jesuits of the colleges of Milan were attainted of
Foul charges. foul crimes and misdemeanours. This Ribera was father-confessor to Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan—a famous saint in the calendar. His uncle, Pope Pius IV., made him an archbishop in his twenty-second year, which was, perhaps, rather worse than Paul III.’s creation of a cardinal out of a boy, not yet out of his teens. However, both were papal relatives,
Charles Borromeo. in the time of papal abuses ; and Charles was intended for a saint ; and thus the fact must be passed over, if it cannot be excused.² The young archbishop suddenly assumed a life of great rigidity, and,

¹ Cretineau, i. 470 ; Sacchin. lib. viii. 13.

² Charles Borromeo is represented as the model of churchmen in general, and bishops in particular. “All the favour he enjoyed, and all the papal authority he could command, all the enticements of the pleasures which surrounded him, and which might have corrupted men of a more advanced age, only served to give this young cardinal the occasion for practising virtue and edifying the Church. In effect, he was so exempt from luxury, avarice, and all kinds of intemperance, that he always passed for a model of innocence, modesty, and religion. As a bishop, he gloriously acquitted himself of all the duties of a holy shepherd. He animated the faithful by the holiness of his life, and the admirable purity with which he daily applied himself to the practices of piety. He restored the ruined churches ; he built new ones. He corrected irregularities ; he abolished the profane customs which the corruption of the age had introduced, and which the negligence of the bishops had encouraged. He laboured to reduce the morals of the time to the rules of primitive discipline ; and by his vigilance and example, he reformed the great city of Milan, which was before so debauched, so little used to the practices of religion, and so abandoned to luxury, lust, and all sorts of vices.”—*Gratiani, La Vie de Commendon*, t. ii. 9.

with most commendable zeal, looked after the conduct of his clergymen, the monks, and professors of his see. All this was attributed by the Jesuits to the unction of Father Ribera, and the "Spiritual Exercises" of Loyola, and the harassments consequent to the reforms set on foot by the zealous archbishop, suggested, according to the Jesuits, one of the foulest charges imaginable against the confessor Ribera.¹ Frankly, there is some probability that the charge was false. It is easy to concoct charges and to utter imputations against any man, and the world is but too eager to spread and believe them : in the present case, as in many others, relating to other men, the accusation *proves* nothing excepting the *aspersion* on the reputation of the Jesuits. I need not say that the hostile histories of the Jesuits broadly and boldly assert the charges, as though they were facts,² though Charles Borromeo himself is stated to have recognised Ribera's innocence, and continued to honour him with his confidence.³ Meanwhile the fate of this Jesuit tended to bewilder the judgment which men might form in his favour. Lainez sent him off to *the foreign missions*. The proximate occasion was as follows :—The excessive fervour of his nephew, Charles Borromeo, induced Pope Pius IV. to believe other rumours, which affirmed that the Jesuits were striving to get him into the Society. The pope had large ecclesiastical views respecting his nephew, and this announcement roused him from the indifference in which the fouler charges against the Jesuits had left his Holiness. He frowned on the aspiring Society. Lainez was ill. The brethren resorted to propitiation. They scourged themselves five

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 13 ; Joly, i. 465.

² Quesnel, ii.

³ Guisano, a contemporary ; De Vità S. Car. Borrom., and others.

times, fasted three times ; the priests offered ten masses, and the laity prayed ten times, whilst all joined together in the evenings to rehearse the litany.¹ Scarcely recovered, he proceeded to the Vatican, and protested that he had always advised the archbishop to *moderate* his fervour. Still the pope feared Ribera's influence on his penitent's mind. Lainez cut the Gordian knot at once, promising to despatch Ribera to the Indies.²

Lainez cuts
the Gordian
knot.

The pope was satisfied, for his Holiness had insisted on that condition—*enixe contenderat* ;³

—but it still remains uncertain whether the restoration of papal favour was owing to the proof of innocence on both heads of accusation respecting the Jesuits, or to the ready compromise tendered by Lainez, who sacrificed the Jesuit-confessor. Ribera's reputation was likely to suffer by the sort of banishment, as the world would deem the Jesuit's disappearance ; but the good of the Society was paramount to the interests of the member : every Jesuit surrenders his reputation, as well as his life, into the hands of his superior. He is "indifferent" to his reputation. We might pause here to inquire how such indifference reacts on his conscience—making it as soft wax that takes every form, as an old man's stick used at pleasure, as a corpse that has no voluntary motion, according to the letter of the Jesuit-law—the dying words of Ignatius. Self-respect is the ministering angel of God vouchsafed to console us for every loss, excepting that of reputation. Succeed in depriving a man of that, and make him *feel* the fact, and you will have made him desperate in heart, though imperative circumstances may compel him to be and

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 15.

² Cretineau, ii. 468.

³ Sacchin. lib. viii. 28.

remain in your hands, as plastic wax, an old man's stick, melting carrion. The imputations cast on the Jesuit-colleges and Ribera were not satisfactorily shaken off. They remain positively affirmed, and have an air of probability, enhanced by the consideration forced upon us, as often as we think of Roman celibacy, and test it with the principles of physiology. And certain facts, too, which we may have heard positively asserted—not by strangers, not by Protestants,—with names and places well known—such facts throw a hideous discredit on Roman celibacy. *Vigilum canum tristes excubiæ*—the drowsy watch-dogs of the “rules” would nod at last: *nec munerant satis*—they fell asleep. To throw this consideration into the question bewilders the case still more; and we would willingly cling to the defence put forth by the Jesuits in the motive they allege for Ribera's exile, namely, to appease the pope in the matter of his nephew; and we would even believe that the pope honestly and heartily exonerated them from the charges, by his subsequent conduct towards them; but, to explain this, it were sufficient to consider that he had no reason to believe *all* the Jesuits guilty; and, moreover, that a general and thorough reformation in this matter would have been a labour similar to that of Hercules in the stables of Augeas. The Jesuits were useful to him and his cause. With all their faults he loved them still. If it may be said that the charges were not proved, it may also be added that the defence and concomitants were suspicious. There we will leave the matter. As a further proof of the pope's good-will and gratitude for finding himself so obsequiously humoured, the Roman Seminary was imperatively put into the hands of the Jesuits, in

Reflections.

spite of the Roman professors.¹ Thus, by the dexterous management of Lainez in humouring the pope by sacrificing his subject, Ribera, the tables were turned against the enemies of the Company, and the very charge which was thought surest to penetrate the worldly-minded pope, to the injury of the Jesuits, actually opened the speediest outlet to their deliverance, with honour and profit in addition. On the other hand, there can be no doubt nor wonder that the simple, uninitiated ones amongst the Jesuits, trembling in the growl of Vatican thunder, ascribed the thing to their scourgings, fastings, masses, prayers, and litanies—their “propitiations to God—*placamina Dei*,”—just as the “cures” by vegetable pill, jalap, rhubarb, and calomel, are the trophies of quacks and the faculty.

So complete was the return of the pope’s fostering angel to the Company, that he announced his intention to pay the Jesuit-houses a visit on the following day, in order to assure General Lainez of his regards in particular, and the whole Company of his esteem in general. Surrounded by six cardinals and a mob of minor dignitaries, the holy father commenced his atoning progress. In the church of the professed he said prayers—*post fusas preces*, then their house he explored, which he praised for its cleanliness and appropriate convenience; and then he went to the college, to be struck with wonder and admiration. On entering the great hall of the students he beheld the walls all covered on one side, with written poems. “What means that?” asked the pope.

How the tables were turned.

The pope’s visit to the Roman College.

Grand reception.

¹ “Deliberatum pontifici omnino esse Seminarii procuracionem Patribus demandare.”—*Sacchin.* lib. viii. 16.

“Extemporaneous poems on the advent of your Holiness, in the sixteen languages spoken by our pupils from as many different nations,” said the Jesuits. The pope expressed his gratification, and the Jesuits proceeded with their adulation. A seat—call it a throne—was placed for his Holiness, and one of their orators addressed him in the name of his “cohort,” “in that oration which was published, and gave universal satisfaction,” says Sacchinus. At the conclusion of the oration, there issued forth a procession of select boys, in appropriate costumes emblematical of the various languages, arts, and sciences professed in the college; and besides their emblems and decorations, each had on his breast a label inscribed with the name of the art or science, and its professor, whose representative he was—a considerate precaution in the Jesuits, for the enlightenment of the ignorant in the mystery of the emblems—*rudioribus loquebatur*—which was scarcely a compliment to the pope and his company, though probably very necessary—for the emblems were devised to typify Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Rhetoric, Dialectics, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Geometry, *Music*, Astronomy, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and lastly, the king and queen of all, Theology—*princeps ac regina omnium, Theologia*. Each typical boy advanced to the pope, and dedicated his respective science to the pontiff, in a short and graceful poem. So pleased was the pope with this last contrivance, that he said he would do much more for the College and for the Company than he had hitherto done—*dicens multo se plura pro Collegio, proque Societate, quam fecisset adhuc facturum*. Thence Pope Pius IV. proceeded round the inclosures of the college, expressing a particular wish to see the house which had belonged

to Paul IV., his implacable foeman : it is to be hoped that he said nothing bitter, after murdering his nephews, and contented himself with a *De Profundis*, in the bottomless gulf of his vengeance. Thence the pope advanced to the German College of the Jesuits : but as it was getting late, he declined hearing the verses they had manufactured for his reception—*versus ad excipendum paratos* : but he took a glance at the company awaiting his arrival, and the supper-table all laid and ready ; and after the usual questions and answers in similar visitations, respecting the organisation and professional course of the college, the holy father went home. Sacchinus says the pope's domestics reported that the Company entirely engrossed his attention on that day—which we need not be told—that he greatly praised her institutions and labours, and severely lashed those who had blamed her so unjustly ”—and the reader must decide whether the pope had seen enough on that occasion, to justify his judgment. Sacchinus,

Explanation. wiser than the uninitiated simple ones before alluded to, propounds the true cause of the pope's pacification, as he calls it—namely, the banishment of Ribera to the Indian mission—the Constitutional sink of offensive Jesuits ;¹ and the pope was solicitous, or solicited, to make amends for that admitted disgrace of the Jesuit, by *the visit of patronage*, as Ribera's departure might cast a slur on the innocence of the other fathers.²

¹ Const. p. ii., c. ii., D. “ Quando non tam propter rationem vel magnitudinem peccati, quam ob removendum offendiculum, quod aliis præbuit, demitti aliquem esset ; si alioqui aptus esset, expendet prudentia superioris an expediat facultatem ei dare, ut ad locum alium Societatis valde remotum, eandem non egrediendo, proficiscatur.” This has been quoted before in its proper place when treating of the Constitutions.

² “ Hæc igitur profectio pontificem sollicitudine liberatum haud mediocriter

So that whilst this writer lays it down that God and St. Ignatius were the authors of the pope's pacification—he fails not wisely to exhibit the human means employed for the purpose—means which he may be permitted to couple with the name of Ignatius, but which scarcely comport with that of God—though the Jesuit quotes Scripture for the fact, saying: “since the ways of the Lord are ways of pleasantness, I will add the means whereby I think the result was accomplished.”¹ All things considered, the whole affair of pacification was a sort of “dust in the eyes” of the public in behalf of a set of men whom the public believed somewhat infamous, but who were useful servants to the pope notwithstanding, and therefore to be accredited by a display of pontifical approbation.

We must not forget the display, however. It is remarkable in many respects. Already it appears that the Jesuits were directing their wits to the contrivance of *emblematic illustrations* which, by the middle of the next century, they exhibited in perfection. If Alciati gave them the idea, their own inventive faculties carried it out with admirable spirit and effect. Nothing can exceed the aptness, point, and in many cases, most exquisite delicacy of some of their emblems, in their illustrated works. Their *Imago*, of which specimens have been given in this history, is not the best of their productions in this department, though decidedly the most extravagant, simply because the vanity of the Company made her

Reflections
on the display.

affecit, ut Patrum cæterorum animadvertere innocentiam posset.”—*Sacchin.* lib. viii. 19.

¹ “Equidem placati pontificis, tametsi auctorem Deum, ac B. Ignatium haud pro dubio pono, quia tamen molles viæ Domini sunt, quibus id effectum administris putem, adjiciam, &c.”—*Id.* ib.

members mad on the subject of their "exploits."¹ We must also remark, in this display, the admirable method of their adulation. How difficult but splendid in its power in the art of flattery! Even to administer merited praise requires some tact to make it pleasant: but to flatter grossly, and yet to seem honest withal, requires some training, considerable taste, great judgment—and a deep knowledge of the human heart, resulting from mental dissection, which few have the patience to pursue, either with regard to others or themselves—and a knowledge of both is indispensable. On this occasion the *modus operandi* of the Jesuits is a model of flattery, delicate in its grossness. And in that dedication of all the arts and sciences to the pope, they reached the climax of flattery—and perhaps the fact reminds you of that metaphorical description I gave of Loyola's interview with Pope Paul III., about to establish the Company.² Lastly, I would draw attention to the rapidity of Jesuit-execution on that occasion:—all was planned and achieved in *one* day and night³—and yet they could devise and exhibit fourteen emblematic costumes to represent the shape of that which had no shape "distinguishable in member, joint, or limb"—in concrete solidifying abstract "vain wisdom all and false philosophy"—and lastly composing sixteen poems in sixteen languages, singing flattery to the pope—flattery whose greatest fulsomeness was but "a pleasing sorcery" to charm the sense and captivate the soul.⁴

¹ The subject will be further developed when the literature of the Jesuits is discussed.

² See vol. I. p. 139.

³ "Eo die subortis impedimentis non venit, insequenti autem," &c.—*Sacchin.* ib. 16.

⁴ What a contrast is the Jesuit method of complimentary exhibitions to our modern affairs of the kind! In these the *dejeuner à la fourchette*, or the dinner

This "memorable day" of the Company of Jesus might "charm pain for awhile, or anguish, and excite fallacious hope;"—its glorious sun was destined however to suffer horrible eclipse. It was by no means clear to the men at Rome that the papal visit to the Jesuits was not a *visitation*—one of those uncomfortable things which ought always to be notified in advance, as is considerately done amongst those who stand on prerogatives. But if the pope really intended a searching visitation, the Jesuits took right good care to keep him intent on the most pleasing sounds imaginable, and after tiring him out with their sights and flattery, sent him home with the right impression on his *heart*. Let it therefore be *pro benignitatis argumento*, a token of his love and its "considerations." The pope seemed pacified with the Jesuits: these retained the Roman seminary—and yet, after his visit or visitation, the pope did not think proper to justify the Jesuits respecting the late most hideous accusations. Out of the smothered cinders the conflagration burst forth anew and with tenfold energy. The foes of the Jesuits advanced with ruinous assault. A *bishop* led them on. This looks imposing: but whatever impression that majestic name should make, the Jesuits totally erase it by handing down to posterity, that this Catholic bishop was a bastard, a blinkard—one of those who had no See—of cracked reputation—a disappointed man.¹ Here

Another
enemy.

with many "covers," is the only remarkable invention to please the sense and captivate the soul. It is curious here to note three different methods by three different sections of humanity, each "paying respect" by three different sections of the human body, the head, the stomach, and the feet: thus the savage Indians dance honour to the brave; the Jesuits administer the same in emblems and in verse; the English eat and drink it amain—which smacks somewhat of the savage.

¹ "Ducem se Episcopus prebuit ex iis, quibus nulla diocesis est, spurius ipse

you have a specimen of the sort of "characters" the Jesuits give their opponents—even in their own church and religion, thus indirectly dishonoured;—but all through a natural instinct, similar to that which would make a drowning man grip and drag down to the depths below, even the mother that bore him.

This feature is one of the most objectionable in the Jesuits. Their rancorous, crushing, revengeful hatred has been frightful. Whoever once offended them was visited in a thousand ways during life, and their books exhibit the same fury lashing the dead. This is scarcely consistent with the conduct expected from the Companions of Jesus; but it reconciles us to the disappointing fact, that Jesuitism was only a section of humanity, with all the passions, as usual, directed into different channels, but not a whit the better for that, since, with the best possible intentions proposed in theory, they imitated the worst possible men in practice. And they managed this bishop, so unfortunate in his birth, his person, and fortunes. He seems to have set to work in right good earnest notwithstanding. He wrote two small books—*libellos, utrumque famosum et impudentium refertum probrorum*—both of them touching "the immediate jewel of their souls," as Iago would say, and full of "uncleanly apprehensions." He distributed copies amongst the cardinals in Rome, and far and wide

ortu, et luscus, nec optimâ famâ Venetiis diu versatus; quem proprius etiam urebat dolor, quòd cum operâ ejus Cardinalis Sabellus ad visendas uteretur Urbis ecclesias jam posthabito illo," &c.—*Sacchin.* ib. 20. As a specimen of Jesuit-variations on the same theme, take Bartoli's account of the bishop. "Per dignità Vescovo, ma *in partibus*; per nascimento, basti dirne che di nobil famiglia, ma non curato da' suoi piu che se loro non si attenesse, atteso la non legittima conditione del nascere: preso dal Cardinale Savelli in aiuto a riformar le parocche riuscitogli *piu bisognoso di riformation ne' costumi* egli, che quegli cui riformava."—*Dell' Ital.* f. 489.

out of Italy, amongst the noble and the great ; but, according to Sacchinus, he proved *too much*, and this seems to have ruined his case. "As a certain poet tells," observes Sacchinus, "of a certain woman, who gave a cup of poison to her hated husband, and, not content with that, mixed up another, but which turned out to be the antidote and cure of the former,—so this bishop, carried away by a too great desire to do harm, and heaping up many things so enormous and contrary to fact, the whole mass destroyed itself, and one poison was made harmless by the other,"¹—a comparison which shows that the Jesuits consider moderate charges poisons, and immoderate ones antidotes of the former. The philosophic Bayle said the same thing, and I have had very often to regret, in ploughing through the materials of this history, that neither the Jesuits nor their opponents have profited by the warning. But the bishop, with the utmost confidence, said he had written nothing which he was not prepared to prove before a just tribunal, with proper witnesses. A cardinal, the *patron of their Seminary*, was appointed to investigate the case between the Jesuits and the bishop. The latter brought his witnesses : they were ex-students of the German College, and ex-Jesuits. That was enough to damage the case ; their testimony was pronounced defective on that account at once, and their statements were rejected.² These are the simple facts of the case and the judgment. The alleged proofs of great private disorders were unsatisfactory, by an error in form, such as any lawyer would turn to account. The accused were acquitted. The accuser was imprisoned. And he would have been more severely dealt

The blindness of their enemies.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 21.

² Sacchin. lib. viii. 27 ; Bartoli, f. 492.

with, had the Jesuits not interceded for him, as they tell us. This is all that history has to do with. To say that it was easy and prudent, by way of precaution, to expel those who might give evidence against them, would, perhaps, be an injustice to the Jesuits, similar to their own usual disparagement of those who have ventured to question their method, unfold their real motives, and dissect their exploits.¹ As an additional favour, the pope, who from the first had promised to be their patron and protector,² wrote a letter to the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand's successor, and other princes, exonerating the Jesuits, as they assure us, from the late aspersions, which, it seems, had penetrated into Germany, to the great scandal of the Catholics and contempt of the heretics.³ It was certainly kind of his Holiness fully to reward so perfect a concurrence as he found in the general of his cohort; and it would have been scarcely fair to continue to acquiesce in the outrages visited on "those whom, in a *moment of weakness*," we are actually told by the Jesuit historian, "he abandoned to the studied injustice of the enemies of religion."⁴

Their public agitations interfered but little with the educational arrangements of the Jesuits. Having men
 Academic display. for all work, their public athlètes wrestled with the foe whilst their patient teachers were engaged in a scarcely less arduous undertaking—the battle with ignorance in the young and the old. To

¹ *Queanel* says: "In fine, by dint of falsehood and friends they succeeded so well in imposing on their judges, that they got out of the terrible scrape, which was a source of such grief to St. Charles Borromeo, that he left the court of Rome and retired to his archbishopric of Milan."—T. ii. 129, referring to an Italian Life of the Saint.

² *Sacchin*. lib. viii. 7.

³ *Sacchinus* gives two letters as the originals on the subject.

⁴ "Ceux que, dans un moment de foiblesse, il a abandonnés aux injustices calculées des ennemis de la Religion."—*Cretineau*, p. 468.

stimulate the love of praise or approbation so natural to all, the Jesuits now began to distribute rewards of merit to their pupils. The first distribution, in 1564, was attended with great pomp and circumstance, and graced by a concourse of Rome's nobles and cardinals. A tragedy was performed; and at its conclusion a table covered with the prizes was deposited:—the prizes were select works of the ancients, elegantly and sumptuously printed and bound. When the judges who had awarded the prizes were seated, a boy, acting as herald, proclaimed *quod bonum ac felix eveniret*,—a good and happy issue to the proceedings. He then announced the names of the successful competitors. As each was called he proceeded to the stage, where he was received by two other boys: one gave him the prize, repeating a distich of congratulation, the other bestowing in like manner upon him a solemn axiom against vain glory. Most of the prizes were won by the students of the German College, which was in a flourishing condition. There were two hundred and fifteen students from various nations—many of them nobles, and intimately acquainted with the cardinals and nobility of Rome. Few were Germans, but there were two Turks, and one Armenian, of excellent wit; all of whom were maintained by the pope, and civilised by the Jesuits.¹ At the same time the Jesuits were engaged on a translation of the Council of Trent into Arabic. They erected an Arabic press, at the pope's expense, and the Jesuit of the unfortunate expedition to Egypt, John Baptist Elian, executed the translation. It is difficult to discover the object of this extraordinary translation, unless the Jesuits were

The Council
of Trent in
Arabic.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii, 38, *et seq.*

preparing for another expedition. The measure proposed and carried by Canisius was more immediately to the purpose. To prevent Protestants from furtively sharing the advantages of Catholic education, he proposed a religious test or formula of faith which **the candidates for academic honours** and professorships should accept—and the pope sanctioned and ratified the measure ;¹ a measure excusable, and consistent with the aims, means, and ends of the “religious” people in those times :—but perhaps—in the absence of more sensible, religious, consistent and honourable motives—the very fact of this test being a Jesuit-invention should induce our modern “religious” people to abolish the oath of mockery devised to defend Protestantism, which needs no human defence but perfect freedom of discussion, and real, determined efforts on the part of God’s paid servants, to promote education among the people. In addition to their test we shall constantly find that the Jesuits made every effort to educate the people : if the same could be said of our moderns, who cling most fiercely to their test, they would at least merit some small portion of the praise which is due to the Jesuits—for *earning* their bread in their vocation.

And now, as the vegetable world, what time the spring sets free the sap, bursts the seeds, puts forth her opening buds, soon with leafy energies to usurp the plains, the valleys, and the mountain-sides—thus the Company of Jesus, under the first suns of apparent favour, rushed into life, and showed how she had been gathering sap, during her seeming winter-sleep in France, the Gallic province of the Company, as yet only in her Catalogue. In the year

The Jesuits
at Paris.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 41.

1564 the Jesuits entered into the lists with the University of Paris. Following up the very peculiar "reception" which had been granted them at the Conference of Poissy, provided with the wealth of Claremont, the strong veterans of the Company resolved boldly to throw themselves upon Paris and astonish the natives. In the *rue St. Jaques* they bought a huge mansion called the *Cour de Langres*, and turned it into a college. Over the portals they clapped an inscription, *Collegium Societatis nominis Jesu, the College of the Company of the name of Jesus*. They had been expressly forbidden to use their former title; they had agreed to the terms; and now "by this subtlety they hoped to neutralise the opposition of the parliament and the university: but they were disappointed."¹ A reflection on this trick is forced from their modern historian.² He admits that "such an assault of quirks was as little worthy of the great bodies which sustained it, as of the religious Company against which it was directed. It is not with wretched arms that those who govern others should be attacked or defended. The parliament and the university began the war, the Jesuits followed their example. They were placed on the ground of *chicanery*, they showed themselves as clever as they exhibited themselves eloquent in the church and professorships"—an extraordinary combination of qualities, decidedly. As the new teachers of Paris, the Company resolved to be represented by men whose science even her rivals were the first to admire. Father Maldonat, the most celebrated interpreter of the Scriptures, expounded Aristotle's philosophy; and

Maldonat,
VaneGas,
Alciati.

¹ Cretineau, i. 437; Goubault, i. 50; Pasquier, 26; Quesnel, ii. 129; Cou-drette, i. 100.

² Cretineau, ib.

Michael Vanegas delivered commentaries on the “Emblems” of Andrew Alciati,—a famous professor of the sixteenth century, and one of the first, after the revival of letters, who embellished the topics which his predecessors had sunk in barbarous obscurity. In his “Emblems” he treats of morality: but according to a Jesuit¹ he endeavours to wreath roses round about the bristling thorns;—a pleasant epicurean treat;—specious—fantastic—but comfortable as a robe of gauze in the warm days of summer.² No better subject could possibly be selected for the times when men, being strong partisans of “religion,” honestly desired that their passions should be allowed for, and indulged as much as possible. Orthodox in faith, they wished to be consistent in morals: it was necessary, in order to ensure orthodoxy, that morality should be easy and comfortable. We shall soon see that the Jesuits perfectly knew the world they had to deal with in this ticklish matter.

Other Jesuits, equally renowned, taught the Greek and Latin languages. They collected an audience of several thousands at their lectures.³

Emboldened by success, the Jesuits resolved “to penetrate into the enemy’s camp:” they induced Julien de Saint-Germain, Rector of the University of Paris, in 1562, to grant them letters of induction, and all the privileges enjoyed by the members of the university. In 1564, diplomas in hand, the Jesuits began their academical course, announcing

They attempt the university.

¹ Feller, Biog. univ. Alciat.

² He died in 1550 (at Pavia) of plethora, says Feller, from excess, like a true philosopher—*Epicuri de grege porcus*. Minoe, however, represents him in a somewhat different light. Feller is always a suspicious authority.

³ Cretineau, i. 439.

themselves as forming an “integral part” of the university. This manœuvre gave the crowning stroke.¹

The new rector, Marchand, convoked the faculties in a fright. Privilege was astounded—

Dreadful
commotion.

for never since created man
Met such embodied force, as, named with these,
Could merit more than that small infantry
Warr'd on by cranes.

A consultation ensued. Were the Jesuits to be admitted into the bosom of the university? The proposition was scouted indignantly—negatived unanimously—away with the Jesuits!

But the Jesuits would not go. They persisted and were cited to an interrogatory.

“Who are you?” they were asked.

“*Tales quales*, such as the parliament called us,” they replied. And in vain the rector Prévot put the question in four different forms:² the Jesuits were a match for

¹ Cretineau, i. 439.

² *Rector.* Are you Seculars, or Regulars, or Monks?

Jesuits. We are in France such as the Parliament called us, namely, the Company of the College which is called of Claremont.

R. Are you in fact Monks or Seculars?

J. The assembly has no right to ask us that question.

R. Are you really Regular Monks, or Seculars?

J. We have already several times answered. We are such as the Parliament called us; we are not bound to answer.

R. You give no reply as to your name, and you say you do not choose to answer as to the fact. The decree

Rector. Estisne Seculares an Regulares, an Monachi?

Jesuitæ. Sumus in Galliâ *tales quales* nos nominavit Suprema Curia, nempe Societas Collegii quod Claramontense appellatur.

R. An reipsâ estis Monachi, an Seculares?

J. Non est præsentis congregationis illud a nobis exposcere.

R. Estisne reverâ Monachi, Regulares, an Seculares?

J. Jam pluries respondimus: *Sumus tales quales nos nominat Curia*, neque tenemur respondere.

R. De nomine nullum responsum; de re dicitis non velle respondere. Senatus-consultum prohibuit ne utamini

him : they were not to be caught by the trap. If they acknowledged themselves of the *Society of Jesus*, they would render themselves obnoxious to the Act of Parliament forbidding them to use the title. So they abdicated the sacred name for the nonce, and assumed *tales quales*—ridiculous enough—but in its most awful moments it is hard to avoid laughing at Jesuitism.

Then the famous “law-suit” ensued between the Jesuits and the University of Paris, destined to be rendered remarkable in the history of human nature for every extravagance and malignity on both sides of the disgraceful contest. Stephen Pasquier with his “Catechism of the Jesuits,” and the Jesuits with their “Chace of the fox Pasquin,” will soon tear charity to pieces, and make a scare-crow of her remnants, to defend their ripening fruits. We shall see them anon ; the vintage is deferred.¹

of the Parliament has forbidden you to use the name of Jesuits or Society of the name of Jesus.

J. We do not hesitate touching the question of the name ; you can arraign us in law if we assume any other name against the regulation of the decree.

vocabulo *Jesuitarum*, aut *Societatis nominis Jesu*.

J. Non immoramur circa questionem de nomine ; potestis nos vocare in jus si aliud nomen assumimus contra determinationem arresti.—*Du Boulay, Hist. de l'Université*, t. vi.

¹ All the authorities before referred to, beginning with Cretineau and ending with Coudrette. The Jesuits presented a Memorial to the Parliament, in which there are certain admissions which deserve attention. “As the name of Religious is given only to monks who lead an extremely perfect life, we are not Religious in that sense, for we do not think ourselves worthy to profess so holy and perfect a life ; the occupation of the former being only to apply themselves to works of piety, whereas all ours consists in other things, and chiefly in the study of those arts which may conduce to the spiritual good of the public”—a most unlooked-for avowal—for if there be a character which they strive most to gain credit for in their histories and biographies, it is that of sanctity and moral perfection—which was an easy matter, for they said that God had granted the boon to Ignatius that no Jesuit should commit a mortal sin during the first hundred years of the Company, and that Xavier had got the privilege extended over two hundred years more—which unfortunately elapsed before the pope

D'Alembert's reflections on both parties, at the present scene of the tragi-comedy, are apposite. "Scarcely had the Society of Jesus begun to appear in France, when it met with numberless difficulties in gaining an establishment. The universities especially made the greatest efforts to expel these new comers. It is difficult to decide whether this opposition does honour or discredit to the Jesuits who experienced it. They gave themselves out for the instructors of youth gratuitously; they counted already amongst them some learned and famous men, superior, perhaps, to those whom the universities could boast: interest and vanity might therefore be sufficient motives to their adversaries, at least in these first moments, to seek to exclude them. We may recollect the like opposition which the Mendicant Orders underwent from these very universities, when they wanted to introduce themselves: opposition founded on pretty nearly the same motives, and which ceased not but by the state into which these orders are fallen, now become incapable of exciting envy.¹

Reflections.

suppressed them, otherwise a Company of Saints would have perished. The Memorial further says: "With regard to the questions which you have put to us, we cannot reply to them in a clearer, more precise, or distinct manner than we have done. We therefore beseech you to consider all these things, and to act in this affair with your usual moderation, prudence, and kindness. If you will grant us the honour of admitting us among you, and permission to teach, without obliging us to resort to a law-suit, you will always find us obedient to the laws of your University in all things," &c.—*Queenel, Du Boulay, Mercure Jesuit. 347, et alibi.*

To explain the dexterity of their ambiguous reply, *tales quales*, we must remember that no other answer could have rid them from the embarrassment. If they had called themselves Secular Priests, all their "Privileges" as regulars would fall,—besides, their vows were well known. Secondly, they would have surrendered their claim to the rich legacy of the Bishop of Claremont, given to them as Regulars. Had they called themselves Monks they would have been at once excluded from public tuition—a privilege never conceded to Monks by the University.

¹ I have shown my concurrence in this opinion respecting the motives of

“On the other hand, it is very probable that the Society, proud of that support which it found amidst so many storms, furnished arms to its adversaries by braving them. It seemed to exhibit, from this time, that spirit of invasion which it has but too much displayed subsequently, but which it has carefully covered at all times with the mask of religion, and zeal for the salvation of souls.”¹

The University of Louvain, the most celebrated after that of Paris, made the same opposition to the Jesuits.

The Jesuits could win over, and won over, kings and their people ; but their rivals in the public mind, their rivals in the “interests” of tuition, were inexorable. Antagonism fixed as fate was between them,—for it was the battle of two monopolies. There was another reason. The Jesuits were innovators ; their system was considered a novelty ; and they promised to “keep pace with the age,” accommodating themselves right cleverly to the wants of the times, like any clever

opposition ; still, we must listen to the expressed motives of the universitarians. After alluding to the nondescript nature of the Company, and the consequent mystification, they proceed to say fairly enough, that “this body is not receivable, but that the members [a few are named] are receivable ; for the University receives all individuals, and prepares them for places among her members, each according to his state and qualifications,—to the Secular in the Faculty of Arts, &c., to the Regular in Theology, &c. The University does not object to there being a college at Claremont, according to the decree of the court, nor to there being Jesuit-bursers in the University. The University, nay Christendom, cannot and ought not to receive and tolerate a house or college entitling itself the House or College of the Jesuits, nor calling itself the College of the Christians ; for of these two names of our Saviour, Christ is common to him with the patriarchs, prophets, priests, and kings ; and Jesus is his proper name, which was given to him at the Circumcision, according to the custom of his people. And let the Jesuits go and call themselves so, if they like, among the unbelieving infidels, for to preach to whom they were first instituted. *The University admits the council above the pope*, wherefore it cannot receive any company or college whatever, which *places the pope above the council.*”—*Du Boulay*, t. vi. p. 587 ; *Annales de la Société*, i. 22.

¹ Sur la Destruction des Jesuites, p. 19, *et seq.*

artist, trader, bookseller, and author; whereas the universities librated in their apogee, for ever the same, from the beginning even until now, “quenched in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea nor good dry-land,” inextricably confined in the region of “sable-vested night, eldest of things.” An university can no more change its skin than an Ethiop. But the Jesuits were “legion”—ready for everything, provided it could be made useful in their vocation—glory to the Company and glory to the Church, with comfortable colleges and endowments, not *excepted*. No lazy drones were the Jesuits: no bibbers of wine, beyond the stomach’s comfort: no runners after women unto madness; but always on the watch—always ready for work, work, work, and no respite. “Legion” they were, and would rather be sent into swine than remain idle. If they could not walk on *two* legs, *four* would be their locomotives; and they had no particular objection to fins. Again I say that, in labouring for their hire, the Jesuits have utterly shamed all their competitors, much as it may please their rivals of the *universities*, ancient and modern, to see them ravenously “cut up,” and hear them savagely abused. Who would not prefer to join the “party” of the Jesuits, rather than condescend to appear in the ranks of those who fatten on the emoluments of “faith,” without a reasonable, honest, or honourable motive for “hope,” and confining “charity” within the precincts of their own cuirassed egotism—cool, calculating, harsh, and exclusive.

Touching the skin of universities.

Jesuits as compared to their opponents.

A stirring time ensued for the Jesuits. *Religious war*—what a mockery! Religious war was raging in France. Denied the preceptorate, they had still an ample

field in the contusion of heresy. Their superabundant energies had a thousand outlets. Scattered over France, unrecognised by the law of the land, but sanctioned by the law of obedience, and impelled by the fury of "religion," they danced around the boiling cauldron of discord, each dropping in some infernal ingredient "for a charm of powerful trouble," whilst their Hecate at Rome cried "Well done! I commend your pains."¹ For, let us look back and scan results. Charles IX. had given the Huguenots a "pacification," an edict which permitted them to serve God as they pleased. This was in 1561, immediately after the conference of Poissy. It was a grant eventuated by expediency; but the principle of enlightened toleration was nobly asserted by the old Marshal St. André, and his wisdom prevailed over the blindness of the age. In truth, Providence left not the men of those times without counsel; but the inveterate selfishness of kings, nobles, and priests, and ministers, palsied every effort which God so often directs for the good of humanity. All that France could talk or think of, was the conference of Poissy and its results. The Protestants, proud of their rights, thought that all doubts were ended, and sang victory to their ministers. Edict in hand, they transgressed its boundaries, would share the churches with the priests, who yielded in ignorance or in terror, or with a secret inclination to change their skins by joining the Huguenots.² Troubles soon ensued—skirmishes, assaults, bloodshed, open hostility.

¹ "And every one shall share i' the gains,
And now about the cauldron sing,
Like elves and fairies in a ring,
Enchanting all that you put in."

² D'Aubigné, Mem. col. clvxxii.

In the party of Rome there was division—estrangement—hostility amongst each other. Seven French bishops the pope excommunicated for granting toleration, or for adopting some of the new doctrines. The Queen of Navarre had embraced Calvinism : she announced her convictions by breaking down the Catholic images, seizing the churches, expelling the priests : Pope Pius IV. came down with his prerogatives and excommunicated the Queen of Navarre, if in six months she did not appear before him to give an account of herself—under penalty of being deprived of all her dignities and dominions—her marriage declared null and void—her children bastards—menacing the queen with all the penalties awarded to heretics by Christ’s vicar upon earth.¹ The King of France interposed in behalf of his relative, and the Vatican bolt was suspended mid-heaven : but the spirit which prompted the measure was encouraged. It was encouraged by the violence of the Calvinists, and by the unequivocal resistance of the French bishops to the exorbitant prerogatives of the popes—the ultramontane pretensions decreed by the Council of Trent. Madness then dictated the conduct of the ultramontanes—and the people—scape-goats for ever—were dragged into the remorseless gulf of “civil” warfare—the warfare of a country’s people fighting for its destruction. The pope’s cohort fanned the flame of discord—
Proceedings of the two parties.
The pope’s cohort.
 spread the conflagration through the length and breadth of the land. When Lainez was expressly ordered by the pope to leave France for the last Sittings of the Council² after the conference of Poissy—

¹ Davila, i. 162 ; Sarpi, viii. 61.

² “ Jam dudum Pontifex Maximus Lainio mandarat ut ad concilium se

where he expressed such uncompromising, insulting sentiments to the Calvinists—"he enjoined," says his own historian, "he enjoined his companions to pursue heresy in every direction. Some battled with it in Paris, others fronted it in the remotest provinces."¹ Verily a nation went up upon the land, strong and without number, whose teeth were the teeth of a lion—the cheek teeth of a great lion. Was it to do evil that they went? Was that their intention? Fanatics as culpable as themselves may say so:—but let justice be done to the infatuated organs of papal ambition, and the dread spirit of sacerdotal influence. They thought they had a good conscience. They felt confident that they were fighting as God willed them to fight: the evil that ensued was sanctioned and sanctified by a text of Scripture. Beware how you lash these Jesuits, forgetting yourselves. Look around—read—and think of all that humanity has suffered from the religious sentiment perverted. In truth, God was above and earth was beneath, with man i' the midst—but who had stuck themselves between man and his God? Popes, monks, priests, Jesuits, and all who were like them—stuck betwixt God and the souls of men, which must go through them in order to go to God. Therein was the very gulf of human ruin—the Babel-mandeb of misery, wails, pangs, gnashing of teeth—or the desert whence swarms the multitude of ravening insects to prey on humanity. And in those dreadful

Look around,

Tridentinum conferret."—*Sacchin.* lib. vi. 70. The pope's own affairs were to be discussed, as you remember, and Lainez was to uphold the very abuses which he had denounced to the Prince de Condé!

¹ "Pendant ce temps, Lainez parti pour le Concile de Trente, avait enjoint à ses compagnons de poursuivre partout l'hérésie. Les uns la combattaient à Paris, les autres lui tenaient tête au fond des provinces." — *Oretineau*, i. 442.

times of religious barbarism, kingdoms and the poor man's home were made desolate by the spirit it generated—and the wretched people rushed beneath the wheels of the crushing Juggernaut, as their “religious” advisers impelled them:—what the palmer-worm left, the locust devoured—what the locust left, the canker-worm corroded, leaving remnants still for the caterpillar, whose royal wings, so beautifully bedecked, waved as the insect sucked the sap of a nation. You must have specimens of how they managed matters in France, in those religious times. In 1562, the Bishop of Chalons flattered himself that he could convert a congregation of Huguenots at Vassi.

Massacre of
Huguenots
at Vassi.

He tried, was baffled, and retired with shame, confusion, and mockery. Thereupon he inflamed the zeal of the Cardinal de Guise, who summoned two companies of soldiers, sounded a charge—the conventicle was furiously entered—all who did not escape by the windows were slaughtered, whilst the priests busied themselves with pointing out the wretches who were trying to escape over the roofs of the houses. The princes and ladies who witnessed the foray, are said to have displayed the same edifying zeal. On a subsequent occasion three hundred wretches were shut up in a church and starved for three days. Then they were tied together in couples, and led off to slaughter—on the sands of the river they were murdered after a variety of torments. Little children were sold for a crown. A woman of great beauty excited pity in the heart of him who was going to kill her,—another undertook the deed, and to show the firmness of his courage, he stripped her naked, and took pleasure, with others around him, “in seeing that beauty perish and fade in death—*a voir perir et faner*

ceste beauté par la mort! During the slaughter of their mothers babes were born, to be thrown into the river by the murderous fiends; and they say that one poor babe held up its little hand as the piteous waters bore it up and swept it along—and they *watched* it out of sight!—*la main droicte levée en haut, autant que les veuës le peuvent conduire.*¹ The Bishop of Orange negotiated a subsidy from Italy: seven thousand men marched under Fabrice Cerbellon to execute a butchery. Babes at the breast were pricked to death with poignards: some were impaled, others were roasted alive; and some were sawed asunder. Women were hanged at the windows and door-posts; children were torn from their breasts and dashed against the walls: girls were ravished, and still more hideous and brutal crimes were committed by the *Italians*. The slaughter was indiscriminate—for even some Catholics perished; and those who had sworn the oath required, by way of capitulation, in the castle, were hurled over the precipice. Then a fire broke out, consumed three hundred houses—among which was that of the bishop, the cause of the whole calamity—*cause de tout le mal.*²

Turn to the other side. The brutal Baron des Adrets had changed sides. From the Catholics he went over to the Huguenots. He took with him his infernal passions to disgrace the cause which he espoused, from resentment or other base motives. He inflicted a reprisal for the slaughter at Orange. At St. Marcellin he surprised three hundred Catholics, cut them to pieces or made them leap a precipice. Montbrison was besieged, and was capitulating. The baron came up, cut all to pieces, except

Other
"Catholic"
barbarities.

"Protestant"
barbarities—
Des Adrets.

¹ D'Aubigné, col. clxxxiii.

² D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ. col. cciii.

thirty, whom he compelled to leap a precipice by way of amusing himself after dinner. One of them hung back at the brink: "What!" exclaimed the baron; "you require *two* attempts for the leap!" "Sir, I'll give you *ten* to do it in," was the man's reply—and the baron pardoned him for his wit.¹

And now you would like to know the prevalent principles of human conduct in those times. The Protestant D'Aubigné will tell us this baron's sentiments on the subject—and as he brought them from the side which he left and still imitated or surpassed in cruelty, the avowal is worth a hundred facts, however horrible. "I asked him three questions," says D'Aubigné—"Why he had perpetrated cruelties so ill becoming his great valour? Why he had left his party by which he was so much accredited? and, Why he had succeeded in nothing after deserting his party, although he fought against them? To the first he replied: 'That in retaliating cruelty no cruelty is perpetrated—the first is called cruelty, the second is *justice*.' Thereupon he gave me a horrible account of more than four thousand murders in cold blood, and with torments such as I had never heard tell of—and particularly of the precipice-leaping at Mascon, where the governor made murder his pastime, to teach the women and children to see the Huguenots die, without showing them pity. 'I have repaid them something of the kind,' said he, 'but in smaller quantity—having regard to the past and the future:—to the past because I cannot endure, without great cowardice, to witness the slaughter of my faithful companions:—but for the future, there are two reasons which no captain can reject: one is, that the only way

The "principles" prevalent.

¹ D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ. col. cevi.

to put a stop to the barbarities of the enemy is to inflict retaliation.' Thereupon he told me of three hundred horsemen whom he had sent back to the enemy on chariots, each man with a foot and a hand cut off: 'In order,' said he, 'to change a warfare without mercy, into one of *courtesy*, and the thing succeeded—*pour faire, comme cela fit, changer une guerre sans merci, en courtoisie* In a word,' he continued, 'you cannot teach a soldier to put his hand to his sword and his hat at the same time.' With mighty and unflinching resolutions in his heart, the idea of retreat was out of the question—'in depriving my soldiers of all hope of pardon, they were forced to see no refuge but the shadow of their flags; no life but in victory.' And lastly, touching his ill success personally, he replied with a sigh: 'My son, nothing is too hot for a captain who has no longer more interest than his soldier in victory. When I had Huguenots I had soldiers, since then I have only had traders who think only of money. The former were bound together by dread without fear—*de crainte sans peur*,—whose pay was vengeance, rage, and honour. I had not bridles enough for them. But now my spurs are used up—*ces derniers ont usé mes éperons.*'¹ "The horrors perpetrated by the Baron des Adrets," quotes the Jesuit Feller, with approbation, "the horrors perpetrated by the Baron des Adrets alone suffice to *justify* the severest measures which are taken in some countries against the introduction of anti-Catholic sects and dogmatisers. What horrible scenes would France have been spared had she been on the watch like Italy and Spain, to expel, or extinguish in its birth, a scourge which was destined to produce so many others, and which, in

¹ D'Aubigné, col. ccxv. *et seq.*

establishing the reign of errors by fire and sword, has placed the monarchy within two inches of its destruction!"¹ And who, may we ask, eventuated these calamities? Who roused destruction to swallow up those whom argument could not poison? Who drove the heretic to vengeance? In whose ranks was Des Adrets trained to slaughter? And to talk of Spain and Italy! It had been indeed a blessing for these countries had "heresy" been vouchsafed to them by heaven for enlightenment. They would not be now amongst the lowest, if not the most degraded of nations.

In the midst of these dreadful doings the Jesuits tramped over France, ferreting out heresy—worming for the pope. Montluc, the bishop of Valence, was no Procrustes of a bishop: he temporised a little with the heretics. This was enough for the Jesuits, who would temporise with none but the orthodox.² Emond Auger rushed to battle. Suddenly he appeared on the banks of the Rhone, like Châteaubriand's "ancient bison amidst the high grass of an isle in the Missis-
The Jesuit
Auger.
sippi." The Jesuit preached, and he taught, and doubtless he converted: but in the heyday of orthodoxy—whilst he hugged that Dalilah—the Philistines were upon him! The Huguenots, under the ferocious Baron des Adrets, took him prisoner. They raised a gibbet to hang the Jesuit. A Jesuit can brave grim death better than most men: because, as he has more motives to *live* for, so has he more to *die* for—and all are condensed into two words, OUR ORDER. Emond held forth, like the

¹ Biog. Univ. *Adrets*.

² Cretineau calls this bishop "a skilful politician and still more skilful courtier, abandoning his flock to the teeth of the wolves."—t. ii. 442. The Jesuits made wolves of the mildest sheep; but then they were *orthodox* wolves, and that's the difference.

swan, melodious in death: he captivated the coarse-grained Huguenots: the heretics relented: they sent him to prison. One of them actually fancied he could convert the Jesuit! And they tried—and left him in his dungeon thinking “What *next?*” On the following day he was set free by the interposition of the Catholics. His brother-Jesuit Pelletier underwent the same fate, but was liberated by the Parliament of Toulouse. The Jesuits left the scene of their struggles, “where their presence only exposed the Catholics to more certain perils, not having as *yet* the energy to *repel force by force*,” says the historian of the Jesuits.¹ Thence to Auvergne Auger departed; and soon the towns of Clermont, Riom, Mont-Ferrand, and Issoire experienced the effects of his zeal: “he preserved them from the invasion of heresy.”

The civil war raged fiercely on all sides—the battle of Dreux gave victory to the Catholics—the leader of the Huguenots, Condé, was a prisoner, and Beza narrowly escaped. The Duke de Guise, the royal firebrand, had won the victory; about a month after, he was murdered by an assassin—who was arrested, implicating the leaders of the opposite party in the cowardly crime—but it was by *violent torture* that they wrung from the wretch what they wanted to hear—the names of La Rochefoucault, Soubise, Aubeterre, Beza, and Coligny—the great Huguenot leader.² A death-bed suggested merciful wisdom to the

The murder
of the Duke
de Guise.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 444.

² This charge has become a point of controversy. Certainly all crimes were likely to be committed and countenanced on both sides of that “religious” warfare; but Browning makes out a good case in favour of Coligny. The assassin, when drawn and quartered, a horse pulling at each hand and leg, execrated those whom he had accused, revoking his first deposition. He

dying Guise. The horrible massacre of Vassy at which he presided, he now lamented, and strove to extenuate. He conjured the queen to make peace. Those who advised the contrary, he called the enemies of the State.¹ But it was a "religious" question. An angel from heaven would have been unable to check the restless fury—much less a dying leader—murdered in the cause—and proclaimed a French Moses—a modern Jehu—which, however, was neither comfort nor hope to the man hurrying to judgment. The loss of this great leader was a blow to the cause: spirits drooped: the "men of God" were in requisition; and the Jesuits were not wanting. Wherever zeal for "the faith" was to be reanimated, the Jesuit Auger bore through every obstacle—drove in his spike, which he clenched. Then he published his famous catechism in French, which was subsequently translated into Latin and Greek "for the use of schools." It is said that thirty-eight thousand copies were sold or issued in eight years—every copy of which must have converted its man, for we are assured that Auger converted 40,000 heretics to the faith.² Together with Possevin he accepted the challenge of the eloquent Calvinist Pierre Viret, formerly a Franciscan. It is well said that "the conference prominently exhibited the extent of their theological acquirements, and ended in nothing."

To aggravate the sufferings of humanity torn by civil war and social disunion, a pestilence broke out in France,

excepted the admiral; but soon after he whispered in the ear of the President De Thou, exonerating Coligny as well; and he publicly said, despite the horrors of that dreadful death, "that if the blow was again to be struck, he would strike it again;" which seems to show that the wretch needed no abettor.—*D'Aubigné*, t. i. col. 251. See *Browning*, p. 43, *et seq.* for Coligny's exculpation.

¹ *D'Aubigné*, *ib.*

² *Biblio. Script. S. J.*

and swept off sixty thousand persons in the city of Lyons alone. Auger exerted himself to the utmost for the relief of the patients, visiting, consoling them, distributing alms which he collected. And then he induced the magistrates to bind themselves by a vow, to propitiate the cessation of the plague : it was made : and when the plague ceased the Jesuit was commissioned to pay or perform it in the church of Our Lady du Puy. On his return the magistrates rewarded the Jesuit by presenting his Company with a college. It was a municipal building, common to all the inhabitants ; and the Calvinists complained of the transfer. Auger told them, and had it stipulated in the document, that the Calvinists should have an equal right with the Catholics, to the education of the Company¹—a poor consolation for the Calvinists, if the Latin and Greek catechism of the Jesuit was to teach the language of Homer and Virgil to their children—with the mythology of the popedom included, conjugated with every verb, and *not* declined with every noun. It was cleverly managed ; for, of course, there was no chance of any child of Calvin remaining long in their hands without being transformed into a son of Ignatius. Thus the Jesuits had reason to bless the plague, and their veteran's devotedness to the pest-stricken, for a splendid prospect at Lyons. Charity does not always meet its reward here below—in the generality of mortals—but the Jesuits, somehow or other, seldom, if ever, failed to turn their devotedness to account. Still, what they gained, they worked for—earned by some equivalent—which cannot always be said of those whose brilliant “rewards” puzzle us when we strive to account for them, or compute their advantages.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 447.

It evidences the unscrupulous or unflinching boldness of the Jesuits, that in spite of the opposition made to their admission into France—in spite of the stringent conditions of the decree by which they were *not* tolerated in their true capacity, they pressed forward reckless of consequences. Already they divided France into two provinces of the Order,—the Province of France, and the Province of Aquitaine or Guienne.¹

Boldness of
the Jesuits.

Over all parts of the country they wandered in pursuit of heresy, winning a few, but exasperating many, and stirring the fermenting mass of discord.

The active and eventful life of General Lainez was drawing to a close: but he could afford to die, beholding the fruit of his labours in the ever enlarging bounds of his Company. In whatever direction he turned his eyes—there was ardent hope in his men, if not immediate prospect in its objects:—there was always some consolation—some tangible solace for their pangs. And nowhere were greater efforts made for the Company's supremacy, than in Germany.

In the year 1551 the Jesuits had no fixed position in Germany. In the year 1556 they had overspread Franconia, Swabia, Rhineland, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Bavaria. The professors of the University of Dillingen—Dominican monks among the rest—were dismissed to make room for the Jesuits, who took possession in 1563. It was a sort of compact between the Cardinal Truchsess and the Company of Jesus. In the spreading novelty of their adventures—in the fame which their every movement achieved—in the minds of the orthodox sticklers for papal prerogatives,

The Jesuits
in Germany.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 447.

the Jesuits everywhere met with a cheer and a hand and a useful purse. They “were winning many souls and doing great service to the Holy See”—wherever they flung their shadows heresy grew pale and orthodoxy brandished the spear of defiance. They suited their method to the German mind :—what failed with the Protestant, was a nostrum, a holy dram to the Catholic ; and they laid it on thickly and broadly and with infinite variety—so that every one found his peculiar taste consulted, and opened his heart accordingly. The public exhibitions of the Jesuits were the most brilliant ever witnessed, conducted with dignity and decorum, and full of matter—“patronised” by royalty and nobility and the usual concomitants.¹ Following out a maxim of Lainez, propounded when he ordered public thanksgiving for the Company’s increase, the Company required that all who would undertake the difficult task of tuition should devote their whole lives to the undertaking—so that every year’s experience might be as many steps to perfection in that art which may so easily be made subservient to any given scheme—but which, for complete success, imperatively demands unflinching industry, inventive self-possession, simplicity of character, a heart of magnetism to attract, and a thorough perception of human character in all its varieties. First impressions are with difficulty erased : life’s beginnings are the prophets of its endings.² The Jesuits had a care of the foundations when European heretics were likely to be their hostile sappers. Dust and sand they threw in the

Touching
education.

¹ *Agricol. Hist. f. 68 ; Ranke, 138.*

² “*Quæ prima inciderant animo, difficillimè aboleantur, et ut vitæ posita initia sunt, ita reliquum consequatur.*”—*Sacchin. lib. ii. 91.*

eyes of the savage, because merely "conversion" or rather "baptism" was the object—inducing ruinous degradation in the loss of caste, or separation as by a contract, from father, mother, friend, and acquaintance—and consequently utter dependence on the conquerors of their country. These served—these fought willingly enough by their brutal instincts:—but principle is required in the European—a principle of some specified kind, whether it centres in gold—in partyism political or "religious"—or in God, the unerring guide to all who heartily ask, and seek, and knock. And it was necessary for the Jesuits to sow and to water, to trim and keep vigorous the principle of antagonism—the Catholic antagonism of the sixteenth and following century. A man's skin may be easily torn and diachylon will heal it: but tear out his heart—and you may do as you please with the carcass. A dreadful comparison:—but is it not precisely thus with those whom men have won, and bound to themselves by bonds they cannot describe—and yet cannot resist—nay, rather bless them—and would not be free—for freedom from such bewitching tyranny would entail death in desolation? To that result the Jesuits cleverly applied. And they began with childhood,—primitive education.¹ The men selected for these commonly despised beginnings were such as would devote their whole existence to the training of this most important stage of human existence. Experiment and experience build up a teacher's art. A given object is to be gained:—ten thousand psychological facts must suggest the method. And so the Jesuits wisely

¹ You remember what Virgil says: "*Adeo à teneris assuescere multum est.*" And the dictum of Terence: "*Si quis magistrum ad eam rem cæperit improbum, ipsum animum ægrotum facile ad deteriorem partem applicat.*"

would have a man devote his whole life to the undertaking. They were successful, as a matter of course :—for, in spite of all that is said of chance, and luck, and good fortune, rest assured that all success depends entirely upon the selection of the appropriate means of achievement. If men would but investigate, and test this fact by experience, we should not so often hear God's providence indirectly blamed by pretended submissions to "His wise decrees." God wills the accomplishment of every law He has framed for success or happiness to the intellect, the moral sentiment, and the instincts of man. Each in its department, has its rights and its laws—and in proportion to its endowments and loyalty to God, will be its success—which we call "good luck" and "good fortune." Good luck it may be called—but certainly it was found that the pupils of the Jesuits in Germany learnt more under them, in half a year, than with others in two whole years. Even Protestants recalled their children from distant schools and gave them to the Jesuits. Be not surprised :—people look to results. Results are pounds shillings and pence in their eloquence to the mass of mankind. Everybody can, or fancies he can count them unmistakeably. Then, Jesuit-results gave "*general satisfaction.*"¹ Schools for the poor were opened. Methods of instruction were adapted for the youngest capacities. And then was printed a right orthodox *Catechism*, with its plain questions and unanswerable answers, composed by the "Austrian dog," Canisius, as the Protestants called him—the "scourge of the heretics" as the Catholics proclaimed him—and *unus è Societate Jesu*—one of the Company of Jesuits, as he

Touching
"luck,"
"chance,"
and "for-
tune."

Canisius and
his catechism.

¹ Ranke, *ut antea*.

was in reality, neither more nor less—and quite sufficient. He was the first provincial of Upper Germany—he enlarged the bounds of his province by his eloquence—held the heretics in check by his disputations—and fortified the orthodox. His protracted residence in Austria, and his incessant clamour for the faith, procured him the title of *Austrian dog*: “but he was no dumb dog,” says Ribadeneira, the glorious Jesuit: “and his bark was no whimper; his bark and his bite defended the flock in the fold from the wolves on all sides lurking.”¹ Canisius was the first *author* among the Jesuits, after holy Father Ignatius, if the Spiritual Exercises were really the products of his pen—and not a joint-stock concern, with the founder for a stalking-horse.² Thus the first book published by the Jesuit-Company, was *A Sum of Christian Doctrine—Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*, by Canisius, but *anonymously*—a curious omen decidedly, for *one of the Company of Jesus* not to acknowledge *a sum of Christian Doctrine*. Subsequently enlarged and translated into Greek and Latin from the original German, it became a classic in the Jesuit-schools, so as to enable “the boys” to “take in” what the Jesuits called “piety,” together with their

¹ “Sed haud canem mutum, aut non valentem latrare, sed qui latratu et morsu lupos passim grassantes ab ovili Christi arceret.” Among their innumerable pious inventions, the Jesuits say that *before the foundation* of the Company, a certain woman, who passed for a saint, admonished the mother of Canisius to “educate him with great care, because a certain order of clerics would soon be founded, which would be of immense utility to the Church, and into which Company her son would be enrolled, and be considered a most remarkable man.” “The event,” adds the Jesuit, “verified the prophecy or presentiment of the woman.”—*Bibl. Script. S. J.* The object of these prophecies, and there are many, was probably to counteract the *other* prophecies, like that of Archbishop Brown already given, as a dread forewarning of the awful doings of the Jesuits.—It is quite natural.

² “Primus omnium Societatis partus, post S. Patriarchæ nostri Exercitiâ Spirituâlia.” *Bibl. Script. S. J.*

Latin and Greek—*ut adolescentium pietatem . . . und cum ipsis literarum elementis . . . utiliore redderemus.*¹ “Incredible,” says Ribadencira, “were the fruits of this Catechism in the Church of Christ—and I mention only one testimony thereof, namely, that by its perusal the most Serene Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuberg admits that he became a Catholic”²—as if, to a Christian mind, the conversion of a Duke in his wealth and glory, were really more estimable than that of a peasant in his rags and degradation. And now you shall have a few specimens of the tree whose fruit was so incredible in the Church of Christ—piety to the young—and conversion to a duke.

After establishing, in the usual way, all the defensive points of controversy, Canisius dashes headlong into the offensive, snarling to admiration. Catholic unity has been established; he proceeds to question and answer as follows :

“Is the same unity found amongst Protestants—*acatholicos* ?”

“Not the least in the world—*minimè vero*—for this is most clearly evident from their continual schisms in the principal points of faith.”

“Have you an example in point ?”

“Luther himself, for instance, who, whilst in his *Catechism*, he recognises only one sacrament instituted by Christ, *elsewhere* propounds two, three, four, yea, and even seven sacraments.”

Imagine the “fruit” of this clinching “argument”

¹ From the Preface to the translations printed in the Jesuit College at Prague, in 1709, “for the use of the Latin and Greek schools of the Company of Jesus throughout the province of Bohemia, a new edition—in usum scholarum humaniorum Societatis Jesu, per provinciam Bohemiæ, denuo recusus.”

² Bib. Script. S. J. Pet. Canis.

boldly repeated by the young propagandist of the Jesuit schools, as a "fact;" and also imagine the difficulty into which he would be thrown by the question, *Where?* to that *elsewhere* of the catechist, who pretended not to know the "broad ground-work" for which Luther contended.¹ Next as to *morals*.

The sanctity of "the Church" has been established in the usual way: Canisius proceeds indoctrinating the young for controversy in the social circle:—

"But are there not many wicked people amongst Catholics?"

"Alas! there are, to our shame; but only as Judas amongst the apostles, in the sacred college of Christ; only as the tares among the wheat."

"How stands the matter amongst Protestants?"

"Their doctrine is alienated from all the means of acquiring sanctity—so far are they from teaching it."

"How is this? Don't they boast that they are reformed, and evangelical, and think themselves much purer than Catholics?"

"The reason is, they teach that good works are of no avail for salvation; that these are only filth, which render us more and more hateful in the sight of God."²

"What's their ditty on good works?"

¹ "The sacrament itself," writes Luther to the Moravian brothers, "is not in itself so necessary as to render superfluous faith and charity. It is mere folly to squabble about such trifles as those which, for the most part, engage our attention, while we neglect things truly precious and salutary; wherever we find faith and charity, sin cannot be, whether the sin of adoring, or the sin of not adoring. On the other hand, where charity and faith are not, there is sin, sin universal, sin eternal! If these cavillers will not speak concomitantly [*i. e.* as we speak], let them speak otherwise, and cease all this disputation, since we are agreed as to the broad ground-work."—*Hazlitt, Life of Luther*, p. 132.

² Luth. Resol. Contr. Eck. Assert. Art. xxix. xxxi. xxxii.; Lib. de Libert. Christ. Serm. in Dom. 4 post Pasch.; Calv. I. iii. Inet. c. xii. s. 4; c. xiv. s. 9.

“ They daily sing these verses :

‘ All our works are vain : they bring
Nought but bolts from Heaven’s King.’ ”

“ What do they say of the evangelical counsels, perpetual chastity, and the rest ? ”

“ They say it is impossible for us to live chastely ; that it is impious to vow chastity ; and—*tam cuique necessarium esse carnis opus, quam edere, bibere, dormire.*”¹

Very strange matter to come out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, decidedly.

“ What do they say of the Ten Commandments ? ”

“ They say that it is not in the power of man to keep them ; that they no more pertain to us than the old ceremonies of the circumcision, and the like.”²

“ Did Luther ever teach that sin is not anything contrary to the commandments of God ? ”

“ Yes, he did expressly, in his *Postilla* of Wittemberg, published during his life-time, and in the sermon already quoted, the fourth Sunday after Easter.”

“ What follows from that doctrine of Luther ? ”

“ That to adore idols, to blaspheme God, to rob, to commit murder, fornication, and other deeds against the Commandments, are not sins.”

“ Do you think that this doctrine, so detestable, is taught even by the disciples of Luther ? ”

“ The more honest amongst them are ashamed to own it. The rest follow their master boldly—*cæteri magistrum sequuntur intrepide.*”

“ How is this reconciled with what they say, namely, that all our works are mere sins ? ”

¹ Luth. de Vitâ Conjug.

² Luth. in c. iv. ad Gal. ; in c. xl. Exod. ; Calv. l. ii. Inst. c. vii. s. 5 ; e. viii. ; l. iii. c. iv. s. 28.

“ Let *them* see to that ; *I* certainly don't see it—*hoc ipsi viderint, ego certe non video.*”

“ What do the Protestants teach respecting the sacraments ?”

“ Nothing for certain : what they assert in one place, they deny in another.”

“ *How do you know this ?*”

“ *From their books, as has been already said respecting Luther.*”¹

We will not stop to consider how strange these bold assertions sounded from the lips of children : how they were made to say that what they “knew,”

Reflection.

they knew “from the books” of the Reformers, —but we cannot fail to note, as something remarkable, that the very first Jesuit-author gave an example to all the rancorous enemies of the Company, in imputing the foulest inculcations to the body, from isolated passages of their casuists ; which, however objectionable, might be justified by an appeal to the Constitutions of the Company, positively forbidding the publication of any work not approved by appointed examiners. Let the fact be remembered, with every other to which your attention is called ; for the history of the Jesuits is a history of RETRIBUTION in every sense of the awful word. I offer no excuse for Luther. He committed himself by word and deed on many occasions. But this is not the question. The question is, how fearfully those imputations were adapted to embitter the social circle of Germany ; to aggravate that rancour which a thousand other causes already lashed far beyond the control of Christian charity, or political wisdom. In effect, the stream was poisoned at its source. The very fountain

¹ Catechismus Catholicus, p. 28—33, Leodii, 1682.

of life, whose gushing sweet waters should remain for ever sweet and clear, were made bitter and foul by the wand of the Jesuit, to spurt and to flow on, bitter and foul for ever. For, this Jesuit-book was intended “briefly, clearly, and accurately to instruct *tender youth*—*teneræ juventuti*, and the whole *Christian people*—*universo populo Christiano*, in the *orthodox* doctrine of *salvation*—*in doctrinâ salutis orthodoxâ*.”¹ It may be said that it was only natural for one party to strive to build up itself on the ruin of the other. I subscribe to the explanation: truly, that was one of the most prominent methods pursued by the Jesuits, and their opponents, in general.

The method was successful in Germany. Soon the children who frequented the schools of the Jesuits at Vienna shamed their parents by their resolute orthodoxy and discipline. They refused to partake of forbidden meats on days of abstinence. In Cologne, the rosary (a string of consecrated beads) was worn with honour. At Treves, relics became in fashion where before no one had ventured to show them. At Ingolstadt, the pupils went in procession, two and two, from the Jesuit-school to Eichstadt, in order to be strengthened at their confirmation “with the dew that distilled from the tomb of St. Walpurgi.”² These manifest proofs of orthodoxy attested the success of the Jesuit-method with the young: constant preaching and victorious discussions captivated the older portion of the community:—Germany was forgetting Luther and his companions, as they listened to the Syrens of Jesuitism, singing melodious measures. The dissensions among the German divines³ gave additional vigour to the firm

¹ Title-page of the book, Ed. Leodii, 1682.

² Ranke, p. 139.

³ Ranke, Ibid.

shaft of controversy as it sped and was driven home and clenched. A Lutheran nobleman challenged Bobadilla to a controversial contest. Ferdinand, the patron of the Jesuits, was to appoint the umpires. The Jesuit accepted the challenge and the terms. The Lutheran added that he would join the Catholics if the umpires pronounced him vanquished—which shows how people thought themselves justified in changing sides, during those times of religious madness. Ferdinand and his whole court were present, and the discussion began: “but,” says the Jesuit, exulting and classical, “the petulant fencer soon discovered what a powerful *net-man* he encountered in the arena.”¹ The Jesuit flung his net over his antagonist, “who was so tied and stretched that he could not get out,” according to the same authority. “Then all the umpires, all the audience proclaimed Catholic truth triumphant, Bobadilla the victor, and the meddler defeated.” The termination was tragical enough. “Though he bit the dust,” says Agricola, “the foaming heretic stood up alone against the decision, and with the usual obstinacy and impudence, denied that he was vanquished, and protested that his judges were partial and knew nothing of the matter in debate.” Ferdinand sent him to prison,

Painful
catastrophe.

¹ This term, *Retiarius*, applied by the Jesuit Agricola to the Jesuit Bobadilla, is rather unfortunate. The figure refers to the ancient gladiators at Rome, and the *Retiarius*, or net-man, bore in his left hand a three-pointed lance, and in his right, a net, whence his name from the Latin *rete*. With this net he attempted to entangle his adversary by casting it over his head and suddenly drawing it together, and then, with his trident, he usually slew him. But if he missed his aim, by either throwing the net too short, or too far, he instantly betook himself to flight, and endeavoured to prepare his net for a second cast; while his antagonist as swiftly pursued, to prevent his design, by despatching him.”—*Adam's Antiq.* 318. A very apt representation of all controversial encounters; and the part given to Bobadilla may be deserved, but it is not very honourable notwithstanding.

in a monastery, for three days, although “the impudent man merited worse treatment: but the emperor, for other reasons, preferred mildness,” adds the Jesuit. The poor fellow went mad; and wounded himself mortally—*ibi miser, irâ in rabiem versâ, lethale seipsi vulnus intulit*—and died. And to console humanity for the wretched affair, they tell us that he was converted at last!¹ Is it not too bad? But for the Jesuits it was glorious. Children, women, and men surrendered—and then a famous leader of Protestantism, the disciple and friend of Melancthon, Stephen Agricola, fell a prey: Canisius was his hunter.

By their success, by their victories in the battle of orthodoxy, the Jesuits won patronage from all in power who were interested in the suppression of the Protestant movement. Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria, availed himself of their services,—establishing thirteen Jesuits in Vienna, whom he housed, provided with a chapel, and a pension, in 1551. By the recommendation of the prior of the Carthusian monks and the provincial of the Carmelites, an endowed school which had been governed by a Protestant regent, was handed over to the Jesuits in 1556. In the same year eighteen Jesuits entered Ingolstadt, invited to counteract the effects of the large concessions which had been forced from the government in favour of the Protestants. Vienna, Cologne, Ingolstadt, these were the three metropolitan centres whence the Jesuits radiated over the length and breadth of Germany. From Vienna they commanded the Austrian dominions; from Cologne they overran the territory of the Rhine; from Ingolstadt they overspread Bavaria.

The three
Jesuit centres
in Germany.

¹ Hist. Prov. Germ. Sup. ad Ann. 1544, D. i. n. 60, Aug. 1727.

Befriended by the emperor and the courtiers, and by the bishops, who held to Rome without reserve, they forgot their difficulties and labours : it was a time to swarm and scour the land in quest of new hives in the midst of honied flowers.

The patronage they enjoyed.

Smiles they found where smiles were most desirable ; and whenever or wherever they were vouchsafed them, they took care that the world should know how it fared with the men whom “the king would honour.” When Cardinal Truchses returned to Dillengen after giving them the university, they went out to meet their patron. He entered Dillengen in state ; and from amongst the crowds assembled around him, he singled out with marked preference the Jesuits, giving them his hand to kiss, greeting them as his brethren ; visited their house, and dined at their table. These facts alone were equal to ten years’ labour for the advancement of the Company ; and the Jesuits invariably dwell upon them with undisguised complacency.

Nor were they unworthy of reward for their indefatigable industry. To science they were devoted as well as to orthodoxy. They were determined to rival their Protestant competitors of the universities, if not to surpass them ; and such was their success that they were awarded a place amongst the restorers of classical learning. In those days the ancient languages constituted education—as they do in the estimation of many at the present day. The Jesuits cultivated them with vigour : but they did not neglect the sciences. At Cologne the Jesuit Franz Coster, a Belgian, lectured on the book of Genesis and astronomy, to the great delight and admiration of his audience. He was despatched to that

Their industry.

Franz Coster.

manifestation by Ignatius himself; and his youthfulness—his age was only twenty-five—excited wonder, whilst the extent of his learning, the variety of the languages he had mastered, the elegance of his diction showed that Nature had not endowed him in vain, and proved that he laboured to evince his gratitude for her endowments. And yet the man was never ill in his life, until death whispered him away in the eighty-eighth year of his age—a life passed in constant labour, but totally free from the usual effects of anxiety and care.

Theology was, of course, the prominent feature of those times: it consequently was the main concern of the Jesuits. In public lectures they sowed the seeds of theological intelligence; and in public disputations—which they considered indispensable—they exhibited the full-grown tree with enticing fruit on its branches.

Enthusiasm is electric to the German—it insures his admiration, and tempts his imitation. The first rector of the Jesuit college at Vienna was Vittoria, a Spaniard, who had rendered his admission into the Society memorable by running about the Corso during the Carnival,

Their enthusiasm, tact, and labours.

clad in sackcloth, and scourging himself till the blood ran down in streams from his lacerated shoulders. No wonder, then, in those fervid pilgrimages of which you have read, or that enthusiastic zeal of their pupils in shaming their unscrupulous parents, when their masters hid within them the volcanic elements of such flaming devotion. Princes and the great they honoured with poems and emblems in infinite variety, *varii generis carminibus et emblematis salutârunt*;—and the sons of the *most distinguished noblemen*, amongst their *sodales*—for their sodalities were not less indispensable than their disputations—washed

and kissed the feet of poor scholars on Maunday Thursday.¹ The Jesuits, by their own account, published books of piety, introduced the sacraments, catechised incessantly, and gave public exhortations. They dived into the dwellings of the people, with every possible effort and assiduity—*variâ industriâ et labore*—battled with the popular superstitions—magic amongst the rest—checked the quarrels of wives and husbands—reconciled the differences of the citizens from whatever cause resulting. The Spiritual Exercises were taught and practised. Night and day they visited the sick in the hospitals and in their dwellings. They were not deterred by the most disgusting ulcers, the filthiest cabins of the poor, nor contagious pestilence itself. They were the companions of the convicts in their cells. They consoled and cheered them on the scaffold of death. In short, says their historian, “We bestow our care on the sick and the hospitals—we give assistance to asylums for orphans, and other public dwellings of the wretched, so that we may be useful to all and every one. On holidays, when others are taking their rest, *we* labour more assiduously than ever in the holy undertaking.”²

And
boasting.

Thus was the zeal of the Jesuits manifest, their

¹ Agricola, P. i. D. v., n. 314. *et seq.*

² “Operam impendimus valetudinariis et Xenodochiis, operam orphanotrophiis, aliisque publicis miserorum domiciliis, ut omnibus prosimus et singulis. Quodsi dies festi incideant, tum enimverò, cum aliis quies, nobis præ alio tempore sanctè laborandi onus advenit.”—P. i. D. iii. 2. As if conscious of the trumpeting in which he has been indulging in the preceding summary of the method, Agricola pays a vague compliment to the “venerable clergy, &c.,” for their labours, and boldly appeals to the example of *St. Paul*. “Who will ascribe this to ambition,” he asks, “rather than to holy emulation and imitation? Who ever dared accuse Paul of boasting in narrating what he did and endured at Corinth for the Gospel? He had no slight reasons for making the declaration: *the Company also has hers: habuit ille causas cur id exponeret non sanè leve, habet et Societas.*”—*Ibid.*

learning evident, their industry beyond question, their devotedness to Catholicism reflected in their pupils and the thousands of citizens whom they garnered in their sodalities—all bound heart and soul to the Jesuits, and the Jesuits to their *patrons*, the pope and the Catholic party in Germany—including emperor, dukes, princes, and all the ramifications of Germanic nobility.¹ Ranke shall conclude this summary: he says: “Such a combination of competent knowledge and indefatigable zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and asceticism, of world-wide influence, and of unity in the governing principle, was

¹ “Amongst their most influential friends was the family of the Fuggers, a very barbaric patronymic, but all golden to the Jesuits. The family originally followed the trade in flax or linen; but its descendants cleverly embarked in speculation, opened a trade with America, bartering their haberdashery for the precious metals and Indian merchandise. They became so wealthy, that they purchased a great many German lordships from Charles V., were created barons and counts, invested with very ample privileges, married into the noblest families of Germany and Belgium, possessed the highest influence at court, and, finally, rose to the highest rank in church and state. Charles V. did not know the value of his American mines and slaves; his subjects worked both to immense advantage, if such it was in the end; but Philip II. soon found out the secret and filled his bags, which he emptied to “stir” all Europe, ruining his kingdom in the bargain, by way of attesting the old neglected proverb about “ill-gotten wealth.” For the account of the Fugger-family, we are indebted to the Jesuit Agricola, who says, “that he would be uncivil and ungrateful if his pen did not remember them.”—P. i. D. iii. 53. A member of this wealthy family, Ulric Fugger, was chamberlain to Paul III., but he subsequently turned Protestant. He was a great collector of manuscripts of ancient authors, and spent so much money in the mania, that his family thought proper to deprive him of the administration of his property. He retired at Heidelberg, where he died in 1584, leaving his splendid library to the elector. He was the only Protestant of the family; but, says the Jesuit Feller, “It happened against his intention that he rendered great service to our religion, by bequeathing 1000 florins to be applied to a pious purpose, requesting his relatives to make the application; for the sum, which was greatly increased, subsequently served for the foundation of the magnificent college at Augsburg, one of those which was most useful to the Catholic Church in Germany. The Jesuits occupied it even after their suppression, in 1791.”—*Biog. Univ.* In other words, the Jesuits got hold of this Protestant bequest, and their modern member approves of the roguery.

never beheld before or since. The Jesuits were assiduous and visionary, worldly-wise and filled with enthusiasm ; well-comported men, whose society was gladly courted ; devoid of personal interests—each labouring for the advancement of the rest. No wonder that they were successful.”

What had the Protestant movement to oppose to the tactics of Jesuitism ? Remember that the latter was based on untiring perseverance, unity of purpose, endless expedients to meet every emergency, strict discipline in personal conduct, undeviating method in tuition, and, above all, unity of will to which no achievement seemed impossible—the will bequeathed to them by Loyola. Remember all this, and you know the secret of their success, particularly if you believe what Ranke tells you, as if he were speaking of *England* at the present moment, with respect to the world of religion. He says : “ The Jesuits conquered the Germans on their own soil, in their very home, and wrested from them a part of their native land. Undoubtedly the cause of this was that the German theologians were neither agreed among themselves, nor were magnanimous enough mutually to tolerate minor differences of doctrine. Extreme points of opinion were seized upon ; opponents attacked each other with reckless fierceness, so that those who were not yet fully convinced were perplexed, and a path was opened to those foreigners, who now seized on men’s minds with a shrewdly constructed doctrine, finished to its most trivial details, and leaving not a shadow of cause for doubt.”¹

The Jesuits
as compared
to their
opponents.

Yet, let the mighty fact of the political utility of the

¹ Ranke, p. 137 ; Agricola, *ubi supra* ; Bibl. Scrip. S. J. ; Sacchin. P. ii. l. i.

Jesuits be borne in mind incessantly. Their patrons speculated on their influence with the masses. And the pope, so interested in the return to Catholic unity, held out succour to needy kings and princes, provided they promoted his accredited measures tending to that desirable fulfilment. Kings and princes talked of the spiritual and intellectual benefits they pretended to derive personally from Jesuit-indoctrination ; but kings and princes care a vast deal more for their authority and exchequer.

Their political utility to kings and other patrons.

Albert V. of Bavaria.

Albert V. of Bavaria, for instance, was in a desperate struggle with his subjects. He was loaded with debt, and continually in want of money. He laid on taxes, but the nobles and the people, who are naturally entitled to some little return for sweat and blood represented by gold, demanded concessions, chiefly religious, as a set-off to the loyal inconvenience of paying royalty, without a royal equivalent in return "graciously conceded." Well, the Jesuits came in : Albert took them by the hand : he declared himself their friend : he seemed to be impressed with their preaching—nay, he even declared, that whatever he knew of God's law, he had learnt from Hoffäus and Canisius, two Jesuits. Such being the case, it was a matter of "principle" in Albert to patronise the Jesuits. And a nobler motive than the knowledge of God's law can scarcely be imagined. But, unfortunately for all this very fine talk, there was another *case* brought in with the Jesuits, sent as a present by Pope Pius IV., with whom we are so well acquainted ; and this case was nothing less than a *tenth of the property of the Bavarian clergy*. We must add this to his knowledge of God's law, subtract his debts from the sum total, and pass the remainder to the

credit of his independence, at one holy swoop most gloriously achieved. For he saw the advantages which would result from his intimate connection with Rome ; and now that his coffers were made heavy and his heart was made light, his conscience was prepared to adopt the pope's warning when he sent him the grant, that "the religious concession demanded by the people would diminish the obedience of his subjects ;" it was a sort of motto inscribed on the Simoniacal grant of what he had no right to give, and the king no right to use for paying his debts, and still less for making himself independent of his subjects. Then the Jesuits set to work, penetrated in every direction, insinuated themselves into every circle, and the result was that demands for religious concessions ceased amain, and the supplies rolled in without stipulations for equivalent privileges, a right royal benevolence of the wretchedly gulled poor people. This Jesuit-achievement totally undermined the nobles. Their mouthpiece (the people) was lockjawed, and they had to bark for themselves. They barked, and they stirred, and they gave signs of biting. This was just the thing wanting : the king, now independent remember, came down upon them, excluded all the individuals compromised from the Bavarian diet, and, without further opposition, became complete master of his estates, which from that time forth never stirred any question of religion. So absorbing was his power, so complete his domination, so contemptuous his consciousness of independence, that when the pope granted permission for the Bavarian laity to partake of the cup in 1564,¹

¹ In 1561 the French bishops requested the king to demand from the pope permission for priests to marry, and communion under both kinds especially. The boon, they said, would facilitate the return of the heretics to the church. Five

the king disdained to effectuate the boon, he did not even divulge the fact, though he had formerly, in his difficulties, represented the concession as the very safeguard and guarantee of his throne.¹ Circumstances had altered this case ; and now "the concession would diminish the obedience of his subjects," his present object was to show himself a right orthodox Catholic king.

To the Jesuits, and the tyranny they suggested and enabled him to practise, the king of Bavaria owed this alteration in his royal fortunes. They roused his cupidity, and he became "most anxious to possess
How it came about. his Bavaria entire," by the means of orthodoxy.² Vigilance and exhortation were the contribution of the Jesuits ; if these failed, rigour and severity were forthcoming. He made the Jesuits inspectors and examiners of his books, leaving it to them to decide on their orthodoxy and morality. All the hymns and psalms of the Lutherans which his subjects used to sing in the streets and public places, he proscribed, prohibited by an edict. He compelled his bishops to submit their candidates for priest's orders to the Jesuits for

bishops were of opinion that the king had authority enough to establish the use of the cup without further ceremony. It was proposed and agitated, in the papal consistory, and bitterly opposed by a vast majority. The Cardinal de St. Ange said, "that he would never consent to give so great a *poison* to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty by way of medicine : *better let them die first.*"—See *Dupin, Hist. du Concile*, i. 503, *et seq.* for the whole negotiation : it is worth reading.

¹ Ferdinand of Austria had long solicited the pope to grant this privilege to his subjects, and urged it as his last comfort in the lingering disease of which he died. It was granted at last, and the comfort was universal : "but," adds the Jesuit Agricola, "it was as scratching to the itch,—*quale fricatio est prurigini,*" and then proceeds to show how detrimental the concession proved to the cause of orthodoxy.—P. i. D. iii. 117.

² "Princeps hic avidissimus totam suam Bavariam habendi, videndique Orthodoxam, non vigiliis, non hortatibus parcebat, rigore etiam, si lenia non sufficerent, ac severitate usus."—P. i. D. iii. 4.

examination. All public functionaries were required to swear the Catholic oath ; certain senators demurred—he sent them to prison. Two members of an illustrious family he drove from their domains and banished them from Munich, for refusing or demurring to take the same oath. A third, who was wealthy, who had enjoyed great favour and authority at court, was suspected of heresy for demanding the use of the cup : Albert degraded and disgraced him. Others, whom he found were meditating resistance, he contented himself with humbling in a more pointed manner, ordering them to appear before him, and causing their gems and ancestral signet to be smashed on an anvil in their presence, to show them how he thought they had disgraced their nobility. “By this act alone,” says the Jesuit Agricola, “he obtained the title of Magnanimous, for having, without arms, subdued the proud and spared the vanquished—*absque armis et debellare superbos et parcere subjectis.*”¹ In fact, as Ranke observes, the Jesuits could never sufficiently extol the king—that second *Josias*, as they said—that *Theodosius* !

Study this sample, and you will understand much of Jesuit-method, royal gratitude, and the people’s gullibility, till they are enlightened or roused to madness, and become worse than the most ruthless of tyrants. Let the rulers of earth bear the blame. They will not regulate their measures by the strict principles of justice to all, and moral rectitude. They succeed for a while notwithstanding. Then their circumstances change : they get involved somehow : events in neighbouring kingdoms set their subjects in a ferment. Terror then chills their hearts ; they are

A word in season.

¹ P. i. D. iii., 5, *et seq.*

ready to make "concessions"—in other words, they now fear the people. And the people find that out, and the "glorious" fact makes them drunk with vanity and their evil passions. Outbreaks ensue. God only knows where they will end. And then perchance some partisan-historian will say that there was *no* excuse for the people, *because* the government were ready to make "concessions!"

The Bavarian Protestants in the provinces clamoured for the cup, notwithstanding; and *Nostri*, Our Men, were sent to quell the rebels—*ad reduccendos errantes mittuntur nostri*. A supply of Jesuits was demanded from Canisius. He offered to go himself: but the king thought him too necessary to the Church to send him on so perilous a mission, where his life would be endangered. His substitutes were provided with the most ample powers and authority, to inflict a visitation not only on the rustics, but even the churches, and the very monasteries themselves, if necessary. They set to work bravely and in earnest, and with greater vigour, when they found how widely and horridly the evils had increased; ¹ for the rustics considered Luther a saint, pronounced the mass idolatry, and with great abuse and execrations celebrated the pope as Antichrist. ² Schorich was the name of the Jesuit leader on this occasion. ³ According to the method stated to have been invented by Canisius and Faber, he began

The Jesuits
hunt down
the heretics.

¹ "Aggressi sunt opus fortiter simul et gnavigator, idque tantò magis, quanto latius horridiusque mala invaluerant."—*Agric. ubi suprà*, 119.

² "Lutherum pro Sancto habere, Sacrificium Missæ pro idolatriâ, Papam pro Antichristo, immania inter convitia et execrationes proclamare edocti erant."

³ This Jesuit had been originally one of the *domestics* at the Company's establishment in Rome. Ignatius discovered signs of talent in the fellow, set him to study, and he became one of the most efficient members of the Company, to associate with bishops and shake hands with kings, princes, and nobles.—*Id.* and *Sacchinus*.

with the mild measures of "charity and good works." He was particularly modest with the ecclesiastics, very sparingly resorting to threats and authority—*nisi forte*—unless, peradventure, severity evidently promised advantage—*cum severitas evidenter speraretur profutura*. The result was, that, within seven months, 3000 rustics submitted to the king and the pope; and the few, whom neither flattery nor threats could subdue, were banished from their country—*patriâ ejectis*. And moreover, lest the gathered harvest should be again scattered, their teachers were also banished, under penalty of death: their "heretical books" were taken from them: "orthodox" works were forced into their houses: and those unfortunates whom they despaired to reclaim were, by the prince and bishops, compelled to leave the country.¹ All this is calmly, complacently related by the Jesuit. He even calls the forcible abstraction of their books a *clever provision*—*solerter provisum*;—and finishes off with a prayer to God for the continuance of the harvest and prospects as they were after those acts of deception and tyranny. And yet, to the present *hour*, the Jesuits and their party denounce their own proscription by Queen Elizabeth; although there happened to be one shade of difference in *their* case, which was, beyond doubt, directly or indirectly its treasonable intentions,—whilst these poor Bavarians were remaining quiet in their remote misery, and

¹ "Ut ne porrò collecta messis rursum dispergeretur, solerter provisum est, ut pulsus sub poenâ capitali, errorum seminatoribus, Parochis quorum sanctorum spes erat, subtraherentur libri hæretici, Catholicorum vero librorum suppellex . . . cæteri de quorum emendatione desperatum fuerat, ocyus jussu Principis ac Antistitum, totius Bavarie fines deserere coacti sunt. '*Preuari numen juvet,*'" he has the heart to add—"we must pray to God that as he has hitherto given great increase to the plantation and the watering, so he may make the same more and more fruitful and everlasting."—*Agric.* 120.

requiring to be ferreted out and hunted ere they gave an excuse to Jesuit-proscription and tyranny. Again, therefore, remember that the history of the Jesuits, more strikingly than all others, is a history of *Retribution*. And we shall find it so in Bavaria, when the whole Catholic cause, in the heyday of its exulting tyranny, shall crumble amain, and be punished, in spite of Jesuit-preaching, Jesuit-charity, Jesuit-sodalities.¹

The Jesuits had cleverly contrived their means : they were therefore successful to the utmost possible extent.

Results. Numerous establishments arose in all parts of Germany. Colleges were erected and filled. Houses were founded : residences were planted : and at length, in 1564, so flourishing were the prospects, that the German legion of Loyola was divided into two provinces, enlarging in length and breadth.²

In the same year the Plague, which decimated France, swept over Europe. It reached the Rhine. Scattering dismay, despair in every home, the exterminating angel sped apace—wailings in his rear, and shivering terror in his van. Men shunned each other : the ties of affection—the bonds of love, plighted or sworn, broke asunder : all fled from the bed of pestilence—except the Jesuits. At the call of their

The Jesuits
during the
Plague.

¹ In 1576 the Sodality of the Virgin Mary in Upper Germany, and in the houses of the Jesuit-province alone, never numbered less than 30,000 of all ages, without counting the members among the people—"all fighting for her who is terrible as an army drawn up in battle array," says Agricola. He distinctly states that these Confraternities, owing to their multitudes, were divided into various classes according to the different ranks of the members ; but that all acknowledged the congregation at Rome, "even as an ocean whence they flowed as rivers": a most incongruous metaphor, but very expressive notwithstanding. Subsequently Pope Gregory XIII. united all these Sodalities into one body, with the congregation at Rome for its head, and placed its entire government in the hands of the Jesuits, their General Aquaviva and his successors.—*Agric. P. i. D. iv. 203, 204.*

² Sacchinus.

provincial, they came together ; and at the same bidding they dispersed, and fronted the angel of death. In the pest-house kneeling—in the grave-yard digging—in the thoroughfares begging—the Jesuits consoled the dying, buried the dead, and gathered alms for the living. Blessed be the hearts of these self-devoted men ! They knew no peril but in *shunning* the awful danger. For humanity—and, through humanity, for God—be that the stirring trumpet, whose echoes are deeds too great to be estimated, too great to be rewarded by the gold of Mammon or the voice of Fame. And yet Cretineau-Joly, the last Jesuit-historian, professing to copy “unpublished and authentic documents,” bitterly tells us that “this charity of the Jesuits, by day and by night, gave to their *Order* a *popular sanction*, which dispensed with many others,”—and that “the people, having seen the Jesuits at their work, called for them, to reward them for the present, and solicited their presence, provident of the future.”¹ Was it then for the *Order's* glorification that, in obedience to the superior's command, such self-devotedness was displayed ? Was it only to gain a “popular sanction ?” God only knows ! but the doubt once suggested, and that too by a strong partisan, troubles the heart. We would not willingly deprive these obedient visitors of the pest-stricken, buriers of the dead, and feeders of the living, of that hearty admiration which gushes forth, and scorns to think of motives

¹ Hist. t. i. p. 456. “Cette charité du jour et de la nuit donnait à leur Ordre une sanction populaire qui dispensait de beaucoup d'autres. Le peuple venait de voir les Jesuites à l'œuvre ; il en reclama pour les recompenser du présent, il en sollicita dans ses prévisions d'avenir.” Sacchinus was not quite so explicit as M. Cretineau. “Deus liberalitatem expositorum periculo fratrum cā etiam mercede remuneratus est, quod Trevirenses eximiam caritatem admirati non solum pluris æstimare Societatem cōperunt, sed multi etiam eam vehementer expetere.”—*Lib.* viii. 96.

when noble deeds are done. At least to the subordinate Children of Obedience be that admiration awarded, if we *must* doubt the existence of exalted motives in the Jesuit-automaton ; if we *must* remember that at Lyons the Plague gave them a college, and in Germany “a popular sanction.”

Amidst this mighty promise of permanent restoration to Catholicism in Germany, Lutheranism along the southern shores of the Baltic had achieved
 Poland. complete preponderance,—at least amongst the population which spoke the language of Luther. Prussia led the way, and was its bridge into Poland, whose great cities connected with Prussia had the exercise of the Protestant ritual confirmed to them by express charters in 1558. Even in Poland Proper, numbers of the nobility had embraced Protestant opinions, as more in accordance with their love of independence. It was a common saying : “A Polish nobleman is not subject to the king ; is he to be so to the pope ?” Protestants had penetrated into the episcopal sees, and even constituted the majority of the senate under Sigismund Augustus,¹ whose passion for women seemed at one time likely to sever Poland, like England, from obedience to the See of Rome. That craftiest of papal emissaries, Cardinal Commendone, exhausted all his wits in forefending the catastrophe. Sigismund’s clandestine marriage with the widow Radzivil, strongly opposed by the nobles and his mother, had set the kingdom in commotion : but love or passion triumphed over opposition, and the threats of deposition : Sigismund continued to reign, and death snatched away his beautiful Radzivil (supposed to have been poisoned by his mother),

¹ Ranke, p. 132.

leaving him in utter anguish and ready for another alliance. His first wife, or queen, was the daughter of the Austrian Ferdinand, who had still eleven daughters disposable. Sigismund sent for another ; and Ferdinand was "too glad" to accommodate his son-in-law with a second helpmate from his stock so numerous. A positive law, civil, religious, and ecclesiastical, prohibited the marriage with a wife's sister :—but "it was so important for their interests and the good of the state" that the two kings induced the pope, Julius III., to grant a "dispensation." Both kings were gratified by the fulfilment of their desires—and both were bitterly disappointed in the issue. Sigismund was disgusted with his queen very soon after marriage—hatred ensued—and separation, whilst the king elsewhere indulged his illicit passions which had rioted before. He resolved on a divorce—a new Radzivil having engaged his attentions. The pope refused to annul the marriage, whilst his reformed subjects were willing enough to support the king in his desire, which would thus burst asunder the ties that bound the realm to the See of Rome.¹ Then it was that the wily Commendone was sent by Pius IV. to cajole, and to browbeat the King of Poland.² Prudence and timidity withhold the king—now rendered infirm by his excesses—from the decisive plunge : but to reward his Protestant subjects for upholding their king in his desires, Sigismund showed them more favour than ever ; and in revenge for the pope's inconsistent obstinacy, he opened them the way to the dignities of state—to the utter indignation of the Catholic party. He died without issue—the last of the Jaggelos.³

¹ Hist. of Poland (Lard. Cyc.), and the authorities, p. 147.

² Gratiani, t. i. c. 17, *et seq.*—a full Catholic account of the agitation.

³ As a proof that the zeal of the Roman church was inspired unto its boasted

Long ere that event, however, the Protestant movement had been gaining ground in Poland. The celebrated Bernardin Ochino had lent the cause his eloquence and influential name. This Italian had been Urbino's partner in reforming the Franciscans, and founding the Order of the Capuchins. Ochino's influence and popularity, as Capuchin, are described in most glowing terms by those who only do so to prepare us for their opinion that his disappointed ecclesiastical ambition made him a reformer, in the *other* sense of the word.¹ Be that as it may, he became heretical, and the pope summoned him to Rome:—he set out with the intention of obeying the mandate; but certain appearances convinced him that he was going into the jaws of the tiger, with evident danger of being made a martyr: he preferred to remain a heretic: so he threw off his cowl, joined the Protestants, and was the first apostate from the Order which he had founded. Commendone found him in Poland doing desperate work at the foundations of Romanism, and resolved to dislodge the sapper. He induced Sigismund's Senate to pass a decree banishing all foreign heretics. Ochino being a foreigner, was thus compelled to decamp by the

expansion, by the Protestant movement only, we may instance Lithuania, which remained Pagan to the beginning or middle of the fifteenth century. Even to that period did Roman zeal permit the Lithuanians to worship all manner of animals, snakes included: They were so barbarous that they considered it an honour to sacrifice the chastity of their daughters; held it dishonourable to marry a chaste woman, and respected their women in proportion to the greater number of their gallants. And yet we are assured that such a strange state of things continued after they were instructed or "converted."—*Gratiani*, t. ii. 159.

Henry of Valois, brother of Charles IX. of France, was elected to succeed Sigismund; but a few months after his arrival, Henry suddenly and secretly decamped in order to become the unfortunate Henry III. of France, at the death of Charles IX. See a comical account of his flight in *Gratiani*, i. 506. The electorate was one of the causes which prepared the final and irrevocable ruin of Poland.

¹ *Gratiani*, i. c. 9.

wily Italian cardinal, and he retired to Moravia, where the Plague carried him off at a very advanced year of his age.¹ But this was no eradication of the Protestant plague which infected Poland. The pope sent Canisius to the Diet at Petrikaw, to prevent any decree prejudicial to the Catholic religion. The Jesuit showed himself worthy of the mission, spoke frequently at the meeting, and, according to the Jesuits, made an impression on the Poles and their king;² but this is a mere flourish. If Sigismund had lived long enough it is probable that Protestantism would have become the religion of Poland. His principle or policy was not to interfere with the religion of his subjects, whom he permitted to worship God as they pleased. Protestants were returned to the national Diet; and it was even proposed to abolish clerical celibacy, to decree the use of the cup for the laity, the celebration of mass in the vulgar tongue, and the abolition of papal annates or first-fruits—which last was the probable stimulant to the pope's anxiety.³ Two years after, however, in 1564, the Jesuits penetrated into Poland, and commenced operations at Pultowa—the beginning of some little trouble for Poland; as if their political feuds, which began with the death of Sigismund, were not enough to agitate that restless nation, without a single element of duration in its social or moral character—as bereft of unity of design and conduct as the troops that welcomed Henry of Valois were deficient in unity of fashion as to arms and accoutrement. On that occasion all their horses were of a different colour. Their riders were as motley. Some were dressed after the manner of the Hungarians, or the Turks, others after that of French or Italians. Some

*The Jesuits
enter Poland.*

¹ Gratiani, i. c. 9.

² Cretineau, i. 458.

³ Hist. of Poland, p. 145.

had bows, others lances and shields ; and some mounted the helmet and cuirass. Some wore long hair, others short, and some were shaved to the scalp. There were beards, and there were no beards. There was a blue company, and a red company, and one squadron was green.¹ Since that event and that occasion the councils of the nation have partaken of the same fantastic variety, entailing the usual misery of a kingdom divided against itself.

The introduction of the Company into Poland was the last expedition set on foot by General Lainez. He expired on the 19th of January 1565, in the fifty-third year of his age. He had ailed ever since the closing of the Council of Trent ; but he continued the business of the Company notwithstanding, and dispensed with a vicar—clinging to authority to the last. He received the viaticum, extreme unction, and the pope's benediction, which last he sent for, like Ignatius in the same circumstances, and which was granted by the pope with "a plenary indulgence." To the fathers he commended the Company—exhorting them to beware of ambition—to cherish union—to extirpate all national prejudices against each other. They requested him to name a vicar-general : but he refused. Then the heaviness of death—apparently apoplectic—came upon him—and he painfully lingered through an agony of four-and-forty hours, when death put an end to his sufferings—seeming in his last moment to glance on Borgia, who was present, as if to designate his successor.²

It was a saying of Lainez that it was a sign of a good general if he was like Moses, who brought forth his

¹ Gratiani, ii. 499.

² Sacchin. l. viii. 200 ; Cretineau, i. 471.

Company out of Egypt into the wilderness, through which he led it into the land of promise :¹—such was his aim, such was his ambition through life ; and the means he employed eventuated complete success. His success. The nine years of his generalate were years of incessant struggle and continual harassments :—his Company was constantly attacking or attacked. At the death of Loyola it was in danger of suppression, hampered by a pope most difficult to deal with, agitated by intestine broils and commotion. Lainez managed the pope, emerged with triumph from humiliation—after having with considerable tact, craft, and depth of design, completely palsied his spasmodic opponents, who were never heard of afterwards—quiet as lambs every man of them, not excepting the volcanic Bobadilla.

In nine years he nearly quadrupled the number of his men,—and the Company's houses,—and **added six** provinces to those he received from Loyola.

The Company now consisted of 130 houses, 18 provinces, and upwards of 3500 men²—

The Company as he left it.

which large figure—if we roundly compute the members of their sodalities of all ranks, and their pupils—must be raised to some thirty or forty thousand souls at least, under the influence of the Jesuits. Well might Melancthon exclaim on his death-bed in 1560, “ Good God ! what is this ? I see that all the world is filled with Jesuits ! ”³

And how was all this effected ? Simply by *unity* of

¹ Sacchin. ib. 214.

² Sacchinus and Cretineau.

³ Florim. de Remond, Hist. de la Naissance, Progrès et Décadence de l'Hérésie, t. v. c. 3. This work is supposed to have been written by the fierce Jesuit *Richeome*, author of *La Chasse du Renard Pasquin*, a scurrilous libel against Pasquier, the famous advocate of the University of Paris.

purpose, whatever was the object, strict *method*, careful *selection* of *instruments*, during times when kings and princes were eager to enlist every talent into their service,—whilst the “religious” battle raged on all sides, involving every peril or every deliverance, as the issue of defeat or victory.

Great facility of expression, self-possession, a tenacious memory, vast boldness, perhaps effrontery, and the *unscrupulous* zeal of a partisan seem to have been the public recommendations of Lainez to those for whom he battled; and their rewards to his Company amply testified their estimation of his achievements. Vast must have been the self-gratulation of the man, in the possession of such unbounded influence over the destinies, the desires, the deeds of mankind. Meseems, I hear some grovelling spirit ask—was he very *rich*? Was he well *paid* for his services? We are taught from our earliest youth upwards, we are so much accustomed to value everything by its production of *money*, that we cannot understand how infinitely that vile motive is surpassed by the consciousness of swaying man’s more exalted nature—that *soul* which God himself complacently calls from its carthy integuments left behind where they lie, in the cold hard earth, with the *gold* he despises. On the other hand, the general of the Jesuits was the treasurer of the Company’s increasing wealth, which he distributed with a sovereign will, unaccountable in his constitutional independence. All that he desired for himself, he possessed—but that was infinitely less than what the pettiest of kings or republican presidents require. It is gratifying to many who judge by cost, thus to behold a cheap ruler—a cheap government. In the Jesuit-system it was corporate

His qualifi-
cations.

avarice, corporate ambition, of which each member, in his ceaseless efforts, was the exponent. Those passions gained in intensity by this expansion; for they lost all those moral checks—those qualms of conscience which individual avarice, individual ambition must ever experience. *Our Company* and its *ends* easily satisfied the Jesuit that all the passions he indulged in enriching, in exalting the Company, and promoting those *ends* which answered both purposes—were as many virtues, and his conscience said Amen.

In private life, Lainez is represented by the Jesuits as being exceedingly fascinating and amiable—pouring forth from his treasury of knowledge his axioms of wisdom, original and selected.¹ He was considerate to those whom he expelled from the Company, giving them their dinner and wherewithal to return to their homes.² He used to say that any one might impose upon him³—but this will scarcely go down after having heard him say that *Catherine de' Medici* could not deceive him, and that he knew her of old.

His sister's husband fatigued him with solicitations to promote his advancement, since he possessed such influence amongst kings and the great. Lainez wrote him word that every man must live by his profession,—a soldier by war, a merchant by trade, a monk by religion—and declined to step beyond his bounds. Some relatives wished him to procure an "opening" to the holy orders and a living for a boy—a species of corruption common in those times;—Lainez sternly refused, saying, "You know not what you ask."⁴ The man was unquestionably consistent according to circumstances, and his example on this occasion is truly

His private character.

Two creditable traits.

¹ Sacchinus.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

worthy of imitation by those to whom the highest offices in church and state, particularly the former, are made a stumbling-block by importunate and unscrupulous relatives.

He left behind numerous unfinished treatises in manuscript. Their titles will throw additional light on the man, his thoughts, and pursuits. Twelve books
His writings. on *Providence*; a commentary on the whole Bible, one book; three books on the Trinity; a collection of sentences selected from the "Fathers;" treatises on exchange, usury, *pluralities*, the disguises and finery of women, the kingdom of God, the use of the cup, and a tract against the concession of churches to heretics.¹

Lainez was diminutive in stature, of fair complexion, somewhat pale, with a cheerful expression, but intense—
His person. wide nostrils, indicating his fiery soul; nose aquiline, large eyes, exceedingly bright and lively: so far the elements of Sacchini's portrait of the general; but Father Ignatius, you remember, daguerreotyped him in three words—*no tenga persona—he is not good looking or imposing*. His hand-writing was execrable.²

In accordance with the last glance of the dying
Borgia elected general. Lainez, or on account of the rank which he had occupied in the world, Borgia was elected general, by a large majority in the congregation. It is said that the seven votes which he did not

¹ Bib. Script. S. J. He also wrote treatises on the Doctrine of the Council of Trent, the Sacraments, Grace and Justification, Instructions for Preachers, an Epistle to the Missionaries in India, which last is all that we have access to, besides his speeches in Sacchini. A tribute of praise is deserved by this indefatigable Jesuit for his industry, his constant labour.

² Cretineau gives a *fac-simile*.

receive were given by those Jesuits who knew him most intimately ; and when he took leave of the retiring congregation, he requested the fathers, all the professed aristocrats of the Company, to treat him as a beast of burden. "I am your beast of burden," said Borgia : "you have placed the load on my shoulders : treat me as a beast of burden, in order that I may say, with the Psalmist, 'I am as a beast before you, nevertheless, I am continually with you.'"¹ Under very different auspices, and in very different circumstances, had the bold, astute, determined Lainez seized the sceptre of Loyola. If he quoted Scripture on that occasion, the text must have been, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines ;" for there was imminent peril from without and within the Company. Times were altered ; and if a vigorous head was still necessary to govern the body, a man of influence was imperatively so at a time when the Company had penetrated into every kingdom of Europe, and only required "patronage" to insure boundless increase and endless duration. Francis Borgia was more or less connected with most of the kings and princes of Europe, then reigning. True, the bar-sinister blushed in his escutcheon : but that was no time for men to care whether a great lord was a descendant of the Vanoccia Julia Farnese on one side of his primitive ancestry, and Pope Alexander VI. on the other. Francis Borgia seemed intended to show that "good fruit" might come from a "bad tree." A lover of contemplation was Borgia. The world disgusted him : he left it with all its honours, pomps, and vanities, and gave himself to the Jesuits, at the very time when they lacked a great name amongst them, to catch the vulgar.

¹ Sacchin. P. iii. l. i. n. 23 ; Cretineau, ii. 12.

A man of strange notions and stranger perpetrations was Francis Borgia. He wrote a book entitled *The*
 His corporal *Spiritual Eye-salve*, and another *On Self-*
 austerities. *Confusion*;¹ and never was man (not intended for a saint) given to more flagrant atrocities against his own poor body. We are assured that he considered his body his "mortal enemy," with which he should never declare a truce: he never ceased evincing to the same unfortunate body that "holy hatred" which he bore it, tormenting and persecuting it in every way that his "ingenious cruelty" could devise. He used to say that life would have been insupportable to him, if he had passed a single day without inflicting on his body some extraordinary pang. He did not consider fasting a "mortification," but a "delight;" and, in fact, like all other abused delights, it ruined his constitution and made him a human wreck; the most hopeless and pitiable of all wrecks imaginable. Savagely he lashed his body. Some one counted 800 strokes on one occasion; and he tore his shoulders to such a degree that there was danger of real mortification or gangrene in the ulcerous imposthumes which resulted from the wounds. He would lie prostrate with his mouth glued to the ground, until he brought on fluxions in his mouth, and lost several teeth, and was in imminent danger of death from a cancer in the same organ. In a chest he kept hair-shirts, whips, and other instruments of torture, and cloths to wipe away the blood which he drew abundantly from all parts of his body.² It is said that these excessive delights produced qualms of conscience, or scruples in the man, before he died: and, doubtless, when "all was over," he must have discovered their futility, nay, their positive

¹ "Collyrium Spirituale," and "De Confusione sui."

² Verjus, Vie, li. lib. iv.

guilt in the sight of Him who is offended by the infringement of *all* His laws : those of health, therefore, are not excepted. One would almost fancy that *this* Borgia wished to atone, in his own person, for all the atrocities which the other Borgia, Pope Alexander VI., inflicted on mankind. His age, at his election, was sixty-five.

Important decrees were passed in the congregation, after the election of the general. They throw light on existing abuses in the Company, but show that these were met at least with legislative prohibitions. The general was required to look to the colleges of the Company. Some moderation was to be had in taking charge of them ; their multiplicity was to be checked ; and the general was enjoined to strengthen and improve those which existed rather than undertake others. It was expressly stipulated that no colleges were to be undertaken unless they were sufficiently endowed and well provided with the means of subsistence—a wise precaution, and it had been well if the Jesuit missionaries had brought some similar wisdom to bear on their “conversion” and baptism of the savages, when they undertook to make them “temples of the Holy Ghost.” It was even resolved in the congregation to consider what colleges, so unfurnished, should be thrown overboard—dissolved by those who began to discover that *gratis*-instruction is all very well in a prospectus, but excessively inconvenient in practice—and by no means expedient in the present scope of the Company. It appears that there was another enactment on this interesting subject : but it is omitted in the list as “private business—*privata negotia.*”¹

Important
decrees.

Colleges.

¹ Dec. II. Congr. Dec. viii. in MS. Dec. xi. The next decree is MS. Dec. xiii. See the present work, vol. i. p. 277, for remarks on these omissions.

Complaints were made on another score. The Jesuits began to feel the inconvenience of frequent removals at the word of command. The aristocratical dignitaries liked permanency as well as their constitutional general: but it was decided against the remonstrants:—the mutations were pronounced useful to the removed member and the Company, and even absolutely necessary:—*but* the superiors were enjoined to exercise their prudence in the matter; and all royal mandates were to be respected, princes were not to be offended; and in case the removal was absolutely necessary the consent and satisfaction of princes must be obtained.¹ We remember the trouble which Philip II. gave the Jesuits for having been accustomed to abstract money from his dominions. Borgia himself proposed the question whether the royal edicts in this matter should be obeyed, for the greater edification of princes; and the congregation approved his opinion, and declared that such edicts against the exportation of moneys should be obeyed—but we may ask why the “edification of princes” was necessary to prevent the men who vowed poverty from meddling with the exportation of gold.² The difficulties which had arisen as to the distribution of the wealth given to the Company by its members, was a serious question. It appears that the Sons of Obedience sometimes wished to have their peculiar fancies and predilections consulted in its appropriation to this or that locality, notwithstanding the rule of the Constitutions and that most glorious “indifference to all things,” which prescriptively results from the “Spiritual Exercises.” It was now enacted that all must be left to the disposal

Removals.

The wealth
of the
novices.

¹ Ubi suprà, Dec. xii.

² Dec. xv.

of the general—*dispositioni præpositi generalis relinquunt*. Thus the fathers enacted, saying : We venerate the holy memory of our fathers—*veneramur enim sanctam memoriam patrum nostrorum*.¹

It was positively enacted in this Second Congregation, Anno Domini 1565, that no Jesuit was to be assigned to princes or lords, secular or ecclesiastic, to follow or to live at their court, as confessor or theologian, or in any other capacity, “except perhaps for a very short time, such as one or two months—*nisi forte ad perbreve tempus unius vel duorum mensium*.”²

Royal
confessors.

In the same congregation difficulties were proposed as to the simple vows, particularly as to *chastity—præsertim castitatis*. The question was referred to previous enactments ; and there occurs a hiatus of *two decrees* in the document ; —but by way of compensation the next that follows is an enactment touching the “*renovation of the vows*.”³

The vows ;
chastity in
particular.

And a prohibition was enacted against “all manner of worldly business, such as agriculture, the sale of produce in the markets and the like, carried on by Our men”—which we should have scarcely thought necessary so soon.⁴

Worldly
business.

No *poor-boxes* were to be seen in the churches of the Jesuits—“as it is so necessary for us that they should not be placed, not so much to avoid the thing which is forbidden us, but all appearance of it—*sed rei illius omnem speciem*.”⁵

All law-suits were prohibited, particularly for temporal matters : if they could not by any means be avoided, no Jesuit should undertake them without special permission from the general or his

Law-suits.

¹ Dec. xxiii.

² Dec. xl.

³ Dec. lxiii.

⁴ Dec. lxi.

⁵ Dec. lxxviii.

delegate. The Jesuits were to yield with loss rather than contend with justice.¹

The Spanish title, *Don*, was to be utterly banished from the Company.²

Lastly, the Constitutions, as translated from the original Spanish into Latin, were to be once more collated and amended—showing that they had not as yet received the “last hand,” though five-and-twenty years had elapsed since the foundation of the Company.³

Nor did the aristocrats of the now most respectable Company of Jesus fail to hint that circumstances permitted some modification in the matter of *begging for alms and donations*. Alms, they said, were good things in themselves, good for the Company ; and it was a good deed—*opus bonum*—to induce all men as much as possible to do good things ; but for greater “edification,” for the “sincerity and purity of our poverty, our men must be ordered not to persuade any externe to give alms to us rather than to other poor people ; but let us be content to beg simply and plainly for the love of God when we beg alms. However, for the purpose of getting donations or legacies, we may explain our wants simply and plainly, leaving the manner and matter (*definitionem*) to the devotion of the person from whom we beg these kinds of alms also—*a quo petimus has etiam eleemosynas*—and we can only suggest to him to have recourse to prayer and the other means, whereby he can resolve on the donation or legacy, according to what the Lord shall inspire unto him, and right reason shall suggest.”⁴ Such are the prominent and characteristic enactments

¹ Dec. iv.² Dec. lxxxv.³ Dec. lii.⁴ Dec. lvi.

of the Second Congregation. The characteristic mandates of the first, under Lainez, were those relating to the perpetuity of the generalate,¹ and the non-admission of the choir,² which last was mysteriously veiled under the name of common prayer, or prayers in common—*orare simul*—points which Pope Paul IV. contested ; and the points now mooted happen to be precisely those which form the burthen of the world's accusations in this period of Jesuit-history.

Scarcely was the decree against law-suits passed in the congregation, when the Jesuits at Paris prepared to contest the right of the University in refusing to permit their academical pursuits. Nor was that corporation their only opponent. The bishop, the curés, the Cardinal-Bishop of Beauvais, the administrators of the hospitals, the mendicant friars, in a word, the most respectable and distinguished personages of the French metropolis, united in demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits, not only from Paris, but from France. All had presented petitions to that effect, and had appointed advocates to plead their cause.³ This determined opposition would have been sufficient to strike others with dismay ; but it only roused the Jesuits to more vigorous efforts than ever. They knew that favour and patronage were their only hope of success. Accordingly they dispatched Possevin to King Charles IX., with an humble petition. This dexterous and crafty Jesuit was passing his probation in important expeditions. A clever speaker, and copious linguist, with a prodigious memory, and all the boldness that a Jesuit requires, with just enough modesty to show

The Jesuits
at law.

Possevinus.

¹ Dec. I. Cong. xlvii.

² Ib. Dec. xviii.

³ Du Boulay, Hist. vi. 643 ; Annales, lib. xxviii. *et seq.* ; Quesnel, ii. 155.

that there is such a virtue in existence, determined in heart, and proud of his vocation, which raised him from nothing to the companionship of kings, he was just the man for these times, when kings and nobles needed enterprising emissaries—just the man for the rising Company of Jesus, preparing to move the universe. Charles IX. was then at Bayonne, with his mother, Catherine de' Medici, where they were having an interview with the Queen of Spain, the king's sister, and wife of Philip II. This meeting was a sort of *Holy Alliance*, for mutual defence, or, rather, offence, against the heretics driven to rebellion. It was in this interview that the famous Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or something similar, was proposed by the Duke of Alva, who represented the cruel Spaniard on that occasion.¹ A fitting occasion it was for Jesuit

¹ Davila, i. 165. Dr. Lingard, viii. p. 60, gives a mystifying note against this general belief at the time in question; and the Doctor appeals to Raumer, who, he tells his readers, has published "one hundred pages" on the conference at Bayonne, "and yet there is not a passage in them to countenance the suspicion that such a league was ever in the contemplation of the parties at that interview." In the first place, we must read *ten* pages instead of "*a hundred*," remarking, at the same time, that the "mistake" is one of the most curious; and how the Doctor could write "one hundred," though he brackets the pages [112—122], is unaccountable. Secondly, there *is* a passage in Raumer's documents to countenance the assertion, and here it is: among the conditions stipulated as "the main objects," were "the security of Christendom against the infidels, and the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and especially to prevent the daily weakening of the royal power in France;" and further, though the Doctor says that "Philip acceded to the request with reluctance," yet Raumer's documents state that, though he hesitated at first, from natural indecision or anxiety, lest other states should *suspect the objects of the interview*, "he was even himself inclined to betake himself to the neighbourhood of Bayonne." Finally, there is *another* passage still more to the point. Alva "advised and exhorted her [Catherine de' Medici] to insist, in such fashion, upon obedience and strict execution of the law, that none should presume, on any pretext, to transgress it, without being so punished that he should serve as an example of dread to all."—P. 120. It seems, therefore, that Raumer's documents tend to strengthen the assertion; if there was no "league" agreed upon, there was certainly the sen-

intervention, and for this same Possevinus to deliver himself of a monster opinion, as he did afterwards, lauding the Spanish bigot for his atrocious cruelties inflicted on Jews and heretics.¹ The Jesuit's mission was to induce the king "to terminate the chicanery of the French Parliament and University,"² says Cretineau-Joly, who, we remember, paid the Jesuits themselves the compliment of possessing craft equal to any. The law-suit came on in 1564. Stephen Pasquier was the advocate of the University, and Peter Versoris, another famous pleader, championed the Company, or rather, says Quesnel, he delivered an

timent of such a league suggested and accepted by Catherine, p. 120 ; and the "example of dread to all" does look very much like the Massacre of St. Bartholomew ; however, much was to be done before it could be attempted. See also p. 276 of Raumer, for further attestation of the Spaniard's ferocious policy. This curious topic is a grand controversial affair between parties, and this is the reason why the doctor tries to weaken its outposts before he explains it off at its occurrence. Meanwhile Capefigue, a Catholic writer, but not less conscientious than the doctor, and quite as laborious, opens a tremendous cavern of "awful disclosures." He shows, that during the progress of the French king before he reached Bayonne, he constantly gave a minute account of his affairs and proceedings to Phillip. "Phillip II.," says Capefigue, "could not come to Bayonne, but sent the Duke of Alva, the most intimate of his confidants, the man who entered most perfectly into his idea. The queen-mother [Catherine de' Medici] wrote to the King of Spain, thanking him for permitting his wife to visit her and her son the king. 'I cannot fail to tell you the happiness I feel at seeing a thing approach which I have so much desired, and I hope will give not only great satisfaction to the king, my son, and to me ; but good and security to repose, and preservation to all Christianity.' In the midst of festivities, tournaments, feasts of arms and balls, they talked of nothing in the conference of Bayonne but the expedients to get rid of the Calvinists, who were accused of being alone the causes of the troubles which tormented France." Alva rejected the idea of a new negotiation—*transaction*. "They discussed the means of destroying Huguenotry for ever, and the Dispatches of the Duke of Alva attest that even at that time the idea of a general massacre of the heretics was not rejected."—*La Réforme et la Ligue*, pp. 285—287. From Catherine's letter it is evident the meeting was intended for other purposes besides a *friendly meeting*, as Lingard asserts.

¹ See his *Judicium de Polit. et Milit.* p. 86, also p. 93, ed. 1592.

² Cretineau, i. 448.

oration whose materials were furnished by the Jesuit Caigord of Auvergne—a method not unusual with the *apologists of the Company of Jesus*. It would tire the most patient of men to enter into the arguments on both sides. Suffice it to say, that no efforts were spared on either side to insure the victory. Elsewhere may be found the long speeches on that occasion :¹ but not in

Jesuit-invention. *Sacchinus*, for the Jesuit has invented harangues, with his usual deep-mouthed rhetoric :

—this trick adds to the discredit which is certainly attached to his History—as curious a piece of invention as any that the Jesuits ever produced. Patronage defended the Jesuits where their eloquence was of no avail. Possevin returned from Bayonne with letters from the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, to the Parliament, with recommendations from the queen-mother, and many lords, to the bishop and the governor of Paris. The Jesuits had induced the pope to write to the bishop,

The method of success. begging his lordship to favour his “cohort.” In a word, they stirred all the powers, secular and ecclesiastical, to obtain what they foresaw would be refused on technical, if no other grounds, at the ordinary tribunals of justice. Still, with all this machination, with all this credit, and patronage, the result fell short of their desires. All they obtained was the suspension

of the suit ; and that in the meantime matters would remain as they were before, namely, that without being aggregated to the University, and without judgment being passed on the rights of the parties respectively, the Jesuits might continue to teach publicly till further orders.² Fiercely did bitter hearts pour leprous distilment into the ears of Christians during

The result.

¹ *Annales des Jésuites*, i. 28, *et seq.* ; *Quésnel*, ii. ; *Coudrette, et alibi*.

² *Ib.*

that agitation. A more rancorous enemy than Stephen Pasquier the Jesuits never had ; and no man did the Jesuits ever abuse so hideously and disgustingly as they bespattered Stephen Pasquier.

Pasquier
and Father
Richeome.

The latter published his celebrated *Catechism of the Jesuits*, denouncing the Company with the utmost severity. This might be excusable in an ambitious lawyer, seeking his advancement to fame and wealth over the destruction of his enemies : but there was no excuse for “the men of God,”—the poor, the humble, the chaste members of the Company of Jesus, to retaliate with ten-fold atrocity of insult the most disgusting, as they did by their mouth-piece the Jesuit Richeome. The very year after the appearance of Pasquier’s *Catechism*, this Jesuit, under the name of *Felix de la Grace*, put forth his famous *Hunt of the Fox Pasquin*, in which he seems to exhaust rancour unto gasping ; so fierce and foul are the epithets and metaphors he pours on the devoted head of the enemy.¹ “Pasquier raves,” said another Jesuit, Father *La Font*, “until some one

¹ Here is an extract from the work ; it were absurd to attempt a translation : “Pasquier est un porte-panier, un maraut de Paris, petit galant, boufon, plaisant, petit compagnon, vendeur de sonnettes, simple regage, qui ne merite pas d’être le valet des laquais, belitre, coquin qui rotte, pette, et rend sa gorge ; fort suspect d’hérésie, ou bien hérétique, ou bien pire ; un sale et vilain satyre, un archi-maître sot, par nature, par be-quare, par be-mol, sot à la plus haute gamme, sot à triple semelle, sot à double teinture, et teint en cramoisi, sot en toutes sortes de sottises, un grate-papier, un babillard, une grenouille du palais, un clabout de cohue, un soupirail d’enfer, un vieux renard, un insigne hypocrite, renard velu, renard chenu, renard grison, renard puant, et qui compisse tout de sa puante u——e. Fier-à-bras, trompette d’enfer, corbeau du palais, hibou de quelque infernale contrée . . . Catholique de bouche, hérétique de bourse, déiste, et peu s’en faut athéiste de cœur . . . O ! que si de toutes les têtes hérétiques ne restait que la sienne, qu’elle serait bientôt coupée ! Asne qui chante victoire, et comme un baudet qui pensant avoir atteint son bran, sautille et braie avec son bast, paniers, et clitelles,” &c.—*La Chase du Renard Pasquin, decouvert et pris en sa tannière, du libelle diffamatoire, faux, marqué le Catéchisme des Jésuites, par le Sieur Félix de la Grâce.* Villefranche, 8vo, 1603.

of our Company, or some other person, for the good of the public, makes a collection of his ignorance, ravings, stupidities, malignities, heresies, for to raise him a tomb where he may be coffined alive ; whither the carrion-crows and the vultures may come from a hundred leagues off, attracted by the smell of his carcass, which men will not be able to approach nearer than a hundred steps without stopping their noses on account of the stench—where briars and nettles grow—where vipers and basilisks nestle—where the screech-owl and the bittern hoot, in order that, by such a monument, those who live at present, and those who shall live in future ages, may learn that the Jesuits have had him for a notable persecutor, calumniator, liar, and a mortal enemy of virtue and good people, and that all calumniators may learn not to scandalise, by their defamatory writing, the Holy Church of God.”¹

The men who wrote thus of an opponent were highly esteemed for their piety and zeal, and Richeome, particularly, produced many pious tracts, among the rest, “*The Sighs and Counsels of a Christian Soul*,” just as the foul Aretino wrote a life of St. Catherine. And the Jesuit tells us, moreover, that the author of that foul, disgusting abuse, so untranslatable, “received this reward for his most excellent virtue, namely, that his head was seen surrounded with rays—God thus rendering illustrious that obscurity which he courted :”—in his eightieth year when laid up by gout, he amused himself with washing pots in the kitchen.² Doubtless some will say that such abuse was usual in those days. Let the excuse have its weight : but whose duty was it to give a

¹ Lettres de Pasquier, x. 5 ; Œuvres, ii. ; Quesnel, ii. 152.

² Bib. Script. S. J. Ludov. Richeom.

better example, to teach a better method of rewarding evil, to imitate Him who only denounced the robbers of the widow, the vampires who sucked the blood of orphans, the hypocritical Pharisees? Surely the "Companions of Jesus" have no right to excuse themselves by appealing to abuses which their title required them to correct. It is indeed painful to hear the restorers of religion, the re-establers of virtue, the apostles of India and Portugal, pouring forth abuse too foul to be translated, and such as would disgrace the worst of sinners. Those were indeed dreadful times when God's representatives on earth conformed themselves unto the image of the worst of men. Such a sample as I have given is necessary to prepare your mind for the "religious" horrors about to follow. With such fire-brands (Richeome was twice provincial in France), with such "bellows" amongst them, on a mission from Rome, "God's oracle," sanctifying all that is worst in the devil, the *men* of those times may truly be excused for most of their atrocities, since "the priests of the Lord" inflamed their hearts with cruelty and made their swords more ravenous with a benediction. Another bad element in that lowering political and religious firmament was the Pope of Rome.

Pius IV. died in the same year of Borgias's election, and was succeeded by Pius V., a pope after the fashion of Paul IV., in the moments of his intensest rigidity. One of those grim bigots who think Pope Pius V. they honour God whilst they gratify the devil. "We forbid," says he in one of his Bulls, "every physician who shall be called to attend a bedridden patient, to visit the said patient for a longer space of time than three days, unless he receive a certificate within that time, that the patient has confessed his sins

afresh.”¹ One of those infatuated Pharisees who irritate men to the very sins they denounce, he would “put down” blasphemy and sabbath-breaking. How? Why, he imposed *finer* of money on the rich. A rich man who did these things—who broke God’s sabbath or blasphemed his name, had to pay money into the papal exchequer: but—and is it not always thus?—the poor man—“the common man who cannot pay shall, for the first offence, stand a whole day before the church doors with his hands bound behind his back; for the second he shall be whipped through the city; for the third, *his tongue shall be bored*, and he shall be sent to the galleys.”² A fiend of the Inquisition was Pius V., and a rancorous hater of the heretics. He sent troops to aid the French Catholics in their “religious” war, and he gave the leader of these troops, Count Santafiore, the monstrous order to take no Huguenot prisoner, but to kill forthwith every Protestant who should fall into his hands;—and the ruthless religionist “was grieved to find that his command was not obeyed!”³ To the ferocious Alva, after his bloody massacres, he sent with praises a consecrated hat and sword. His own party lauded this pope for what seemed in the man, singleness of purpose,

¹ Supra Gregem Dominicum, Bull. iv. ii. p. 281; Ranke, 92.

² Ibid. English law, in this point at least, is curiously just and equitable. By the Act of 19 Geo. II., c. 21, it is decreed, that if any person shall profanely curse or swear, and be convicted thereof, &c. &c., he shall forfeit, if a day-labourer, common soldier, sailor, or seaman, one shilling; if any other person under the degree of a gentleman, five shillings; for every second conviction double, and for every third and subsequent conviction, treble. The penalties are to go to the poor of the parish. Of course all such methods of reform are useless, because they do not reach the root of the abuse or evil; and, certainly, in the case of the jolly tar, the same act ought to have increased his wages to meet his increased expenditure on the item of his oaths.

³ “Pio si dolce del conte, che non avesse il commandamento di lui osservato d’amassar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani.”—*Catena, Vita di Pio V.* p. 85.

loftiness of soul, personal austerity, and entire devotion to his religion : but all humanity should execrate his memory, because under these cloaks, so easily put on, his nature was grim bigotry, rancorous hatred, sanguinary “zeal” for his religion.¹ He was afterwards canonised—made a saint by Rome ; although the Indian savage might say, as in the case of the cruel Spaniards, that he would rather not go to heaven, if he had to meet there such a thing as this sainted Pope Pius. He will give the Jesuits some little trouble, but will command their services to the utmost.

In spite of the decree against the presence of Jesuits at the courts of princes, we find them striving with more ardour than ever to penetrate within the dangerous precincts of royal favour. The Court-favour. Emperor Ferdinand had married two of his daughters, one to the Duke of Ferrara, the other to Francis de’ Medici. The Jesuits had been the spiritual directors of these princesses before marriage ; and the devoted penitents clung to the fathers with fond endearment. The fathers went with them into their new state of life : but they had the misfortune to excite the disgust and resentment of the ladies at court, who strongly denounced the tyranny of the Jesuits. General Borgia did not remove them according to the decree ; but wrote them a letter of advice.²

Ferdinand’s successor, Maximilian, was no great patron of the Jesuits. The deputies who met in 1565 earnestly demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits from Disgraces. Austria. The tide of popular opinion almost swept them from Vienna. In connection with the

¹ See Ranke for a full account of this pope, p. 90 ; and Mendham’s “ Life of Pius V.”

² Quesnel, ii. 169 ; Sacchin. Pars iii. lib. i.

strange and curious inquiries proposed in the congregation, touching the vow of "chastity especially," a foul charge raged against the Jesuits in Bavaria: a student of their college at Munich was the accuser: the procurator of the college was the accused. The King of Bavaria undertook to investigate the matter, which was one of the most extraordinary cases that ever puzzled a lawyer or mystified a surgeon. It is impossible to enter into the details which Sacchinus gives at full length: but if the Jesuits had no other proof of the procurator's innocence than the "fact" alleged in exculpation, the guilt of mutilation is not removed—and if the expedient suggested to convict the youth of imposture was exceedingly clever, it seems to point to some experience in similar cases, which, consequently, only renders the present more probable.¹ Nevertheless, the event points to the rancour that the Jesuits everywhere excited by their ferocious zeal and intemperate religionism,—which induced Maximilian to discountenance the Company. That Catholic king complained to Cardinal Commendone that the Jesuits, whom the pope had given the cardinal as advisers, were carried away with too great a zeal for religion, and that

Maximilian.

¹ "Exoritur in Bavariâ . . . infestus rumor . . . Jesuitas, ut pueros ad castitatem sanctam compellant, eos eunuchos facere . . . Ipsemet, ad fidem faciendam cum obsignatis chirurgorum, qui inspexerant, testimoniis, circumducebatur puer." Sacchinus then states that the youth had been expelled from the college for indifferent morals—*ob mores haud bonos*,—and then makes the most extraordinary assertion, that "ea erat naturâ, ut, quoties liberet, introrsum testes revocatos apparere non sineret. Inde nequam procaci joco, . . . excisos sibi a Godefrido Hanats . . . affirmavit." The physicians of Wolfgang, a "heretic prince," says Sacchinus, "pronuntiant eviratum puerum." When the boy was brought before Albert and his physicians, "statuitur puer in medio nudus . . . at nec virilitas cernebatur . . . cum ab Ducis chirurgo, sagacis ingenii homine, continere spiritum, ac ventrem inflare jussus, id quod calumniatores querebantur exemptum, palam in conspectum dedit."—*Sacchin.* i. 100, 101; *Agric.* D. iii. 150.

they did not possess that moderation which the present circumstances required — although he thought them learned and upright. He particularly objected to Canisius on account of his obstinate pertinacity ; and even when requested by the Jesuit party at Augsburg to promote the establishment of a Jesuit college, his letter, without giving the Jesuits any commendation, merely alludes to the request, by stating that the people of Augsburg *say* the restoration of the Catholic faith cannot be more easily effected than by a college of the Company of Jesus, &c., quoting the petition of the Jesuit-party, with which he leaves the merits of the case, though, for political reasons, he requested his minister at Rome to use his endeavours for the fulfilment.¹ It was not in his nature to side with the Jesuits : though he made a public profession of the Catholic faith, and maintained the establishment of the church, he never swerved from the most liberal toleration, and in Germany made the religious peace, which he had so great a share in promoting, the grand rule of his conduct.²

In Spain other troubles, of their own making, harassed the Jesuits. Under the specious pretext of doing penance, they had established in several towns confraternities of flagellants, who, not content with whipping themselves in the churches of the Jesuits, performed the verberation publicly and in solemn procession. They had even introduced the practice amongst women, as elsewhere. The bishops of Spain were indignant at the abuses ; they prohibited them ; and proceeded to examine the book of the “ Spiritual Exercises,” so well adapted to produce that wild devotion, which manifests

The Jesuits
in Spain.

¹ Agric. *ubi supra*, 159, 183.

² Coxe, Austria, ii. 24.

itself through all the passions. The Jesuits were alarmed : but credit set them at rest. Their Jesuit courtier, Araoz, was high in favour with Philip II., who now began to find out the utility of the Jesuits in his senseless and atrocious machinations, schemes, and perpetrations. The affair passed off without effects.¹ Philip had ulterior views respecting the Jesuits.

In India matters were more disastrous. There the Jesuits were trying the impossible problem of serving *two masters at one and the same time.* They had been received, together with the Portuguese, by the chieftain of Ternate, the most important of the Moluccas. The barbarian introduced the Portuguese for the sake of commerce ; and the Portuguese brought in the Jesuits to serve their own purposes.² I need not state that the Jesuits made conversions : but it was painfully discovered that their converts gathered around

The Jesuits
in India.

¹ Sacchin. lib. i. 117 ; Quesnel, ii. 176.

² The Jesuits supply curious information on this topic. They tell us that in Cochinchina the very words, in the native language, employed to ask the people "if they would become *Christians*," meant nothing else but "if they would become *Portuguese*." This was the general notion among the pagans. The Jesuit Buzome says he saw a comedy performed in the public place, and, by way of an interlude, they introduced a man dressed like a Portuguese, with an artificial paunch so constructed, that a child could be concealed within. In the sight of the multitude the actor pulled out the child, and asked him if he wished to go into the paunch of the Portuguese, namely, "Little one, will you go into the paunch of the Portuguese or not?" The child said "yes," and the actor put him in accordingly. This scene was repeated over and over again, to the amusement of the spectators ; and it was certainly a most appropriate emblem of the fact. Now the Jesuit says that these identical words were used by the interpreters when they asked the natives if they would become Christians ;—that to become a Christian was nothing else than to cease to be a Cochinchinese and become a Portuguese ; in point of fact, swallowed into the paunch of the invader ! The Jesuit says he made efforts to correct "so pernicious an error," but the results did not eventually attest his success, if the "error" could possibly be dispelled in the face of events so admirably typified by the capacious paunch and the simple child.—*Relazione della nuova Missione &c., al Regno della Cocincina*, p. 107. Ed. Rome. 1631.

the Portuguese, as in Brazil, leaving their king in a pitiable plight. By these accessions, under Jesuit-influence, the Portuguese became masters of several towns, until at last the poor king found himself a mere tributary vassal of the strangers, whom he had invited to trade, but who had come accompanied by Jesuits. The savage looked out for friendly assistance in his ruined fortunes. The Mohammedans of the adjacent isles espoused his cause ; harassed the Portuguese for some time ; and effected a descent on Attiva, the head-quarters of the Portuguese, and the residence of the Jesuit Emmanuel Lopez. The Portuguese were absent on other conquests : their settlement was pillaged, all their stations were retaken by the king of Ternate. The Jesuits took to flight, abandoning to the vengeance of the conqueror 72,000 "converts," whom they deserted, apparently as easily as they had made them Christians.¹

In Brazil the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing numerous houses and residences : but their prosperity became, as usual, the source of discord and division. The usual causes of strife among mortals, avarice and ambition, produced a schism among these religious missionaries ; and Borgia deemed it necessary to send out a visitor to remedy the evils as well as he could.²

The savages of Florida next became the objects of their zeal. Three Jesuits set out on the expedition. One of them, Father Martinez, left the ship in a boat with some of the Spaniards : a storm overtook them : they were driven to the coast. Wandering into the interior they were attacked by the

The Jesuits
in Brazil.

In Florida.

¹ Quesnel, ii. 175 ; Sacchin. lib. iii. 138, *et seq.* ; Observ. Hist. i. 226.

² Quesnel, ii. ; Cretineau, ii. 137.

natives, who had so much reason to hate the Spaniards for their cruelties, and many of the party were massacred, among the rest, the Jesuit. The other two missionaries, after much suffering inflicted upon them by the savages of Florida, managed to do little or nothing in the shape of conversion, but nevertheless "founded" two establishments in the country, and wrote to their general for more companions.¹

On the continent of India the glorious Inquisition, which they had advised and proved to be so necessary, was doing its work, and they were making wholesale conquests worthy of their zeal. If they did not convert the infidels, they at least demolished their temples, burned their idols, and caused their Brahmins to be imprisoned and slaughtered—in other words, did, or were a party in doing, what the Catholics and Protestants were doing against each other in Europe at the same time. If the vilest passions of human nature be not sufficient to account for all those contemporaneous atrocities, we must ascribe them to a sort of moral cholera sweeping over the earth and making cruel souls instead of putrid bodies.²

In Portugal the Jesuits were high in favour. Father Torrez was confessor to the queen-regent, Gonzalez to the young king, Henriquez to the Cardinal Dom Henry, the monarch's great uncle. All the lords of the court followed the royal example, and placed their souls into the hands of the Jesuits, who thus acquired unlimited influence in the kingdom and its colonial possessions. Between the queen-regent and the Cardinal Dom Henry the Jesuits interfered, gave

*The Jesuits
in Portugal.*

¹ Quesnel, ii. 190 ; Sacchin. lib. iii. 262, *et seq.*

² Quesnel, ib. ; Sacchin. lib. ii. 101, lib. iii. 129, *et seq.*

their hands to the latter, and intrigued to dispossess the queen of her authority, in favour of the cardinal. Torrez was denounced as the leader of the machination, and the queen-regent discharged the Jesuit. The result did not correspond with her wishes. The Jesuits had a party, and the king's confessor was a Jesuit; and the cardinal was their patron for the nonce. The king was induced to discharge the queen, and the cardinal became regent; but only to be soon supplanted by the Jesuits, whom it was impossible to dislodge.¹ Under Jesuit-tuition, the young king Sebastian grew up a royal mad-
 man—fierce with the right orthodox hatred Sebastian.
 of all that was not Christianity according to the interpretation of Rome. He conceived the design, if it was not suggested, of invading the Moors of Morocco. Headlong he rushed to destruction: all advice to the contrary only stimulated his madness. On the plains of Alcazarquivir his whole army was cut to pieces or captured by the Moors. The king and kingdom of Portugal perished together. Fifteen Jesuits accompanied the expedition. The calamity is laid to the charge of the Jesuits, in perverting the royal mind by their fanatical exhortations: the Jesuits deny the allegation, and insist that their member, the king's confessor, was opposed to the invasion;² which assertion, however, may have been caused by the unfortunate result. The Jesuits would have been happy to vindicate to themselves the glory of the invasion, had it proved successful. Cardinal Henry succeeded: his short reign was the agony of Portugal's independence: for Philip II. worried her to death. Amongst the numerous candidates who aspired to

¹ Quesnel, ii. 100; *Hist. Abrégée du Port.*, P. iii. c. 17, p. 736.

² *Franc. Syn.* p. 115.

succeed, Philip was the most determined ;¹ and the Jesuits lent him their assistance. Henriquez, the royal confessor, confirmed the vacillating mind of the priest-ridden king, who gave his vote to the Spaniard,² and died soon after, when Philip sent into Portugal the Duke of Alva, with thirty thousand men, and quietly grasped the sceptre, surrendered almost without a blow, and with that sceptre, the American, Indian, and African possessions of Portugal—all destined to furnish the royal bigot with gold, which he would lavishly spend “to stir” all Europe in his senseless schemes.³ At the time of the event, the common opinion, in Coimbra, at least, was, that the Jesuits were a party to the betrayal of the kingdom into the hands of the Spaniards. Their college was stormed by the people : they were denounced as traitors to their country, as robbers, and devoted to destruction.⁴ The Jesuit-rector came forth and pacified the mob : and, by the intercession of two other Jesuits, the Spanish general spared the city, which would have been otherwise given up to the horrors of Spanish warfare.⁵ Such was the beginning and end of Jesuit-

¹ The Pope of Rome actually presented himself as candidate for the crown of Portugal ! He rested his claim to the kingdom as the *property of a cardinal*, to whom by ecclesiastical law he was heir.—*Hist. of Spain and Port.*

² Rabbe, i. 231.

³ *Hist. of Spain and Port.* 126, *et seq.*; Rabbe, i. 229, *et seq.*

⁴ Franco, *ubi supra*, 125. “Plebs rumore inani permota divulgavit, nostrum collegium esse plenum milite Castellano et armis, ut repente captam urbem traderemus Regi Philippo . . . securibus lacerant scholarum valvas, alii scandere per murum, multi ad ostium posticum, multi ad commune ; Nos Lutheranos, proditores patriæ, latrones vocant, necandos omnes.”

⁵ This Jesuit tells a curious tale, how the Portuguese women consulted *Nostris* “Our Men,” on that dismal occasion, asking the Fathers “whether it was lawful for them, in order to escape the justful brutality of the Spaniards, to commit suicide, to throw themselves into the river, or rush to places infected with pestilence.”—*Franco*, 126. Philip’s only opponent, Prince Antonio, expelled the Jesuits from Coimbra for harbouring a Spanish spy ; he met them as they were depart-

influence in the councils of Portugal from 1556 to 1581. History accuses the Jesuits of these two prominent transactions—the invasion of Morocco, and the usurpation of Philip—as being promoted by members of the Company. The amount of their guilt can never be ascertained: but their innocence would have been certain, had their generals enforced the decree prohibiting the Jesuits from being confessors to kings, or living at courts; and had not the Jesuits themselves elsewhere mingled with politics during that eventful period. It was certainly somewhat suspicious that Philip showed them marked and distinguished honour immediately afterwards, when he visited his usurped kingdom. He paid their House his first visit, and increased its allowance: and his partisans joined in the benevolence, so that the House was never richer than immediately after the usurpation of the Spaniard. The Jesuit Franco attributes this result to “Our services,” —*ministeria nostra*. How far they were honourable to the “men of God” is the question.¹

Reflections.

ing, and relented, ordering them to return: but the Spanish general came up “with his veteran army and easily routed the tumultuous forces of Antonio,” says the Jesuit Franco. Franco, 126.

¹ “Tantâ rerum publicâ mutatione, credidère qui gerebant animos Societati parùm benevolos, eam fore cunctis ludibrio, sed egregiè decepti sunt. Nam cessante causâ simulationis, quæ fuerat Regum favor, ministeria nostra, vel inimicis amabilia, nobis omnium amorem procurârunt. Nunquam Domus Professa magis adjuncta eleemosynis, nec majoribus frequentata concursibus.”—*An.* 1518, 2. Cretineau-Joly, the apologist of the Jesuits, treats the question controversially. If the Jesuits are satisfied with his defence, we have no reason to think that he has done his best to make the matter worse. One slight blunder, if such only it can be called, I will “signalise.” He says that “Henriquez, the confessor of the old king, received an order from the general of the company not to meddle with any political affair;” and for this fact he refers us to Franco, anno 1576. Well, there is no such fact in Franco for that year, nor any other in the *Synopsis*. In 1578 the general requested “the old king” Henry “not to apply his confessor to the administration of secular business;” to which the king consented; but this is evidently not Cretineau’s

In 1567, Pope Pius V. wished the Jesuits to do more "service" than they thought expedient, and they demurred and memorialised him accordingly.

Reform attempted with the Jesuits.

However favourable to the Jesuits, Pius V. did not approve of their dispensing with the monastic choir. Another objection was the constitutional rule by which the Jesuits bound themselves to the Company, whilst the Company entered into no contract with the members in like manner; and, thirdly, the usual abuse in the Company of making priests of their men almost as soon as they became Jesuits. These reformers, of everybody and everything, particularly objected to being reformed themselves. Their memorial to the pope's delegates contains nineteen arguments against the proposed reform. Sacchinus enters into the details at full length, and Creteineau exhibits the docu-

Their memorial.

ment. It is astonishing what eloquence is expended in proving that the Company of Jesus was not instituted for the purpose of praising God. Here is a sample or two: Action is the end of the Company, the reformation of morals, the extirpation of heresy. "And what! do not these causes exist? The conflagration devours France. A great part of Germany is consumed. England is entirely reduced to ashes. Belgium is a prey to the devastation. Poland smokes on all sides. The flame already attacks the frontiers of Italy; and, without speaking of the innumerable nations of the East Indies, the West Indies, the New World, all begging us to break to them the bread of the word: without speaking of the daily progress of

fact as above. If I stopped to signalise such references on both sides of the Jesuit-question, I should be almost continually striking some enemy or some friend of the Jesuits; it is always *signaque sex foribus dextris, totidemque sinistris*, six for one, half-a-dozen for the other.

Turkish impiety, how many persons are there buried in ignorance in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and other regions of the Christian world infected with error, not only in the villages and country places, not only amongst the laity, but even in the ranks of the clergy, in the midst of the most populous cities." ¹ In the estimation of the Jesuits all their "services" in these various and equivocal departments compensated for the choir. The choir would interfere with their studies as well. "We are, however, ready," they said, "to respect, *as we hope*, by the aid of divine grace, the will of God in the least sign of the pope's will in the matter; but you must take into consideration the sentiments which would agitate the other religious bodies if a change in their rules were mooted. We, too, are *men*, and it cannot be doubted that there are in our Company members who would never have joined it, had they foreseen that the choir would be established in it;" a most extraordinary declaration by men who are prescriptively "indifferent to all things," dead to their own will, resigned to every fate as holy Obedience shall appoint. "And now, moreover, the members have very little inclination for the choir, because they say it does not enter into our profession; and had it been the will of God, He would have *manifested it to Ignatius our founder*." The memorial proceeds to menace the total disorganisation of the Company as likely to result from this reform, and the Jesuits conjure the pope to take into consideration their weaknesses, as men, in their prejudice against the choir; but the last argument is as characteristic as any. "Look to the heretics," they exclaimed. "Do you not see how they strive to prove that there is a

¹ Cretineau, ii. 28.

rash inconsiderateness, or even error, both in the judgments of the pope and his predecessors, and those of the council? They will publish this doctrine in their books—they will howl it from their pulpits, and, after that, they will strive by degrees to undermine everything else. They will pretend that the other orders have also been rashly confirmed, and that the holy council has also given a thousand other proofs of its temerity. In their insolent joy they will proclaim that discord has crept between the pope and the Jesuits—those papists so cruelly bent against us. Truly, whatever may be the orders of the holy Father, even if we had to sacrifice our lives a thousand times, we hope never to give so disastrous an example. But with all the respect and zeal of which we are capable, we beseech the common protector of the Church, and still more our protector and father, not to offer to the enemies of God, and our own, so favourable an opportunity for insulting and blaspheming against the holy Church.”¹ Thus they put the question to the pope. We cannot fail to observe what boldness the Jesuits have acquired in about ten years. They talked not thus to Paul IV. on a similar occasion. Borgia and Polancus had an interview with the pope.

A curious comparison. Pius V. was strongly inclined to the choir: but he would dispense with slow singing; the Jesuits might only pronounce the words of the divine office distinctly: “it is however only just,” said the pope, “that in the midst of your affairs, you should reserve a short time to attend to your own spiritual wants.” And then he smiled, significantly doubtless, saying: “You ought not to be like chimney-sweeps, who, whilst they

¹ Cretineau, ii. 32, *et seq.*; Sacchin. lib. iii. 25.

clean chimneys, cover themselves with all the soot they remove ;”¹—a comparison as expressive as could possibly be applied to the Jesuits in every department of their labours. Nevertheless, Borgia, who was “the beast of burthen” according to order, held out against the pope, and, by his importunity, induced the pope to give in, or to defer the matter until the publication of the new Breviary,—such was the submission of the Jesuits and their “beast of burthen” to the will of the holy Father.

But if the article touching the choir was not to be swallowed by the Jesuits, the proposed abolition of the simple vows, and the prohibition of their receiving the priesthood until they took the four vows of solemn profession, roused them to desperate opposition. The latter would at once change the whole nature of the Institute. It would throw the Company into a most embarrassing dilemma. They must either relax the rule respecting the select number of the Company’s aristocracy—the professed, or at once resign their numerous emissaries in all parts of the world, in every court and city—emissaries whose functions as priests were their excuse in the most difficult machinations. It would have spared the world much suffering, and the Jesuits themselves much humiliation ; but these were not the questions then : the pride of place—the pride of the *Jesuits*, the greatest that ever existed—the strong, unconquerable desire to extend, to enrich the Company,—a thousand motives rushed to the rescue of this constitutional right and privilege. On the other hand, if in order to have duly qualified emissaries, they relaxed the rule, and admitted a “multitude” to the profession of the four vows,—in

Other
reforms
attempted.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 35.

other words, to the aristocracy of the Company, then would the monarchy be insensibly changed into the old monkish democracy, and this was not to be endured by the aristocrats in place, who induced their "beast of burthen" to avert the calamity by a crafty expedient.

Pius V. issued a positive order to his grand vicar not to permit any Jesuit to be ordained before he took the solemn vows, or was made a professed. This was a thunderbolt to the Jesuits. With bulls, breves, and privileges on his back, away went the "beast of burthen" to the cardinals to remonstrate: but the pope was inflexible. To all the arguments of Borgia's riders, the pontiff replied that at least as much virtue and talent was requisite for the priesthood as they exacted for profession in the Company; consequently, those whom they thought worthy of the priesthood, "ought to be worthy—*à fortiori*—to take the four vows." Nothing could be more reasonable; but Sacchinus thinks otherwise. He exhibits all his sophistical eloquence to prove that it is easier to make a thousand priests than one good and veritable Jesuit; which, after all, is perhaps too true.¹ What was to be done? The aristocrats deliberated whether the pope was to be obeyed. Opinions were divided. The privileges of the Company were to be defended. Borgia's expedient met the difficulty most admirably. His advice was that the Jesuits should present themselves for ordination, not as Jesuits, but as *beneficiaries* or secular ecclesiastics. It follows, from this suggestion, that the Jesuits must have had very many benefices in the *res Societatis*, the capital of the Company, in order to derive titles for their numerous ordinations; and it throws some light

The subter-
fuge.

solemn vows, or was made a professed. This was a thunderbolt to the Jesuits.

¹ Sacchin. lib. iii. 26, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 210.

of truth on the charge against the Jesuits, on a former occasion, that they would clutch all the benefices and parishes of Rome. The modern historian of the Jesuits does not mention this *ruse de religion* suggested by Borgia ; but he says that the matter was accommodated “by a transaction which neither prejudiced the substance of the Institute, nor the authority of the Holy See.”¹ Nor had the Jesuits less cogent reasons for not abolishing the simple vows, that is, the vows which bind a Jesuit to the Company, immediately after his probation, whether that be two years, according to the Constitutions, or one year, or one month, according to expediency. By a corrective rule of the Constitutions, the Jesuits are allowed to retain their claims to property, and, consequently, their revenues, for a certain time dependent on the will of the superior, notwithstanding the vow of poverty ;² a strange piece of inconsistency, but perfectly justifiable to a conscience ruled by holy obedience. This enjoyment of their hereditary rights, which this peculiar dispensation permitted to all Jesuits who had not taken the solemn vows—and consequently the vast majority of the Company—this power which they retained of *inheriting* from their relatives, and even of profiting by speculations, were the resources which guaranteed the Company from the inconveniences of holy poverty and degrading mendicity, alluded to in one of the late decrees, as I have stated. “Certain it is,” says Sacchinus, “that this formula of the vows is very convenient for tranquillising the mind, for enforcing the authority of the Company, for its own profit and that of others”³—which

Cogent
reasons.

¹ Cretineau, ii, 36.

² Const. P. iv. c. 4, (E) §.

³ “Certum est votorum illam formulam Societati percommodam esse ad tranquillitatem, ad profectum et suum et alienum.”—*Ubi supra*, 20.

word "profit" is somewhat ambiguous—*perhaps* the Jesuits mean spiritual profit, like Leo X.'s indulgences, which served two purposes, as we remember.

The whole affair passed over as sweetly as any other contest of the Jesuits with the pope. Now, more than ever, they were in position to demand respect-
Pleasant termination. ful consideration; and though, by the advice of the more prudent provincials, it was resolved to obey purely and simply, yet there was no doubt whatever in the minds of the aristocrats, that they would have their own way in that matter, as in every other, provided they did "good service to the Holy See." Pius V. was the last man in the world to hamper the Jesuits, or to "throw cold water upon them;" you might just as well expect an incendiary to dip his matches in water. Soon he showed how he loved them. "This lightning without a tempest," says their historian, "left no traces between Pius V. and the Company of Jesus."

Pope Pius demanded a detachment of Jesuits from the Roman College, whom he dispersed all over Italy to propagate the faith and morality. Numerous
A pious masquerade. were the conversions, vast the harvest of virtue, if we are to believe the romancist of the Company; but, after all, they left the Italians bad enough, if those who fought the pope's battles were specimens. Still, the Jesuits did their best—stormed and coaxed—blazed and chilled—soothed and frightened, after the usual manner: but the close of one of their missions is too curious to be omitted. It was nothing less than a pious masquerade for the edification of the faithful; and it came to pass at Palermo in Sicily. The subject was, The Triumph of Death. The affair came off on Ash

Wednesday. Sixty men, selected from their sodality, covered with a blue sack, and each of them holding a lighted taper, marched in two lines before a troop of musicians, playing on divers instruments. In the rear of the latter, there appeared a huge figure of Christ on the cross, which was carried in a coffin, escorted by four angels and many persons, each of them carrying a torch in one hand, and in the other, one of the instruments used in the passion of the Redeemer—such as a nail, scourge, crown of thorns, hammer, and so forth. Immediately behind the coffin marched two hundred flagellants, dressed in black, and scourging themselves with all their might, and astonishing and frightening the spectators, both with the clatter of the numerous strokes they gave themselves, and with their blood, which, says the edifying historian, streamed in the streets. They were inflamed to this pious cruelty by a troop of choristers disguised as hermits, by their beard and bristling hair rendered frightful and unrecognisable. They sang, in the mournful tone of lamentation, hymns on the vanities of this world. Next came twelve men, emaciated, pale, all skin and bone, mounted on sorry hacks, precisely in the same sad predicament as to bone and skin. They marched in a line, whilst the leader of the troop sounded a trumpet whose note was frightful. This *trumpeter* was followed by an ensign who carried a banner on which DEATH was painted. All who followed this personage carried, each of them, some attribute of death, according to the inventive genius of these inexhaustible Jesuits. In the rear of this awful procession was a very high chariot, after the fashion of Juggernaut, drawn by four oxen, all black, and driven by a coachman, who represented old TIME. This chariot was adorned with divers

paintings, representing the trophies of death. It was lighted up at the four corners with four huge lanterns, which gave a light as red as blood, and by a prodigious number of torches made of black resin. From the middle of this chariot there issued a skeleton of colossal magnitude, holding in his hand a tremendous scythe, and carrying on his back a quiver full of poisoned arrows, with spades, hoes, and other grave-instruments, at his feet. Round about this skeleton appeared fifteen slaves, representing the different ranks and conditions of men. Death held them all enchained; and they sang hymns adapted to the situation which they represented. This frightful skeleton was so tall that it rose as high as the roofs of the houses, and chilled with affright all who beheld it. Through all the principal streets of Palermo the procession wended, and made a great impression on the natives, says the historian, even on those who were accustomed to approve of nothing that was done by the Jesuits.¹

Nor was the inventive genius of Jesuitism confined to the horrible. In the same year, 1567, at Vienna, they performed the usual procession on the festival of *Another. Corpus Christi*, with striking magnificence, and glorified themselves as much as the wafer they elevated to the adoring multitude. Their Austrian provincial, Father Lourenzo Magio, presided, and was assisted by no less a personage than the pope's nuncio, and the most distinguished of Vienna's gentry and nobility. A troop of musicians, followed by numerous children representing angels, opened the procession. A band of Jesuits went next in two lines, each being escorted by two of the principal inhabitants with tapers in their hands. Another troop

¹ Sacchin. *ubi supra*, 106, *et seq.*; Queancl, ii. 211, *et seq.*

of angels followed the Jesuits, and sounded little bells as they walked ; and all the rest of the Jesuits brought up the rear immediately before Father Magio. This personage carried the wafer under a superb canopy, borne by the pope's nuncio, and the most distinguished inhabitants of the city. Magio not only received the incense from young ecclesiastics, but what was most edifying, says Sacchinus, one of the principal noblemen of the land scattered flowers before the holy sacrament, during the procession. It passed under a magnificent triumphal arch built for the occasion ;—and what inspired more devotion, according to the same authority, was the appearance of twelve young Jesuit-scholars, dressed as angels, but representing twelve different nations. These angels met the procession, and one after the other, addressed a complimentary speech to the wafer, each in the language of the nation he represented. It was *thus*, says Sacchinus, that the Company succeeded in triumphing over heresy in Germany.¹ If there was then, as at the present day amongst us, a poor-hearted race of sentimental heretics who looked for a god where benighted pagans find one—then these Brahminic processions served the Jesuits a turn : but it unfortunately happened in the very year 1567, that two of their principal professors apostatised and abjured the religion of Rome. The first was Edward Thorn, and the second Belthasar Zuger. Both were professors in their college at Dillingen. In these men the Jesuits lost two excellent members, and the loss was the more afflicting inasmuch as they foresaw that the detestable heretics would ring a triumphant peal on the occasion :—nor were they wrong in the expectation.

Jesuit-
apostates.

¹ Sacchin. lib. iii. 120, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 213.

The apostacy was duly celebrated throughout Germany, and numerous pens inflicted plagues on the Company.¹ but the Jesuits were, on this occasion, wise enough to hold their peace, and not make bad worse, by those petulant recriminations with which they subsequently disgraced themselves and their Company :—I allude to the time when their PRIDE overtopped Lucifer's, just before he was seen falling from heaven.

In the same year, 1567, Pius V. despatched the Jesuit Edmund Hay to Mary Queen of Scots. A nuncio was added to the mission, and the Jesuit had his Pope Pius and the Queen of Scots. socius : but he proceeded alone to the scene of peril.² It was the critical year in the destinies of Mary. She had notified her marriage with Darnley, and the pope sent this mission to congratulate the queen, and to regulate her conduct, chiefly, however, as to the restoration of papal supremacy in Scotland. The zealous pope sent her a letter written with his own hand, assuring her of his paternal affection for herself and her kingdom, and his desire so ardent to see the Catholic religion re-established, that he would sell, said he, the *last chalice of the church* in the cause—a sentiment which shows the mistaken notions of these times, —as if any church can be really defended or established by *money*. The Jesuit was to follow up this devotedness of the pope, by holding forth flattering hopes to the queen, flattering indeed, but cruelly fallacious. Elizabeth being apostolically deprived of her right to the throne of England, proscribed, excommunicated—nothing would be easier than to place Mary on the throne—as soon as it was made vacant—which was to become

¹ Quesnel, ii. 207 ; Sacchin. *ubi suprâ*, 126, *et seq.*

² Sacchinus ; Tanner ; Quesnel, ii. 215.

the “stirring” problem for the Catholic party with the Jesuits at their head.¹ But that was no time for distant hopes: misery, such as few women should endure or deserve, now began to make despair the cruel prompter of every act performed or permitted by the unfortunate Queen of Scots. Was ever woman more beloved or desired—was ever woman more humiliated or debased than Mary Queen of Scots? The first calamity that befel her was her education at the dissolute court of France: the next was her marriage with a fragile thing evidently destined to be prematurely cut down: let a veil be thrown over her short widowhood in the dissolute court of France,—for it is not necessary to believe that she did anything more (as is asserted) than write sonnets on her lord deceased. Thus prepared—an ardent, self-willed creature, accustomed to the display of woman’s omnipotence—with that sensualism impressed on her features, which constitutes the most unfortunate “destiny” of woman, Mary became Queen of Scotland. It was necessary that she should take a husband. She chose Darnley, her first cousin—almost a brother—the pope gave a dispensation: but the union did not prosper. Darnley disgusted her. The young queen lavished her affections on an accomplished Italian. It is possible that Rizzio was a Jesuit in disguise, sent to the queen by the pope, just like the Jesuit Nicholai, who was sent in disguise to the Queen of Sweden to “wait upon her.”² Darnley got Rizzio murdered. Then Darnley was murdered; and within three months the queen is the “wife” of Bothwell, who was accused of her husband’s murder—and a

¹ Thuan. l. 40; Sacchin. lib. v.; Quesnel, ii. 219.

² Sacchin. lib. v.; Maimbourg, ii. 249.

married man withal. These events took place between 1565 and 1567—within two years. And in the next year she began that protracted captivity in England—rendered so disastrous to the Catholics and herself by the machinations of her friends, which she must be excused for promoting—and finally, by her cruel death, destined to enlist those sympathies of the human heart in her favour, which bewilder the judgments of history, and will for ever procure the unfortunate Queen of Scots admirers and defenders. Her purer sonnets and her letters I admire: they are literally beautiful: but they only attest certain fine states of her finer feelings: they cannot wash away facts, though we add to them the tribute of tears. I lament her fate: but I do not believe her guiltless.¹ And yet pity wrings the hands when we reflect that after all her imprudences or levities or sins, if you please—she was made the pretext of so many designing machinators who speculated on her misfortune. Philip of Spain and the Jesuits fed on her calamity like the vultures of the desert.

And now that most Christian king, from a suspicious disturber of the Jesuits, has become their hearty friend.

Spaniards
in Peru. His distinguishing visit and alms to their house in Portugal, immediately after his usurpation of the throne, was followed up with a more glorious reward:—verily had Philip discovered that the Jesuits were useful servants. With gushing bounty he acceded to their request—and flung open to the enterprising Jesuits the gates of Peru. Kingdom of the

¹ See Raumer's admirable Contributions, Eliz. and Mary; also Politic. Hist. of England, i.; and Hist. of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. It seems to me that Raumer's industry has completely established the above opinion; and the question should be now at rest, leaving the Queen's voluminous letters to stand by their own merits, which they will certainly do.

unfortunate Incas—too rich in gold and precious gems—the only excuse for the unutterable crimes that Christians committed against their God, to the destruction of its inhabitants! A hundred pens have celebrated the Eden of Peru;—its incalculable wealth, its wise government, the contentment of its people: and all remember how the kingdom of the Incas was swept away by the Spaniards under Pizarro—the cruel free-booter, whose atrocities were countenanced, promoted, exhorted by the Dominican Bishop Valverde. Spain's king was enriched: enormous fortunes were made by his subjects: God's skies above did not rain thunderbolts: the dreadful criminals enjoyed the fruits of iniquity; and recklessly added crime to crime—as though there was no God—no avenger in this world as well as the next. What a picture is that which Las Casas unfolds, describing the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards. The natives slaughtered for sport. An Indian cleft in twain to prove dexterity. Pregnant women torn asunder. Babes at the breast cut in pieces to feed wild beasts and hungry dogs. Some they burnt alive; others they drowned; and some they hurled headlong down a precipice. The Indians whom they compelled to fight against their own countrymen, they also compelled to feed on the flesh of their prisoners, whom they slaughtered and roasted. And those whom they made their slaves, perished in such numbers by starvation and ill treatment, that Las Casas assures us, their dead bodies floating on the waves answered the purpose of a compass to a mariner sailing to the Aceldama of Peru. In forty years eighteen millions of Indians were the victims offered up by Spain in thanksgiving for the New World which the pope conceded to her king. And yet it is

admitted that these poor pagans were the most docile, the most peaceful creatures in the world. But what a sample of Christianity had they experienced! They hated it accordingly; and when for refusing to receive "the faith," some of them were condemned to death, and the monks still tried to "convert them," they asked "Whither do Spaniards go after death?" "The good go to Heaven," was the reply. "Then," they exclaimed, "we would rather not go to Heaven to meet with Spaniards." They evidently could not distinguish the *men* from the *religion* they professed—poor miserable pagans—but their betters were as blind in their hatred of the Jew and the heretic.¹ It is well known that to supply the place of the slaughtered Indians, or to have more work performed, the Spaniards transported negroes from Africa; and the dreadful crimes of the conquistadores found defenders in Spain, who argued on *the justice and equity of the war carried on by the King of Spain against the Indians*—words which are the title of a book by Spain's historiographer, the

Canon Sepulveda. The Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca decided against the publication of the work: but the canon sent the manuscript to Rome, where it was printed without censure. It is creditable to Charles V. that he forbade its publication in his dominions, and caused the suppression of all the copies he could find.²

To this depopulated country the Jesuits were dispatched, under the most favourable auspices, like their glorious beginning. Very different was this mission

¹ For the whole account, see Las Casas's book *On the Destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards*. I quote from the French, *De la Destruction des Indes par les Espagnols*.—Rouen, 1630. ² Thuan. 1. 54; Du Pin, *Bibliot*; Quesnel, ii. 250.

to all others. It was a gushing, a hearty gift to the Company of Jesus, from King Philip II. of Spain and Portugal. At the king's expense a house was to be built for them at Lima, the capital of Peru.

Philip's
"idea."

A general muster of Jesuits was made from the three provinces of the Company in Spain, to found a colony in the wealthy kingdom of the Incas—destined to become one of the richest strongholds of the Jesuits in the day of their glory.¹ Philip's idea was that "to *eternise* his domination in a country whose very name had become synonymous with riches, it was necessary to teach the natives to love the Gospel," and "with the hope of insuring a triumph to his new system of conquest, he demanded Jesuits from Francis Borgia."²

There were eight Jesuits in the expedition.

The Jesuits
arrive.

A cordial reception welcomed the Peruvian Apostles. A magnificent college and a splendid church arose as by the lamp of Aladdin. And the Jesuits did good service to the king—did their best to carry out his idea by making the gospel subservient in "eternising his domination" in Peru. *Indefatigably they catechised* the Indians, and preached to the Spaniards. One of them evangelised the negroes—"taught them patiently to endure the toils of slavery." Much better would it have been—much more consistent, had the Jesuits taught the king to obviate those toils by proving, as they could, that slavery was incompatible with Christianity—but that was not the way to carry out the king's "idea"—so they endeavoured to make useful, willing,

¹ Sacchinus, *ubi supra*, iii. 265, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 252.

² "Philippe II. sentit que, pour *étterniser* sa domination sur un pays dont le nom même était devenu synonyme de richesse, il fallait apprendre aux indigènes à aimer l'Évangile. Dans l'espoir de faire triompher son nouveau système d'occupation, il demanda des Jésuites à François de Borgia."—*Cretineau*, ii. 155.

docile slaves for the master whom *they* also served. They established schools for the young, and a congregation of young Spanish nobles. In a single year their success was so great, that twelve more Jesuits were imported. With that astonishing rapidity in acquiring

languages, which is constantly asserted by
Progress.

their letters, these Jesuits astonished the natives by addressing them in their own vernacular. Soon they dispersed all over the kingdom—radiating from the capital, which was a certain conquest. Three years scarcely elapsed when a college arose in Cusco, the ancient capital of the Incas : but that was already built: it was a Peruvian palace, and its name was Amarocana, or the *House of the Serpents*. Another college had arisen in the city of Paz. To supply labourers for these numerous vineyards an extraordinary effort was necessary or expedient. The Jesuit-provincial of Peru was

also counsellor to the viceroy—in direct con-
“ Abuses.” travention of the Constitutions of the Company, and a decree of the late congregation—but that mattered little :—the thing was expedient. The provincial looked to the *end* : the *means* were “ indifferent.” He introduced native recruits into the Company, and dispatched them to the work of conversion without sufficient instruction. He even admitted the half-castes into the Company. His Jesuit-subordinates were indignant at these and other misdemeanors in his administration, made representations at Rome, and the first provincial of Peru had the honour to be recalled, after beholding the glorious advance of his work in the midst of internal division.

This is one of the peculiar features of the Jesuit system : however divided amongst themselves, the Jesuits

were always united in their outward labours: if they retained the weaknesses and vices of humanity as individuals, they managed somehow to make the rest of mortals "perfect"—in other words, as the pope said, "they cleaned chimneys though they covered themselves with the soot." This resulted from "system"—from rigid observance of appointed routine—mechanical means effectuating mechanical ends. But hence also, the want of durability in all their achievements. Philip was satisfied with the results; and in 1572 he sent thirteen Jesuits to Mexico, to carry out the same idea.¹ It is some consolation that the reign of blood was abolished by this "new system of conquest"—and it was a blessing for the poor remnants of the Peruvian Israel, that the Jesuits were ready to serve the king according to his "idea."

Peculiar feature of Jesuitism.

But this was neither Philip's nor the pope's "idea" with regard to the heretics of Europe. Pius V. had long resolved to establish the Inquisition in all its rigour throughout Italy, and in every place where his authority might prevail. In spite of all his efforts, Avignon shrank with horror from the "idea" of the terrible tribunal. Pius, on the contrary, esteemed it exceedingly, because there was no chance of his own limbs being dislocated by the tortures, and because he believed it the most effectual method of promoting orthodoxy—so despicable was his opinion of human nature—or so utterly blind he was to the fact that compulsion is the least successful of all human expedients. The kingdom of heaven suffers violence in a certain sense, but man invariably kicks against the pricks in every possible sense: it is his nature. Pius V. asked

Possevinus at Avignon.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 155, *et seq.*

Borgia for a man capable of providing the Avignonians with the machinery of the Inquisition. *Ed abbiamo martiri*—"and we have martyrs for martyrdom if required," said a Jesuit general on one occasion, enumerating the classes of his heroes—and on this occasion, Borgia had a man whom he deemed capable of *making* martyrs "if required." This was the famous *Possevin*—of Savoy and Bayonne notoriety. Possevin set to work with sermons, gently to entice the people to embrace the horrible monster of the Inquisition. Their taste was too rough to appreciate the delicacy. They were not "perfect" enough to be zealots. So Possevin undertook by sermons to lick the young cubs into shape—excuse the metaphor, for it is the veritable figure invented by the Jesuits to typify the function of their preachers—*concionatorum munus*. In the *Imago* you will see the great bear at work—*fashioning minds with her tongue—vos mentes fingite linguâ*.¹ But the young cubs of Avignon had overgrown the licking season. The Jesuit's sermons excited suspicions, which were confirmed by the movements of the pope's legate, and the people of Avignon rose up with one accord against the Jesuits, who had a college in the city. They stormed the college: the fathers barricaded the doors, and held out until the magistrates issued a decree by which they revoked the grant of the college to the Company. This

¹ Page 465. Here is the last grotesque stanza of the ode printed beneath the Jesuit-Bear in the *Imago*.—What an incongruous comparison!

"Pergite ó vastum, Socii, per orbem,
Et rudes doctâ recreate linguâ :
Pergite, æterno similem Parenti
Fingere prolem."

"Go forth, O Brothers, over the wide
world,
And the unshapen polish with your
wise tongues :
Go, and like unto the eternal Parent
Fashion the young cubs."

was an infallible method, it appears, to deal with the Jesuits, who required "well founded" colleges: being deprived of their revenues they decamped forthwith. Under the mask of disinterested piety the Jesuits undertake to give instruction *gratis*: their terms are accepted to the letter: then the mask falls to the ground, their charity evaporates, and more unconcerned than the she-bear of nature, they resign their unshapen cubs without a pang, excepting that which results from the loss of a "consideration." They struggled, however, to have the edict revoked,—and left no means untried to soften the magistrates. They appealed to the pope, whose scheme had produced the catastrophe. And the accommodating pope formally denied to the magistrates that he ever thought of introducing the Inquisition, and interceded so warmly for his obedient friends, that the gratuitous teachers were again provided with their college and revenues, and proceeded with their work of charity.¹ If we but compare the conduct of the Company in the three circumstances lately described, it is evident that the Jesuits were ready to carry out any "idea," however at variance with its antecedent or consequent. In India they were

Reflections.

demolishing the pagodas of the Hindoos—persecuting the priests without quarter or mercy—propagating the faith with powder and shot.² In Peru they were persuading the poor savages and negroes to serve King Philip and the Spaniards, for the sake of God Almighty and his Christ. At Avignon they were appealing to the same motives in order to make the people submit to the relentless Moloch of Rome's Inquisition—*simplex duntaxat*

¹ Tanner. Ant. Possev.; Sacchin. lib. v. 139; extract ex Archiv. Avonen.; Quesnel, 258.

² Antè, p. 258.

et unum,—they always kept right before the wind—though their gallant bark rolled herself to pieces at last.

Pius V. had other work for his faithful legion : he converted them into warriors of the faith. The pope's hatred of heresy and heretics roused him to the maddest efforts in the cause of orthodoxy. He equipped armies and sent them to the aid of various princes then battling with the Turks or their heretic subjects ; but he never sent troops without Jesuits to “excite the soldiers to do their duty, and inspire them with a generosity altogether Christian ;” thus the fathers had the happiness to contribute to the wonderful victories of Lepanto, and Jarnac and Montcontour,¹ the last over the wretched Huguenots of France. Awful times were those—times of incessant commotion, social, political, and “religious.” The correspondence of Pope Pius V. in the midst of those social tempests is a curious expression of the sentiments prevalent at that epoch of humanity. When Charles IX. had resolved on war with his heretics, Pius V. wrote to all the Catholic princes, inviting them to maintain that zealous son of the Church, who was undertaking the complete extermination of the miserable Huguenots. His letters to Philip II. and to Louis de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers, to the Doge of Venice, to Philibert, Duke of Savoy—all have for their entire object the obtaining of men and money. He granted, himself, ten thousand ounces of gold to carry on the holy war. In his letters to Charles IX., to Catherine de' Medici, he speaks of nothing but the enormity of the crime of heresy, and the vengeance that ought to be inflicted for it, either to satisfy the just anger of Heaven or to reclaim

Pope Pius
and the war
of ortho-
doxy.

¹ Verjus, ii. 22.

the obedience of rebellious subjects—two ideas which were then intimately connected. “Give no longer to the common enemies,” said the pope, “give them not the chance of rising against the Catholics. We exhort you to this with all the might, all the ardour of which we are capable May your majesty continue, as you have constantly done, in the rectitude of your soul and in the simplicity of your heart, to seek only the honour of God Almighty, and to combat openly and ardently the enemies of the Catholic religion to their death.” Whilst the common father, the type, the personification of Catholicism displayed and developed such ideas, ought we to be astonished at the zeal, the heroic ardour which animated his people in the war against the Huguenots? ¹ And fierce and horrible was that bloody warfare to become. There was to be no hope, no rest for the Huguenot. So incessantly was he kept in the roaring blaze of persecution, that the word Huguenot became, and still is, the name for a *kettle* in France. Huguenots and Catholics all were drunk with the rage of mutual slaughter, whose prime movement came from the Pope of Rome. The King of Spain fanned the flame of civil war; kept it alive by his incessant advice, not without gold—the gold that was cursed by the blood of Indians crying to God for vengeance. And that vengeance was man’s own making—the most awful that can befall humanity—the prostitution of religion to the vile passions and interests of calculating parties. There was some excuse for the multitude—the people who were roused to fight the battles of the designing great ones—but the great waded through their despicable blood to the accomplishment

¹ Capefigue, Ref. 299..

of their desires. And there is some excuse for the Jesuits, if their time-serving devotedness to all who would employ them, made a virtue of that intensest lust of their hearts to overtop all competitors in the struggle for influence on mankind. With the armies sent into

The Jesuits. France by Pope Pius, Jesuits went exulting, exhorting, inspiring desperate energy to the fiend of their religion, panting for the blood of a brother. Nor did the Jesuit-aristocrats fail to enlist the feelings of the whole Company in the enterprise. Their historian tells us that Borgia ordered prayers to be said throughout the Company, a *thousand masses* to be celebrated, for the success of this worse than pagan warfare ; and he adds, that doubtless the said prayers and masses eventuated the glorious Catholic victories of

Their exploits. 1569 ! Jesuits were present, as they tell us ; and the battle of Moncontour merited, according to the Jesuit martyrologist, eternal glory for one of their lay-brothers, named Lelio Sanguinini, who perished amongst the slain of the papal army. And at the battle of Jarnac their famous Auger had the honour of assisting the Duke d'Anjou—afterwards Henry III.—in donning his cuirass and pulling on his boots.¹ The function of a valet he soon exchanged for that of propagandist—“ converting ” in eight days, 360 Huguenots, and founding a convent of nuns—and then,

Their ill fame. in horrible mockery of premeditated woe, publishing a book which he called *The Spiritual Sugar to sweeten the Bitterness of the Wars of Religion!*² Adored were the Jesuits by their party : but execrated by their opponents. Listen to one of the latter.

¹ Sacchin. lib. iii. 124—147, *et seq.*

² Sacchin. *ubi supra*, 129, *et seq.* ; Quosnel, ii. 267.

“ It is not the preaching of the word of God that they [the *other* party] demand. They care not whether this kingdom be peopled with good preachers, or that the people be instructed in their salvation, or that the strayed sheep may be reclaimed. No,—they want *Jesuits* who inspire the venom of their conspiracy, under the shade of sanctity, in this kingdom :—*Jesuits*, who under the pretext of confession (what horrible hypocrisy) abuse the devotion of those who believe them, and force them to join that league and their party with an oath ; who exhort subjects to kill and assassinate their princes, promising them pardon for their sins, making them believe that by such execrable acts they merit Paradise. True colonies of Spaniards, true leaven of Spain in this kingdom, which has for years soured our dough, has Spaniarded the towns of France under the brows of the Pharisees, whose houses are more dangerous than citadels, whose assemblies are nothing but conspiracies. Such are they known to be : such are for us the fruits of the general assembly which they lately held in Paris, over which presided a certain Jesuit of Pontamousson, the director of those designs. Others there are who blame the king [Henry III.] in open pulpit, inflame the people, arm them with fury against the magistrates, preaching the praises, recommending the virtues of those pretended scions of Charlemagne. This is the ardent zeal, this is the religion that animates them. And would you see them ? When they are in Germany, they are Lutherans. They have an eye to the clergy ; they have an eye to the service ; they take precious good care of their residences ; possessing numerous bishoprics, numerous abbeys, contrary to the canons, contrary to the Council which they go preaching in

France ; and selling the woods, they waste the domain, leaving the churches and dwellings to rot ; selling relics, reserving for themselves all that is most precious. Few alms they give : the poor are naked, and even the priests die from hunger. True heirs, not of Charlemagne indeed, but of *Charles de Lorraine*, who knew how right devoutly to sell the great cross for his profit, with the richest jewels of Metz.”¹ Such being the sentiments against the Jesuits in France, the question is, not how far they merited this obloquy, but how far it was impossible for them to be otherwise than thorns in the sides of the people—by their very presence alone keeping alive and stimulating the rancour of parties.

Wherever they wandered, the Jesuits were drawn, or naturally fell, into every scheme that disturbed, agitated, harassed humanity. In that very year when they joined the pope’s army in France, they enlisted themselves in the expedition of the Spaniard, warring with the Moors of Grenada, whom he drove to revolt. Ferdinand the Catholic had burnt 4000 Jews together : he had driven the greater part of the Moors into exile ; those who remained had purchased by the ceremonial of baptism a dear permission to see the sun shine on the tops of Alhambra. The Spaniards despised them, insulted them. They hated the Spaniards and their religion. Clinging together in the Alrezin of Grenada, they never resigned the language of Mohammed ; and the dress of the Arab still grace the descendants of that race whose blood had bettered the Man of Spain. The Jesuits went amongst them, and, according to their historian, made numberless

The Moors
of Grenada.

¹ Mornay Du Plessis, Mem. i. 457, *et seq.*

conversions. If they did so, there was no necessity for advising royal interference to promote the cause of religion. In concert with the Archbishop of Grenada, they induced King Philip to prohibit, under severe penalties, the use of the baths, all which were to be demolished. Besides, the Moorish women were to dress in the fashion of Spain: all were to renounce their language, and speak only Spanish. The Moors revolted. A thousand remembrances nerved their arms, and awoke the energies which had won for their race glory, kingdoms, supremacy among the nations. Led on by a youthful but valiant descendant of that race, they spread havoc and dismay far and wide. They began with the house of the Jesuits, which they forced, and sought, but in vain, the life of the superior. Throughout the surrounding country they profaned the churches, maltreated the priests and the monks. A war with the rebels ensued; and the Jesuits joined the armies of their master "to excite the soldiers, and inspire Christian generosity:" whilst those who remained at Grenada stood as sentinels to guard the city from surprise. The Moors were finally defeated, and reduced to a worse condition than before. They were forced more strictly to conform to the Church: they were scattered at a distance from Grenada, cantoned amongst the interior provinces; and the prisoners were sold as slaves.¹ It was no consolation to the Moors that the Jesuits lost their house in the Alrezin of Grenada.

The warlike spirit of the Company animated the sons of Loyola in India as well. The Portuguese were masters of Amboyna, where they were well defended; and they conceived the design of building a fort in an

¹ Sacchin. lib. v.; Quesnel, ii.; Hist. of Spain, 122.

adjacent island. The inhabitants granted permission; but whether they repented of their imprudence, or were impelled by their neighbours, they set upon the Portuguese workmen engaged in the erection. Vengeance, of course, was resolved. Fearful ravages ensued: the Jesuit Pereira was amongst the leaders of Portugal; but still the barbarians had the advantage. Two Jesuits headed a reinforcement and decided the victory in favour of the Portuguese, who would otherwise have been cut off to a man. The first Jesuit was Vincent Diaz: he wore a cuirass, and carried a huge cross in the van, whilst father Mascarenia edified the rear. Diaz was wounded, and would have been killed had he not been cuirassed. The conquest of the whole island gave finality to the achievement of these free-booters — with the timely aid of the warrior-Jesuits.¹

It cannot be denied that the Jesuits were doing their utmost to serve the pope in extending the lever of his power and prerogatives. Nor can it be gain-said that Pope Pius was a good master to his good and faithful servants. He had enriched them with benefices. He had exalted them with bulls. He had made them powerful with privileges. And now he generously gave them the *Penitentiary* of Rome. That word, like a vast many others, has been strangely perverted in the course of time. Its meaning on the present occasion demands some explanation, particularly as this grant was the sixth house of the Jesuits in Rome. The Roman Penitentiary is an establishment instituted for the accommodation of the pilgrims from all parts of the world,

1570.—
Papal
favours.

The Peni-
tentiary of
Rome.

¹ Sacchin. lib. v. ; Quesnel, ii. 271 ; Voyage aux Indes, iii. p. 197.

impelled to Rome by their devotion, or by the guilt of some enormous sin, whose absolution was reserved for Rome in particular ; in other words, there were, and there are, certain terrible perpetrations for which there is no absolution either from priest or bishop without the special licence of the pope. The Romans, you perceive, are hereby highly favoured in not having to go far for pardon. This may have been one of the causes which made Rome (the city of Rome) at all times the very model of every possible crime imaginable. Now, to hear the confessions of these multilinguist pilgrims, there were attached to this Penitentiary eleven priests who spoke, altogether, all the languages of Europe. These were presided over by a cardinal with the title of Grand Penitentiary. They did not live in community ; but each had a fixed salary, constituting a benefice for life. Their salaries were liberal ; and, as it usually happens in such cases, particularly in matters spiritual, the penitentiaries delegated their functions to priests or curates, whom they remunerated as sparingly as possible—a practice which many will pelt at, without considering that their own houses are made of glass. These curates were generally as worthless as their cures or “situations.” According to Sacchinus, these abuses determined Pope Pius V. to transfer the establishment to the Jesuits. There were many objections against Borgia’s acceptance of the concern. It was easy to dismiss the fact that the donation would excite the envy of many,—those whom they supplanted, especially ; but the statutes of the Order positively prohibited the acceptance of any revenues excepting for colleges. It was easily managed. The difficulties vanished like smoke in the clear blue sky of Jesuit-invention. The Jesuits satisfied the

sorrowing penitentiaries outgoing, by granting them a pension ; and, secondly, they transferred some of their students to the house, so as to bring it under the mask of a *college*—thus exhibiting one of those curious and edifying practical equivocations whose neatness is equal to their utility on delicate occasions. Thus the holy general yielded to the scheme, like a gentle “beast of burthen,” and received on his back at one load, for the *res Societatis*,—the stock of the Company,—no less than twelve of the richest benefices in Rome, which were enjoyed by the Jesuits to the day of their destruction.¹

They were not less favoured in France. . At length, after all their useless efforts to manage the University and

Parliament, royal favour enabled them at once to dispense with the sanction of their rivals. It

was certainly to be expected that Charles IX., so completely under the influence of Philip II., should follow the example of the Spaniard, and patronise the men who could carry out his “idea” so successfully. The time was coming when the Jesuits would be useful in France. The French king issued a mandate to his parliament for the speedy termination of the process against the disputed donations, which he confirmed to the Company without reserve. The Jesuits followed up this display of royal patronage with extraordinary efforts at conversion :—they would repay the king with the souls of Huguenots. Auger and Possevin, the two grand apos-

tolical hunters of the Company, were incessantly in the pulpit or on horseback. Possevin laid the foundations of a college at Rouen, and threw himself on Dieppe, a stronghold of heresy. He preached two or three sermons, and, wonderful to tell, fifteen

The Jesuits
favoured by
Charles IX.

Auger and
Possevin.

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. ; Quesnel, ii. 283.

hundred Huguenots were converted. Pity that such an apostle did not do the same in every town of France : there would have been no Huguenots left to be slaughtered : the space of a single year would have been enough to forefend the maledictions of ages. Possevin left his work unfinished : he was called from his miraculous apostolate to gratify the Cardinal de Bourbon at Rouen, with a course of Lent sermons ! His substitute, however, even surpassed the apostle. As rapidly, *he* converted fifteen hundred Huguenots, — which must have exhausted heresy at the small seaport of Normandy. This natural association of seaport with fishes, seems to have suggested a corresponding miracle to the secretaries of Jesuit-ambassadors—for we are told that this last apostle at Dieppe, attracted into the nets of the fishermen the shoals of herrings A miracle. which had swum off to other coasts—since the *introduction of heresy*, says Sacchinus ! Poitiers, Niort, Chatelleraut, and other towns of Poitou, furnished similar miraculous conversions to six other Jesuits—although in the middle of the eighteenth century these towns continued to be strongholds of heresy, filled with Calvinists, notwithstanding the fine houses which the Jesuits possessed in Normandy and Poitou.¹ And if it be more difficult to make one good Jesuit than a thousand ordinary priests ; and if an ordinary Jesuit may convert fifteen hundred heretics with two or three sermons,—then the conversion of a Jesuit must be tantamount to that of some ten thousand he- Another apostate. retics—and such a conversion came to pass about the same time : a German Jesuit apostatised and took a wife. He was of the college at Prague. Vain were

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. ; Quesnel, ii. 286, *et seq.*

all the provincial's efforts to reclaim the lost sheep ; vain were the prayers of the Jesuits ; vastly they abuse the man for his secession ; deeply they cut into his reputation for bringing discredit upon them—in the midst of the lynx-eyed heretics. And they pour the phial of God's judgment upon his head, devoted to destruction by the curses of the Jesuits, saying : "The plague which spared the city of Prague seized the apostate : it killed him and the woman who had the melancholy courage to link her destiny with his!"¹ Those who can say such things may be simply infatuated with rancorous zeal : but they can claim no praise or congratulation as to their hearts or their minds. And as a set-off to that rancour, public rumour trumpeted the bad morals of the Jesuits themselves at Vienna, and appealed to the evidence of a woman for the attestation of sin : nay, it was proclaimed that disguises were used to facilitate the indulgence of vice. Truly or falsely, it matters little to inquire, since the Jesuits so rancorously blasted the reputation of a member who joined the ranks of the detestable heretics.²

The fortunes of war harassed the Jesuits more effectually than the loss of a member or the obloquy of fame. The "idea" of the Spaniard was even destined to recoil upon himself with vengeance redoubled, and to re-act against all who lent a hand to its development. The mighty schemes of heretic-extirpation prompted by Pope Pius, undertaken by King Philip and King Charles, were fast progressing to a dreadful consummation. To work the ferocious Alva

The Spaniard
in the
Netherlands.

¹ "La peste, qui épargnait la ville de Prague, atteignit l'apostat : elle le tua avec la femme qui avait eu le triste courage d'associer sa destinée avec la sienne." — *Cretineau*, ii. 48.

² *Sacchin. ubi supra*, 93, et seq. ; *Quesnel*, ii. 287.

went, exulting over the tortures and the blood of the rebels in Flanders. For the Catholic refugees from England there was gold in abundance, splendid liberality. For the native heretics there were tortures, unspeakable cruelty—and yet—*eventu vasto*—with vast benefit to the Catholic cause, according to the Jesuit Strada.¹ Alva had cut down the Protestant leaders Egmont and Horn. The prisons were filled with nobles and the rich. The “*Council of Blood*” had the scaffold for its cross of salvation; and the decrees of the Inquisition for its gospel. Men were roasted alive: women were delivered over to the soldier’s brutality. Alva boasted that he had consigned to death eighteen thousand Flemings. And who were these adversaries of the Spaniard? Who were the men whom this ruthless tyranny drove to revolt? A peaceful tribe of fishermen and shepherds, in an almost forgotten corner of Europe, which with difficulty they had rescued from the ocean; the sea their profession, and at once their wealth and their plague; poverty with freedom their highest blessing, their glory, their virtue. The severe rod of despotism was held suspended over them. An arbitrary power threatened to tear away the foundation of their happiness. The guardian of their laws became their tyrant. Simple in their political instincts, as in their manners, they dared to appeal to ancient treaties, and to remind the lord of both the Indies of the rights of nature. A name decides the whole issue of things. In Madrid that was called rebellion, which in Brussels was styled only a lawful remonstrance. The complaints of Brabant required

¹ “*Hæretici plectuntur eventu vasto. Jamque hæretici trahebantur ad ergastula, plectebanturque, territis ex eo non paucis, iisque, qui supplicio afficiebantur, non rarò Ecclesiæ restituti.*”—*De Bello Belg.* 166.

a prudent mediator. Philip sent an executioner, and the signal of war was given.¹ Driven to frenzy, the cruel battle-field was their only refuge—retaliating slaughter, destruction, their only hope:—for kings had not yet been taught to *feel* that they are simply the servants of their people for *punishment*, as soon as they cease to be the exponent of God's providence over the land they call their kingdom. The Pope of Rome sanctioned the wickedness of kings in those days. Pope Pius, as I have stated, praised and rewarded Alva for his atrocities; he stimulated Philip with exhortation, and even gave him a "dispensation" to marry the betrothed bride of his *own son*—a dispensation to marry his *own niece*, who was disappointed of a husband by the *untimely death* of Don Carlos—of which it were to be wished that Philip was guiltless.² Such was the mediation of the popedom

The pope's
sanction.

¹ Schiller, *Revolt*. Introd.

² "Protestant writers accuse the king of poisoning his son during his captivity [being suspected of heresy, and known to be *favouring the malcontents of the Netherlands*], and also his young queen, a few months afterwards, when she died in premature child-bed. Spanish writers generally state that Don Carlos died of a fever; and of the authors who may be esteemed impartial, some allege that Carlos intentionally brought on such a fever by intemperance, whilst others assert that he was solemnly delivered by his father into the hands of the Inquisition; was convicted by that fearful tribunal of heresy, and sentenced to death, when, as an especial indulgence, he was allowed to choose the mode of his execution, and chose poison. The better opinion seems to be, that his death was a natural one. As such it was announced; when the king received the intelligence with expressions of deep sorrow, retiring to a monastery for a short time, the court went into mourning, and all the usual forms of grief were observed. Philip gave, however, an air of credibility to the horrible and improbable accusation of his enemies, by wooing his son's second betrothed bride, although his own niece, shortly after Isabel's death. A dispensation being with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the Archduchess Anne became her uncle's fourth wife, and the mother of his heir, inasmuch as Isabel had left only daughters."—*Hist. of Spain*, (Lib. of Usef. Knowl.) 120. Cretineau gives a curious note on this affair. I must remind the reader that Philip's Queen, Isabel of France, had been promised to Don Carlos; and it is alleged that Carlos never forgave his father for robbing him of his beautiful promised bride,

'twixt heaven and earth in those days. And think you that the temporary punishment inflicted by the French and Napoleon has settled the account of humanity against the popedom? We have yet to see it swept away for ever—and many of us may live to see that desirable day for religion—for all humanity.

In the midst of the disorders produced by the revolt of the Netherlands, the Jesuits did not think proper to expose themselves to the discretion of the conquerors, nor the fury of the vanquished. They decamped. But they took precautions to conceal their flight. They doffed their gowns and donned the dress of the country, belted on a sword, and thus equipped they dispersed in different directions—taking the additional precaution of cutting their beards. Their hair they always wore short; and that circumstance may have had some effect in exciting their incessantly active brains—for short bristling hairs are powerful electrics.¹ But the *res Societatis* was not

*The Jesuits
decamp.*

and that the king entertained a deep and savage jealousy of his son's attachment to that princess. Cretineau's curious note is as follows: "According to a manuscript half Spanish, half Latin, taken during the Peninsular wars in 1811, from the archives of Simancas . . . which manuscript was in the possession of the Duke de Broglie, and probably the composition of some chaplain of Isabel,—Don Carlos died in a bath, his veins having been opened; and Isabel was poisoned by a drink which King Philip forced her to swallow before his eyes. This writing confirms the intimacy supposed to exist between the queen and the king's son," t. ii. p. 66. What a complication of horrors! And yet this Philip was the very god of orthodoxy. What a fearful example of believing like a saint and sinning like a devil! According to De Thou, Pope Pius V. praised Philip for his stern uncompromising severity in the *catholic cause* (!) for which he had not even spared his own son,—*qui proprio filio non pepercisset*. xliii. I must here observe that Cretineau, or the translator he quotes, has taken great liberties with De Thou in the seven lines he puts into inverted commas, as though they were translated from that author, to uphold his idea in defence of Philip's cruelty.—ii. 66, note.

¹ Hence to cut short the hair of prisoners is to prolong their wickedness by keeping up their physical excitement in solitude. A clean shave would be infinitely more to the purpose, just as in madness.

utterly neglected and forgotten. They left a few companions thus disguised, to wander up and down, and yet keep an eye on the interests of the Company, so as not completely to lose the establishment which they had earned with so much difficulty.¹

The town of Mechlin or Malines was taken by assault, and Alva gave it up to his hounds for rape and rapine.

1572. The
sack of
Malines.

None were spared : even the monks and the nuns were plundered and maltreated by the troops of the most catholic king under his general, complimented and rewarded by the Pope of Rome, father of the faithful, successor of St. Peter, Christ's vicar upon earth. The sack lasted three days : and the fortunate soldiers, glutted with crime and laden with the booty, marched into Antwerp, where they began to sell off their stolen goods to the best advantage. "A priest of the Company of Jesus, who was in high repute in Antwerp, assembled some of the merchants," says Strada, the Jesuit, "and induced them to buy up the articles so wastefully sold by the troops, in order to restore them to the original owners at the same price." The "pious merchants" complied, according to Strada ; the goods, which were worth one hundred thousand florins, were bought in for twenty thousand, and resold to the owners at the same price—the portion which was not redeemed being distributed among the poor—*inter inopes*. Nay, the same merchants made a subscription, and freighted a vessel with provisions for the unfortunates at Malines. Even the soldiers, by the same Jesuit's exhortation, sent in the same vessel more than a hundred precious vestments, besides other sacred furniture, to be restored to the

Pious
merchants.

¹ Sacchin. lib. viii. 225, *et seq.* ; Quesnel, ii. 291.

monks and nuns gratuitously.¹ Such is the Jesuit-version of the affair, which, however, was differently related by other parties. These say that the soldiers gave a portion of the booty to the Jesuits, as it was a common practice with them to share their spoil with the monks : and the Jesuits converted the same into money, with which they built their costly and magnificent house in Antwerp. Sacchinus denies the fact, as a matter of course, stating that the Jesuits were publicly accused of having built their house out of the spoils of Mechlin ; and further, that they had used some of the same money to procure the favour they enjoyed with Alva's successor in the Netherlands—an instance, adds the historian, of the malignity and perversity of man, which can find nothing good or virtuous without putting upon it a wrong construction.² It would have been better to supply the place of this moral axiom, by stating whence the funds were obtained for building or beautifying the house at Antwerp. However, perhaps we may *halve* the evidence on both sides, and believe that the Jesuits displayed a kind consideration for the unfortunates of Malines, *and* provided for their house in the bargain. It is delightful for a sportsman to kill two birds at one shot.

In the midst of these awful scenes of war in almost every other province of the Company, the Jesuits at Rome were cultivating the arts with their usual activity, were training youth according to their system, and with curious results. The German College, as I have stated, was filled with the sons of the nobility—youths destined for the highest functions

1570. The
Jesuit-
schools.

¹ Strada, 432.

² Sacchin. lib. viii. 231 ; Meteren, Hist. Des Pays Bas. ; Quesnel, ii. 291.

in church and state—youths who would become men and be placed in a position to influence many a social circle, many a city, many a kingdom. Considering the dominant ideas of the Catholic reaction headed by the pope, considering the perfect concurrence of the Jesuits in that movement, we may take it for granted that the hatred of the heretics was intensely inculcated in *their schools*, as Possevinus told the Duke of Savoy. In the spreading establishments of the Jesuits, therefore, we behold one immense source of the desperate spirit of contention which made that most immoral first century of the Jesuits, the most bigoted withal. Everything was postponed to the bugbear orthodoxy. To insure fidelity to “the Church” everything would be sacrificed. And it was the great, the noble, and the rich, whose heart and hand the champions of Catholicism were eager to enlist around their banners. With such support there would be no necessity for the pope “to sell the last chalice of the Church” for gold, whereon and whereby to establish and defend Catholicism. So the Jesuits were excessively endearing, kind, indulgent to these sprigs of nobility, whom they effectually bound to their cause, and to themselves or the Company: but not without the usual consequences of partiality, indulgence, and connivance in the management of youth. If there be a class of human beings for whose guidance the most undeviating single-mindedness of heart, the most candid simplicity, with rational firmness, be absolutely necessary, it is youth—youth of all ranks—but especially the children of the great and the rich, who imbibe that unnatural pride, selfishness, and self-sufficiency which are destined to perpetuate the abuses of civilisation. Amongst the Jesuit-establishments the evils of their system were already apparent.

Even in the life-time of Ignatius, we beheld them with grief, though we bitterly laughed at the incongruous contrast of rules as rigid as cast-iron, and conduct as unbridled as the ocean—amongst their own scholastics—the embryo-Jesuits of Portugal. We must not, therefore, be surprised to read of a “row” in the Roman and German Colleges, managed by the Jesuits. The Jesuit-theatricals were the origin—*un-*“holy emulation” was the proximate cause of the strife. A tragedy.

The students at the German College had performed a **tragedy** with the usual display: the pupils at the Roman College had also prepared their drama to succeed among the Roman festivities usual during the carnival. From a commendable spirit of economy, or to lessen the cost of their attractions, the Jesuits thought proper to request the pupils of the Roman College to perform their drama in the theatre already constructed in the German College. As soon as this was made known, the students of the German College resolved to give a second representation of their tragedy. It appears that it was “by particular desire” of the public, who had duly applauded the histrionic efforts of the young Jesuits: but the pupils of the Roman College were determined to fire off their gun, and resolved not to lose the opportunity. The Germans took possession of the theatre: the Romans rushed on, and a desperate struggle ensued; “In fact,” says Sacchinus, “there was every likelihood of seeing a real tragedy enacted, and the theatre converted into a gladiatorial arena.” On such occasions the Facts and reflections. young are themselves frightened by the serious consequences of their unbridled humours; and in that condition they are easily managed. Borgia interposed, prohibited both companies from acting, and dismissed

the audience.¹ Still the Jesuits persevered in the practice of these exhibitions, and became famous for their theatrical pomps and vanities. Their Shakspeares composed tragedies—absurd and wretched platitudes most of them—and their Keans and Kembles delighted their silly parents and friends, who deemed it an honour to have the family-genius exhibited to the multitude. The Jesuits of course humoured the weakness—sacrificed to the vanity; but those who have some experience in these matters, who have witnessed the total absorption of every other thought by the preparations for a college performance, the feverish anxiety to win applause, the positively demoralising impression produced by the concourse of gaily-dressed women, on the eyes at least of the students previously so strictly secluded,—whoever has witnessed these concomitants of college-theatricals, may be permitted to think that they should have been dispensed with by those who make a boast of their moral students. But these displays served the purpose of the Jesuits. They captivated the most vulgar portion of humanity—parents blinded by vanity, intoxicated with over-fondness for their progeny. Not only did the Jesuits stimulate the histrionic ambition of their pupils by these regular displays, but their very *prizes* were neatly bound and gilt plays, composed by their Company—harmless, stupid matter enough decidedly, and not worth the binding; but it is the “spirit” thus entertained and stimulated, which demands attention.²

¹ Sacchin. lib. vi. 9, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 312, *et seq.*

² I fortunately fell in with one of the prizes, now in my possession—*Petri Mussonii Viridunensis e Societate Jesu Tragedia*, “performed in the theatre of Henry IV.’s College,” at La Fleche. On the fly-leaf there is a manuscript declaration by Chevalier, the prefect of Studies at the college, attesting that the volume was merited by an “ingenuous youth” named Michel Tartaret, to whom

Their colleges answered another purpose as well—they presented a field of selection whence the noble oaks and mighty poplars emerged and towered aloft, overshadowing the fortunate confederation.

Bellarmino.

Robert Bellarmine was now in condition to begin the glorious career of his pen and his tongue, in defence of orthodoxy. The Jesuits consoled themselves for the disaster at Montepulciano, by the thought that the city gave them a Bellarmine.¹ A cousin of Pope Marcellus II., he was sent very young to the Roman school of the Jesuits, and imbibed a “vocation” into the Company. It is said that his humility and simplicity of character led him to join the Company, on account of the vow by which the Jesuits engaged themselves not to accept any prelacy or church-dignity, unless compelled by an express command of the pope.² It seems to me that Ignatius could not have devised a better expedient for making his men most likely to be chosen for such appointments. It made them conspicuous amongst the monks—so eager for bishoprics and other church-pickings; and it slyly appealed to that *ruimus in vetitum*, the grasping at the forbidden fruit, which alone, without other motives, will make men, and self-willed popes particularly, enforce their desires. Of course the general as wisely kept a check on his ambitious individuals. Bellarmine

it was presented in the public theatre of the same college, as a reward for penmanship—“hoc volumen in primum scriptionis præmium, in publico ejusdem Collegii teatro, meritum et consecutum esse.”—*Aug.* 19, an. 1626. I shall allude to the work anon. The matter is certainly unworthy of the binding, which is red morocco, richly gilt, with beaded edges. The price was high, and upon my objection, the bookseller said that it was the *binding*, the *outside*, that made it valuable; otherwise, said he, you might have it for a shilling. But he altered his opinion when I paid the price, and explained to him the purport of the manuscript declaration on the fly-leaf, of which he was not aware, and which, of course, would have enhanced the price of the curiosity.

¹ Bartoli, *Dell' Ital.*

² Frizon, *Vie de Bellarm.* i. ; Quesnel, ii. 309 ; Fuligat. *Vita*, i.

passed through his preliminary studies with great success and edification. We are told that he excelled in poetry, and never committed a mortal sin, nor even a venial sin with full deliberation.¹ In fact he is compared by his Jesuit-biographer to the heavens, which were made for the utility of others.² Without being prejudiced against this celebrated man by the wretched absurdities which the Jesuits say of him, it must be admitted that he was one of the best Jesuits—in the better sense of the word—that ever existed—an earnest believer in the doctrines of the Church which he successfully defended—to the utter ruin and destruction of heresy, according to the boast of his party, and not without affright in the ranks of the Protestants.³ He entered the novitiate in 1560, aged only eighteen: but his merits or the want of labourers in the Company, induced the general to dispense with the constitutional two years, which were compressed into two months for Robert Bellarmine. He was then hurried through his philosophy, and sent to teach the languages and rhetoric at Florence, and subsequently at Mondovi.

¹ Fulig. Vita.

² Ibid.

³ The title-page to his Life by the Jesuit Fuligati, published in 1624, is a splendid emblem of that boasting. Bellarmine appears clad as a warrior, "with his martial cloak around him," looking contemptuously but severely on a hideous demoniac, the perfect expression of horrible anguish, tearing out the leaves of a book, whilst her face is averted and dreadfully distorted. Bellarmine has the fore-finger of his right hand on his lip, commanding silence, whilst with his left he holds a fir-top, and a chain which is passed round the neck of the female monster. There are plenty of fir-tops pending from the two trees which bound the emblem, and at the top there is another hideous face with a fir-top stuck in his mouth, by way of "a nut to crack," I suppose. Then there is a most curious *Anagram* discovered by some idle but orthodox Jesuit. In the words *Robertus Cardinalis Bellarminus e Societate Jesu*, this Jesuit has discovered anagrammatically the following awful prophecy—*Lutheri errores ac astutias Culvini omnes delebis*—you will demolish all the errors of Luther and wiles of Calvin. I suppose the words "if you can" were *sub-understood* amphibologically, or by equivocation.

His remarkable talent induced the superiors to dispense with the usual course,—and he was sent to preach in various places, the Company availing herself of a papal privilege which permitted her members to preach though not in orders. Genoa, Padua, Venice, and other large towns of Italy listened to the young Jesuit, scarcely twenty-two years of age, with profit and admiration. The success of his public disputations and lectures at Genoa, suggested to the superiors that Louvain, where they had so much trouble with the university, was the right position for such a great gun as the young Bellarmine. Besides, there was a sort of Catholic heretic at Louvain, the famous Baius, whose views of Divine grace were censured by others of his Church, who had other views in view. Hitherto the doctor, Baius, had to contend with hidden enemies, excepting a certain tribe of the monks: but now the Company of Jesus took him in hand, and sent Bellarmine, its famous young preacher, to bestow a few words upon him, which he did in a public disputation against the aforesaid views of Divine grace. Bellarmine was ordained shortly after his arrival; and continued to preach with more zeal than ever. His youth and eloquence astonished all the world, and his reputation became so great that the Protestants from Holland and England were attracted over to hear the new preacher. His great talent consisted in winning over the heretics by mildness. He spared the heretic whilst he inveighed against heresy: he strove to direct the steps of the wanderer rather than to beat him into the fold; and in wrestling with the opponents of Rome by his eloquence, his triumph was always the result of his mildness, which was charming.¹ Bellarmine was

¹ Frizon, i. ; Fulgat. ii. ; Quesnel, ii. 311.

one of the very few Jesuits whose peculiar organisation permitted them to pursue that method with the heretics; and if he had had more imitators in his Company, Christendom would not have seen so much bloodshed amongst the heretics—all victims of that ferocious and sanguinary zeal which irritates and perpetuates dissension. There is a remarkable inconsistency in the Jesuits in this matter. How could men, so constantly complaining of persecution and intolerance, be the first to give the example when their bows, and their smiles, and their soft words failed to convert the heretic? But so it was, however. At the very time when they most lamented the injustice of persecution, they were elsewhere advocating the principle in its widest extent.

Ribadeneyra.

Thus, in 1595, one of the first Jesuits, the bosom friend of Loyola, and the most venerable of the Company at the time, Father Ribadeneyra, published a sort of Anti-Macchiavel, whose twenty-sixth chapter is entitled “That the heretics ought to be chastised, and how prejudicial is liberty of conscience—*Que los hereges deven ser castigados, y quan prejudicial sea la libertad de consciencia.*” And after heaping together very many arguments from all sources, in defence of his position, he asks: “If he who coins false money is burnt, why not he who makes and preaches false doctrine? If he who forges royal letters deserves the penalty of death, what will he merit who corrupts the Sacred Scriptures and the divine letters of the Lord? The woman dies justly for not preserving fidelity to her husband, and shall not that man die who does not preserve his faith to his God?” And lastly he concludes, “that to permit liberty of conscience, and to let each man lose himself as he pleases, is a diabolical

doctrine"—attributing the words to Beza, whom he calls "an infernal fury, and a worthy disciple of his master, Calvin." Nor is Bellarmine himself exempt from the charge of intolerance, though he thought Jesuitical craft and persuasion better adapted for success with heretics. In his practice he was a sleek seducer : in his theory he was a stern persecutor. Thus Ribadeneyra refers his readers for more copious details on the subject to "Father Robert Bellarmine of our Company."¹ In fact it was the universal doctrine of the Churchmen ; and what is more disgraceful still, actually practised by Protestants. Of all crimes in history none seems to me more hideously inconsistent—to say nothing of its guilt—than the ample share which Calvin had in the burning of Servetus. The plain fact is that there was no true religion, no pure religion on earth in those times, amongst the *leaders of parties*. All was utter selfishness in thought, word, and deed.

The infidels came in for their share. No one need be told that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all Christendom was in constant terror of the Turks. It was destined for Pope Pius V. to ^{The Turks,} be the great promoter of an expedition which broke the Ottoman power for ever ; at all events so completely maimed it that since then Turkey has only served to "keep up the balance of power" in Europe—one of those incomprehensible axioms that statesmen invent to serve a purpose, until another maxim issues from a diametrically opposite procedure. One of these days Russia will swallow up Turkey, and our statesmen will find their balance somewhere else, without losing their gravity—as we hope and trust.

¹ *Treatado de la Religion*, c. xxvi. ed. Mad. 1595 ; Bellarm. t. i. l. iii. ; *De Laicis*, c. xviii.

Now, in the year 1571 fright and orthodoxy admirably combined to exterminate the Turks:—but the Venetians—the lord-high admirals of the ocean in 1571. those times—were rather the worse for the war of fright and orthodoxy. The Grand Turk was just preparing to smoke his pipe in Cyprus—a Christian stronghold rather too important to be sacrificed by the devout sons of orthodoxy. The pope, fierce old Pius V., bestirred himself accordingly—applied to the Spaniard, who struck an alliance with him, but sent very few ships to make the Turk strike withal,—whilst the Ottoman grinned fiercely at the prospects before him, as he scanned his mighty armaments ready to devour the Christians. The pope resolved to stimulate the Spaniard. Pius thought it his duty to exterminate the Turks, simply because they were not Catholics. That was the impelling motive of his ferocious zeal, added to the universal fright of Christendom at the encroachments of the Ottomans. When the Turkish power was crippled, vast praise was given to the pope for his exertions: but, with his known motives, he merited none, and the results of the victory of Lepanto, so beneficial to the terror-stricken Christians, proved decisive merely from the character of the Turks, who could not digest a disaster. Christendom was delivered of its incubus—and the Turks were not capable, by their character, to resume their devilry—whereat we have great reason to rejoice and be thankful. But it must be admitted that Pius bestirred himself with vast determination. He dispatched a cardinal to Philip, and sent General Borgia with him as secretary. The celebrated Francis Tolet had joined the Company—a “monster of intellect” as his master, Dominic Soto, styled him. Pope Pius set

him to work, dispatched him into Portugal to labour for the same league against the Turks. It was a stirring time for the Company. The Jesuits dispersed themselves in all the kingdoms of Europe, and penetrated into their courts, with the noble pretext of begging assistance for the hampered Venetians. The Company profited by the work of charity. Her houses were multiplied to such an extent that it was found necessary to appoint six provincials to visit all the new establishments. The increase of their wealth set the Jesuits in constant agitation. They wished for ubiquity, omnipossession; and by the natural consequence of their indefatigable exertions in these stirring times, they constantly managed to fall in for something—new establishments arose almost daily. Everything favoured their designs. The ignorance of the people and the priesthood and monkhood, in those days,—added to the by-play of the princes, lords, and monarchs, who found the Jesuits useful,—furnished them with the grand fulcrum for the lever of intellect, tact, and craft, set in motion by their boundless ambition.

Jesuit-
expansion.

Early in 1572 Borgia visited the Court of France in behalf of the *pope's affairs*. He returned to Rome almost dying with lassitude, harassments, and disease. In May, the same year, Pius V. expired "in the odour of sanctity;" and on the 24th of August, Charles IX. and his mother Catherine performed the grand religious ceremony of St. Bartholomew's massacre. It was an universal mandate to cut to pieces every Huguenot in Paris and throughout the provinces of France—as if the fiend of religionism in those days wished to mock what we read of the destroying angel in Egypt. How Philip of Spain exulted

1572.
Massacre of
St. Bar-
tholomew.

thereat! "So Christian, so great, so valiant an extermination and execution" as he called it. "Finish," he wrote to the king, "finish purging your kingdom of the infection of heresy: it is the greatest good that can happen to your majesties"—Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici, his mother. At Rome the news was received with enthusiastic acclamations. Pope Gregory XIII., who had succeeded to Pius V., expressed his joy in a letter to Charles and his mother—he congratulated them for having "served the faith of Christ in shaking off hideous heresy." Bonfires blazed in the streets at Rome, and from the castle of St. Angelo cannons roared glory to the deed of blood—and at last they mocked God Almighty by a solemn procession to the Church of St. Louis—all Rome's nobility and people uniting in the impious thanksgiving.¹ Such was the

Rejoicings
at Rome.

¹ Capefigue, *Réforme*. This writer gives the best account extant of that dreadful affair. Nothing more need be known on the subject. A medal was struck, by order of the pope, to commemorate this "perambulating sacrifice of not less than 40,000 human victims to the Moloch of Papal anti-Christianity," and ruthless tyranny. If the Jesuits were not directly accessories to the slaughter, they were accessories after the fact, by their approval of the deed, as the following notice of the medal by the Jesuit antiquarian Bonanni, proves but too strikingly. The medal has on the obverse, as usual, a figure of the pope: GREGORIUS XIII. PONT. MAX. *An. I.* The reverse has a representation of a destroying angel, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, slaying and pursuing a prostrate and falling band of heretics. The legend is, UGONOTORUM. STRAGES. 1572. The Jesuit Bonanni thus proceeds: "The unexpected change of affairs overwhelmed Gregory, the pontiff, and Italy, with the greater joy, in proportion to the increasing fear produced by the account of Cardinal Alessandrino, lest the rebels, who had revolted from the ancient religion, should inundate Italy. Immediately upon the receipt of the news the pontiff proceeded with solemn supplication from St. Mark's to St. Louis's temple; and having published a jubilee for the Christian world, he called upon the people to commend the religion and King of France to the supreme Deity. He gave orders for a painting descriptive of the slaughter of the Admiral Coligny and his companions, to be made in the Hall of the Vatican, by Giorgio Vasari, as a monument of vindicated religion, and a trophy of exterminated heresy, solicitous to impress by that means how salutary would be the effect, to the sick body of the kingdom, so

climax of religious zeal, for which the most ardent machinators of the faith—the Jesuits—with all Catholics of the time—might boast : but alas ! how short-sighted it was—considering the desperation which it would produce in the persecuted—and the excuse it would give, in the eyes of all disinterested observers, for the most savage persecutions by Protestant kings and pagans against the Catholics—presenting that retributive justice which never fails to overtake crime, in some shape or another, *here*—in *this* world, before the criminal departs for the other.

Two days before the massacre, Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., had married Charles IX.'s sister. He was still in the Louvre. Henry was a Huguenot : the king would force him to abjure his religion. To give the transaction the appearance of conviction, he sent for the Jesuit **Maldonat**. The Jesuit came—through the scenes of blood he came trembling—but not without self-possession, and addressed the prince of the Huguenots.

Conversion
of Henry
of Navarre.

copious an emission of bad blood—*quam salubris ægro Regni corpori tam copiosa depravati sanguinis emissio esset profutura*. He sends Cardinal Ursino as his legate—*à latere*—into France, to admonish the king to pursue his advantages with vigour, nor lose his labour, so prosperously commenced with sharp remedies, by mingling with them more gentle ones. Although these were such brilliant proofs of the piety of Charles, and of his sincere attachment to the Catholic Church, as well as of pontifical solicitude, there were not wanting some who gave them a very different interpretation. But, that the slaughter was not executed without the help of God and the divine counsel, Gregory inculcated in a medal struck on the occasion, in which an angel, armed with a sword and a cross, attacks the rebels ; a representation by which he recalls to mind, that the houses of the heretics were signed with a white cross, in order that the king's soldiers might know them from the rest, as likewise they themselves wore a white cross on their hats."—*Numism. Pontiff. Rom. a temp. Mart. V. &c. Roma, 1699, t. i. p. 336*. See Mendham, who quotes the original Latin, for some pertinent remarks, and other facts, relating to the massacre, its many medals, and its apologists.—*Life of Pius V. p. 210—217*.

Henry listened, but made no reply, when Charles IX., in a paroxysm of rage, cried, "Either the mass, death, or perpetual imprisonment—choose instantly." The future Henry IV. had no vocation for religious or political martyrdom, so he abjured heresy with his lips, saved his life, and bided his time. We shall meet him again.¹

On the 1st of October, 1572, General Borgia expired. His age was sixty-two—twenty-two of which he passed in the Company. His generalate lasted eight years. His companions requested him to name a vicar-general; but he refused, saying that he had to render an account to God for many other things, without adding that appointment to the number. Then he humbly begged pardon of all the fathers for the faults he had committed against the perfection of the Institute, and the bad example he thought he had given them, craving their benediction; and, in accordance with their earnest request, promising to remember them in the abodes of the blest, should God be merciful to him; and asked to be left alone. But still they troubled the poor man, anxious to depart in peace, and to give his last moment to God alone. They had the heart to ask the dying man to permit a painter to take his portrait. Borgia refused permission. They disobeyed their dying general, because they wanted the bauble to sanction miracles withal, as the event verified.² In spite of his wish to be alone with God—in spite of his refusal to have his portrait taken, the Jesuit-aristocrats persisted; two of them stood before him, with the painter in the rear, at work with his paint and pencils: they actually

¹ Cretineau, ii. 123.

² See Verjus, ii. 323, for what he calls "the prodigious effects of a portrait of the saint,"

tried to trick their dying general ! What *children* would thus persist in annoying a dying parent ? And yet for them there would be some excuse, since it would be motivated by those strong feelings of *nature*, of which we are proud : but these Jesuits totally disclaimed any feeling of the sort in theory, and they were incapable of it in practice, as their cruel importunity attested. Borgia perceived the trick. The poor man had lost his speech : he could not reproach them : but with his hands he tried to express his displeasure, evidently without effect, for he made an effort, and turned away from the persecutors. Then only did they dismiss the painter ; and then he sighed and expired.¹

Throughout the eight years of his generalate, Borgia kept his promise to be the “beast of burthen” of the Company’s aristocracy ; and the pope of Rome used him in like manner, to the utter affliction of the man, whose peculiar organisation ever made him the tool of influence—ever subservient to the will of others—utterly incapable of resistance to impulses from without, and a prey to the wildest notions of ascetic devotion from within. “Thus he was a saint in his infancy at the bidding of his nurse—then a cavalier at the command of his uncle—an innamorato because the empress desired it—a warrior and a viceroy because such was the pleasure of Charles—a devotee from seeing a corpse in a state of decomposition—a founder of colleges on the advice of Peter Faber—a Jesuit at the will of Ignatius—a general of the Order because his colleagues would have it so.”² Had he lived in the times and

His character.

¹ Verjus, ii. 80—83. I need not say that the Jesuit makes a very *edifying* affair out of the disgusting conduct of the “fathers” who besieged Borgia on his death-bed.

² *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1842, an article entitled “Ignatius Loyola and

in the society of his infamous kinsmen, Borgia would, not improbably, have shared their disastrous renown.”¹ How much soever his intimate connection with the “religious” *Borgias* of the sixteenth century—Philip II., Charles IX., and Pope Pius V., must tend to diminish our esteem of the man—the Christian,—yet there is evidence to prove that his mind perceived, and his heart embraced, the best intentions; but palsied as he was by the weakness of his nature, and the rushing force of circumstances in which he was placed, he lived a man of desire, and after doing what he could to avert evil, he died with bitter thoughts and apprehensions respecting that Company for which he made himself a “beast of burthen”—not indeed from terror or a grovelling nature—but in deference to that internal ascetic devotion which we must experience in order to understand its dictates of undistinguishing submissiveness.

His presence at the court of France, on a mission from the pope, immediately before the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, is suspicious; but, “though he

his Associates.” Creteineau-Joly boldly and confidently palms that article on *Mr. Macaulay*, and quotes from it triumphantly on many occasions; not without taking some liberties with the original. It is a curious piece of composition, but evidently written at some “religious” party—a cento of biting hints very deeply cut in. Certainly, however, no Jesuit nor friend of theirs should appeal to that article, since there is everything in it to produce a bad impression against Jesuitism even in its best aspects—the earlier phase of its history. There is much irony throughout the composition, and its highest praises are knocked down suddenly by a bitter blast of vituperation, all so completely huddled together, that it will be impossible for you to “make head or tail on ’t.” Still, it is admirably written; as the phrase is, “brilliant as a diamond—flashing like the lightning,” and must have been a thunderbolt to the party in view. It had the honour to eventuate a course of lectures and a publication entitled “The Jesuits,” which I have read; but the author, whose intentions were excellent, might have spared himself the trouble of invading the Edinburgh Jesuitarian, whose intention was certainly not to write up the Jesuits, but to write down some others, who merit no apologists. Verh. Sap.

¹ Edinburgh Review, *ubi supra*, No. clii. p. 357.

maintained an intimate personal intercourse with Charles IX., and his mother, and enjoyed their highest favour, there is no reason to suppose that he was intrusted with their atrocious secret. Even in the land of the Inquisition he had firmly refused to lend the influence of his name to that sanguinary tribunal [as Ignatius *had* done before him]; for there was nothing morose in his fanaticism, nor mean in his subserviencce. Such a man as Francis Borgia could hardly become a persecutor.”¹ Or rather, he might lend himself as the indirect, or direct, instrument of persecution, in obedience to his undistinguishing submissiveness—but would never cease to lament his share in the horrible perpetration. It may be asked, is it possible that Borgia was not at least aware of the intended massacre—he who was intrusted with the designs of Pope Pius V., whose atrocious advice and exhortations to Charles IX. we have perused? God only knows at the present moment. If he did, it suffices to explain the dreadful increase of his infirmities, which hurried him to his grave so soon after his return from the Court of France, and five weeks after the awful event had desolated that kingdom.

Humble towards his enemies—he appointed public prayer for the enemies of the Company—kind to his subjects, gentle to all, but merciless to his own poor body, he strove throughout life to conform himself to the frightful image he had conceived of Christian perfection, and constantly displayed an example which few of his Company thought proper to follow, though they wisely made it the subject of glowing laudation.

A doubt.

Summary.

¹ Edinburgh Review, *ubi supra*, No. ciii. p. 357.

The vast increase of his Company's establishments is to be ascribed to its own elastic energies rather than to Borgia's wisdom, prudence, or calculation. Always the "beast of burthen," he carried his men whithersoever they wished to advance, or the pope and princes directed their efforts. In the armies of Catholic princes battling with the Turks and the Huguenots, his Jesuits brandished the crucifix, and sanctified the slaughter of war. To the strongholds of vice or heresy and paganism—to Naples, to Poland, Sweden, Spain, France, Scotland, England, Germany, to the East and West Indies, to Africa, and the isles adjacent—all the wide world over, the Company sent her Jesuits to expand her power, wealth, and domination, whilst she did "good service" to her patron princes.

In the midst of this world-encircling expansion, Borgia was not without alarm for the fate of his Company.

Borgia's apprehensions and compliance.

Already had it become the resort of nobles like himself—attracted doubtless by his name—the resort of great names in the circle of letters or the world's renown. His novitiates were filled—his colleges were thronged—the Company was become the receptacle of the vain, the proud, the sensual. Some he found it necessary to expel: but to others he yielded. One young nobleman "felt himself strongly inspired and urged by the grace of the Saviour" to enter the Company: but this "grace of the Saviour" met with one overpowering objection—the young sprig of nobility "could not do without a valet-de-chambre to dress and undress him!" Borgia promised to allow him a Jesuit to perform the function, and fulfilled the promise. Another "refused to obey the voice of God, because he was accustomed from childhood to change

his linen every day ;—and the small dimensions and poverty of the rooms of the novices horrified” a third young lord. Borgia “gave the former his clean shirt every day ; and for the latter he prepared a large room which he got well carpeted.”¹ We are assured by the same authority that these young lords became sick of the indulgences, and begged with equal ardour to be served worse than the other novices—the usual old song in honour of expedient concessions. Doubtless Borgia hoped for that result : but undoubtedly during that rush of applicants, noble and rich, some such expedients were absolutely necessary to retain those Birds of Paradise.

Borgia promoted the education of the Company with considerable vigour,—importing French professors from the University of Paris to teach in his college of Gandia, and sparing no pains nor expense Borgia and education. in the cultivation of literature in all the Jesuit-academies :—but in so doing he merely conformed to the ambition of the Company—that “holy emulation” if you please, with which the Jesuits were inflamed, eagerly advancing to the foremost rank in all the departments of knowledge, human and divine. No “founder of a system of education” was Borgia, although during his generalate the Jesuit-system of education became “pregnant with results of almost matchless importance”—destined to begin its parturition in the eventful times of General Aquaviva.² On the contrary,

¹ Verjus, ii. 274.

² The writer of the article in the Edinburgh, before noticed and quoted, says that Lainez was the author of the Jesuits' peculiar system of theology, and calls Borgia the architect of their system of education ; on what grounds, I am unable to discover. The “peculiar system of theology” adopted by the Jesuits was actually no system at all, but an endless variation adapted to circumstances ;

there is reason to believe that he apprehended the pernicious consequences of that wild advancement in letters which left the Jesuits no time to think of the "spirit of their vocation." In a letter which he addressed to the

Fathers and Brothers of the Aquitanian Province in France, he writes in prophetic terms on the subject. The object of the letter is to

His prophetic warning to the Jesuits.

suggest the means of preserving the spirit of the Company, and the Jesuit's vocation. It was written three years before his death. After quoting the words: *Happy is the man that feareth alway*, and the other proverb: Darts foreseen strike not,—he strikes at the root of the evil as follows: "If we do not at all attend to the vocation and spirit with which members join the Company, and look only to literature, and care only for the circumstances and endowments of the body, the time will come when the Company will see itself extensively occupied with literature, but utterly bereft of any desire of virtue. Then ambition will flourish in the Company; pride will rise unbridled: and there will be

so that every system of theology may, to a vast extent, find advocates in the multitudinous theologians of the Company. Certainly Lainez advocated some peculiar views at the Council of Trent, but they were nothing new in themselves; they might be found among the "Fathers." St. Thomas was the Company's theologian; but according to the Constitutions (as revised) any other might be chosen at the will of the general.—P. iv. c. xiv. s. i.; ib. B. This refers to *Scholastic* Theology; of course, in the *positive*, the doctrines of the Church were matters for the Council of Trent or the pope to decide. As to Borgia and "the system of education" attributed to him, nothing need be said except that he had neither the capacity, nor the will, to do more than favour the onward movement, which he found so determined to advance. In proof of the intellectual riot of the Jesuits at the feast of Theology, I appeal to the 83d decree of the 7th Congreg., when an attempt to settle the "opinions" of the Company was utterly abortive. See also the 31st Decree of the 9th Congreg., when the vagaries of "certain professors of theology" were complained of, long after the promulgation of the *Ratio Studiorum*! This was the case throughout the *seventeenth* century.

no one to restrain and keep it down. For if they turn their minds to their wealth, and their relatives, let them know that they may be rich in wealth and relatives, but totally destitute of virtue. Therefore, let this be the paramount counsel, and let it be written at the head of the book—lest at length experience should show what the mind perceives by demonstration. And would to heaven that already before this, experience itself had not often taught us and attested the whole evil.” Thus we find that Borgia perceived the tendency of the spirit which was salient in the Company. The spiritual maladies which other generals cauterised in vain in their epistles, were already too apparent. The reign of ambition and pride was already begun. Already in receiving their members, the aristocrats of the Company were actuated by the spirit of worldliness, caring more for mental abilities and temporal advantages than true vocation, or the pure spirit of God resulting from a right intention in a right mind. Youths of blood, youths of wit, and youths of fortune or fine prospects, were the desirable members. Pride, mammon, and ambition, prescribed their qualifications. Such were the matters alluded to by Borgia’s prophetic warning ; and it is said that he exclaimed on one occasion : “ We have entered as lambs : We shall reign like wolves : We shall be driven out like dogs : We shall be renewed as eagles.”¹ Unquestionably Borgia would have totally reformed the Company in its most dangerous abuses, had it been in his power. He was no willing party to the Company’s court-favour, its worldliness, its ambition : but he was

¹ I actually heard the Latin of that prophecy of Borgia quoted by one of the novices : “ *Intravimus ut agni, regnabimus ut lupi, expellemur ut canes, renovabimur ut aquilæ.*”

thrown upon the rushing Niagara,—and if he himself clung fast and firm on the rock mid-way, the roaring waters dashed foaming past into the gulf beneath, where they whirled and whirled for a time with strange upheavings, and then spread onwards to the gulf of destruction.

The thought is saddening: but still more painful when we think what good the Jesuits might have done for humanity in those dreadful times of transition.

This prophetic warning of Borgia was not pleasant to the Jesuits. Before the end of the Company's first century, the prophecy respecting pride and ambition, was an old experience. Still the words were an eye-sore; and they were accordingly altered, falsified, or expunged, "by authority," or otherwise. The original occurs in the edition printed at Ipres in 1611: the amendments in that of Antwerp, in 1635, and all the subsequent editions of the Institute. As the trick is an important fact in the history of the Jesuits, I shall give the two texts, side by side, as a sample of Jesuit-invention, &c.

It is garbled
and falsified
by them.

Edition of Ipres, 1611, p. 57.

Profectò si nulla habità ratione vocationis et spiritûs, quo quisque accensus veniat, litteras modo adspectamus, et opportunitates, habitatesque corporis curamus, veniet tempus quo se Societas multis quidem occupatam litteris, sed sine ullo virtutis studio intuebitur, in quâ tunc vigebit ambitio, et sese efferet solutis habenis superbia, nec à quo contineatur et supprimatur habebit: quippe si animum converterint ad

Edition of Antwerp, 1635.

San si nulla habità ratione vocationis et spiritûs, quo quisque impulsus accedit litteras modò spectemus, et alia talenta et dona, veniet tempus quo se Societas multis quidem hominibus abundantem, sed spiritu et virtute destitutam mærens intuebitur, unde existet ambitio, et sese efferet solutis habenis superbia: nec à quoquam contineatur et supprimatur habebit. Quippe si animum

opes et cogitationes quas habent, intelligent illi se quidem propinquis et opibus affluentes, sed omnino virtutum copiis destitutos. *Itaque hoc primum esto consilium et in capite libri scriptum, ne tandem aliquando experientia doceat, quod mens demonstratione concludit.* Atque utinam, *jam non ante hoc totum, experientia ipsa sapius testata docuisset.*

converterint ad opes et cogitationes quas habent, intelligent illi se quidam propinquis et opibus abundantes, sed *solidarum virtutum, ac spiritualium donorum copiis egenos ac vacuos.* Itaque hoc primum esto consilium, et in capite libri scribatur, ne tandem aliquando experientia doceat, atque utinam nunquam [utinam *nondum*, in edit. Ant. 1702,] docuisset, quod mens demonstratione concludit.¹

As the Jesuits ascribe the gift of prophecy to Borgia, and relate facts in attestation, it was certainly unfair to endeavour to deprive him of all the credit due to him for a foresight of the calamities which they were obviously preparing for themselves.

As a tribute of respect to Borgia, I shall be silent on the ridiculous miracles which the Jesuits impudently relate as having been performed by the inter-
Borgia's
miracles.
 cession, the invocation, the relics, the portrait, the apparition, and the written life of Borgia—making him sometimes a Lucina, or midwife, sometimes a physician, or a ghost—phases of character which, however amusing in themselves, would be a very unbecoming prelude to the serious, the tumultuous, the “stirring” events about to follow the death of Francis Borgia, third general of the Jesuits.²

¹ See *Morale Pratique*, iii. 76, *et seq.*

² For Borgia's Miracles, see Verjus, ii. 298.—337.

BOOK VII. OR, BOBADILLA.

To Pope Pius V. Catholics must ascribe the glory of having restored the ascendancy of the Roman cause. Call it Catholicism, papal prerogative, or Catholic reaction : it matters little : the result was the same—all flowing as a consequence from the spread of fanatical orthodoxy—the murderous rage of bigotry. What suffering for humanity he prepared, and sanctified ! The reeking blood of men, and the exulting shouts of fiends, with clapping of hands, in the midst of social ruin and desolation, attested that horrible glory of the “mighty paramount” of Rome, at the head of his “grand infernal peers.” He sounded the key-note shrill and piercing, and the thousand instruments of Loyola in unison responded. They bid cry

With trumpet's regal sound the *great result* :
Toward the four winds four speedy cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy
By herald's voice explain'd ; the hollow abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of hell
With deafening shout return'd them loud acclaim.

It was indeed a “false presumptuous hope ;” but it was a “stirring” hope ; that the popedom would once more

give the law to the universe. Time was when ruin utterly impended; and then the Mamelukes of Rome adventurously tried "if any clime, perhaps, might yield them easier habitation." Over the wide world they spread and "worked in close design, by fraud or guile, what force effected not." India, Japan, Africa, America, became familiar with "the greater glory of God." In the land of the savage and the heathen, the golden age of the Church was restored *by the Annual Letters of the Company*, at least; and a Jesuit-empire was established by the numerous houses, or factories, of the same adventurers. Allegiance to Rome was the sign-manual of the conquest, and thus, and thus only, did the Jesuits make heaven compensate Rome for her eternal and temporal losses. That was magnificent, however. And the Jesuits were the divine paladins of that bewildering crusade—the little gods of that pagan metamorphosis, which eclipses the wildest of Ovid. For every *one* heretic made by the apostate Luther, a thousand savages leaped into "the Church," and made the sign of the cross with holy water. The Jesuits taught them. But this was religion in sport, as far as the popedom was concerned. Pope Pius willed it in right good earnest in Europe. And it was done. He died, leaving every kingdom of Europe distracted with the feuds, the rancour of orthodoxy and heresy, war to the death proclaimed on both sides, reckless, merciless war—the war for "religion."

Gregory XIII., who succeeded Pius V., was flung on the rushing torrent. The thousand shouts of public opinion cheered him from the shore. Mad with the glorious excitement, he plied his paddles, like the savage Indian, with redoubled energy for

Pope Gregory XIII.

the leap over the roaring cataract—the speed of lightning was the only chance of achievement. Gregory he called himself—the word means “watchful,” “vigilant:” for he had “sharpen’d his visual ray”—

————— “on some great charge employ’d,
He seem’d, or fix’d in cogitation deep.”

You will understand the man as we proceed: his deeds will dissect him.

When the harassed, tormented soul of Borgia took flight, the aristocracy of the Company appointed Polancus vicar-general. He was one of the ancients of the Company. I have before described his laborious and numerous employments in the administration. A man of all work under Ignatius, and the governor of the Company in the last days of the founder; he was the assistant, admonitor, and secretary of Lainez, the very right hand of Borgia, the depository of the secrets, the general correspondent, and man of business, in short, the Atlas of the Company, which he seemed to bear on his shoulders—*suis humeris universam quodammodo Societatem sustinere videretur*.¹ Undoubtedly here was a general ready made for the Company of Jesus. The ancients of the Company, with Polancus at their head, went, as usual, to the pope for his “benediction,” ere they proceeded to open the congregation for the election. “How many votes do the Spaniards of your Company number, and how many generals of that nation have there been hitherto?” asked Gregory XIII. “Three generals—all Spaniards,” was the reply. “Well,” exclaimed the man of the watch, “it seems to me that you ought now, in justice, to choose a

The pope
names the
general to
be elected.

¹ Bibl. Script. S. J. Joan. Polanc.

general of some other nation." The Jesuits demurred : it was a blow at their prerogatives. "What," rejoined the pope, "have you no other members as capable as the Spaniards to direct your important functions? Father Everard Mercurian would seem to me worthy of your choice." And thereupon, without giving the Jesuits a moment to protest against the designation, he dismissed them with his benediction, and a charge "to do what was most just."¹

"The apostle," observes the Jesuit-historian, "said that before God there was no difference between a Jew and a Greek ;" but the apostles of bigotry, in these times, made a remarkable difference between a perfectly converted Jew or Moor, or their perfectly orthodox progeny, and the true born Christians. The prejudice was desperate and universal—like that against "colour" in America, in the East and West Indies, even in our days, though "enlightenment" and *gold* have, in the last-named kingdom of chromatic prejudice, rendered black and its interminable shades of brown, somewhat more curious and fascinating and respectable, for fathers and mothers to fancy, in their accommodating impoverishment. At the time in question, the descendants of Jews and Moors were "held infamous"—*infames habentur*—and were consequently precluded from the Company of Jesus, according to its Constitutions.² Still, a "dispensation" was usually

Prejudice
in the
sixteenth
century.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 170, *et seq.*

² "Qui etiam juxta Constitutiones titulo infamie admitti non possunt."—*VI. Congreg.* xxviii. Touching the blood of Israel, I have nothing to say. Expatriated wanderers over earth, persecuted everywhere, hated, despised, their only resource was to heap up *gold*, that universal compensating pendulum of society. But the pitchy touch, added to their degradation, poisoned their hearts, made them a cringing, grovelling race, that consoled themselves for all ignominy when they touched and hugged their bursting bags. It was not thus with the

granted when the applicant had other endowments natural or acquired, to compensate for the hereditary taint of *infidelity*. We may stop for a moment to observe that no proof can be stronger to attest the conviction of "converters" in those days, that they did *not* believe they ever made a Christian out of an infidel. They never ceased to apprehend a relapse. The base motives of bigotry made them always suspicious. In the Sixth Congregation of the Jesuits, it was decided, on this score, to make inquiries in such cases, as far back as the fifth degree inclusive, with regard to those "*who were of good stock in other respects, or noble, or of good reputation.*"¹ Polancus had the misfortune to belong to the "tainted" race. The idea of his being made general of the Company of Jesus was horrifying. The Spaniards were so desperately alarmed that Philip II., Don Sebastian, and the Cardinal Henry of Portugal had written and conjured the pope to oppose the election of every Jesuit suspected of such origin. This explains the conduct of Gregory in suggesting Mercurian for the generalate, and shows that the prejudice was patronised by "the Vicar of Jesus Christ," just as the prejudice against colour in the West, found accommodating supporters in the priesthood, in spite of their European enlightenment and charity, imbibing

Moors. Wherever they had mingled with the race whom they conquered—wherever they condescended to mix their blood with the Spaniard, they improved it; grace of body, grace of mind and power withal, noble sentiment, ethereal poesy, beauty, heart, and mind, all were given or enhanced by the blood of the Moor. And now, at the present day, the best of the land should be proud of that "taint" which their predecessors despised. Even Mr. Dunham will give you some idea of "Mohammedan Spain."—*Hist. of Spain*, &c. vol. iv.

¹ "In ceteris, qui alioqui honestæ familiæ essent, aut vulgo nobiles, vel boni nominis haberentur, informationes fierent usque ad quintum gradum inclusivè."—*Ibid.*

prejudice against colour as deeply as any "Creole."¹ In the present instance, the Jesuits remonstrated, not in defence of Polanco's taint, but in defence of their prerogative of free election. Still the pope told them that they might please themselves, but he enjoined them to announce to him, before proclamation, the choice they should make, should it fall on a Spaniard. On the following day, these remonstrants elected the pope's choice—Everard Mercurian—a *Belgian*, and, consequently, a "Spaniard," inasmuch as he was a subject of King Philip. His age was sixty-eight.

His name has nothing to do with the god Mercury, but was simply derived from Marcour in Luxemburg, the place of his birth.² He was born of poor parents, educated at Liege and Louvain, Mercurianus. became a curate, was disgusted with the little "good" he did, and, inspired by the example of Faber and the Jesuit Strada, joined the Company at Paris, whence he

¹ It is well known to all who have resided in the West Indies that the priests perfectly conformed to this prejudice, and made no effort to correct it. I even knew an instance where the priest in the *confessional* advanced the "taint" of his penitent as a motive for *humility! Christian humility!*

² Among the ridiculous books published by the Jesuits to celebrate the canonisation of Ignatius, was "*Les Tableaux, or the Pictures of the illustrious personages of the Company of Jesus,*" published at Douay, to reproduce the impression of the glorious festivities in that town, among the thousands where they were celebrated. I shall hereinafter describe the proceedings. Suffice it here to state, that under the "picture" of Mercurian was the following doggerel:—

"Qu'on ne dise jamais que la chiche nature
Regarda de travers Ardene et Luxcmbour ;
Rome, arrosé du miel de ce sage Mercure,
Se confesse obligée à leur petit Mercour."

Let no one ever say that nature was stingy
And looked askew on Ardennes and Luxembour :
Rome, watered with the *honey* of this wise Mercury,
Confesses herself obliged to their little Mercour.

was summoned to Rome in 1551, was highly esteemed by Ignatius, and, finally, was one of Borgia's assistants. At the intelligence of his exaltation, a brother of his, the son of his *mother*, not a Jesuit, wrote to Mercurian from the Netherlands, congratulating the general, and, of course, begging his exalted brother to remember his poverty, and the sorry condition of all his relatives. Mercurian very properly wrote back, telling the mistaken applicant, that he was the general and servant of the Company, that his office did not increase his revenue by a farthing, and that he was not richer than the least cook of the Company.¹

The decrees passed in this congregation are more historical as to facts than all the histories of the Jesuits, by themselves or their enemies. To these mines of the Company's "spirit" I shall always penetrate, digging for truth. Ere the aristocrats of the Company proceeded to the election, preliminary resolutions had passed : but the pope sent a cardinal who, "in the name of the pontiff, and for the interest of the Universal Church, called upon the electors to elect, for once at least, a general who was not a Spaniard."² Other considerations than Spanish prejudice against ancestral taint, seemed to have enlightened the pope, on inquiry. All the high offices of the Company were filled by Spaniards exclusively. And national prejudices were as strong in the Company of Jesus, as that against Jewish and Moorish taint was throughout the realms of orthodoxy. The "Constitutions of Ignatius"—the peculiar training of the Company—*seemed* to subdue the most decided characters, the most turbulent natures : but

The national prejudices of the Jesuits.

¹ Tableaux, p. 79, *et seq.* ; Bibl. Script. S. J. Ever. Merc.

² Cretineau, ii. 171.

these characters, these natures, were *not* subdued. Motives were given unto them, to make them husband or direct their energies to other objects than the immediate suggestions of nature. They remained essentially the same—hence the resistless power of each Jesuit in his peculiar sphere of action. But hence, also, the contemptible littleness, shallowness of his nature, thus contracted and made subservient in all things by selfish motives or fanatical convictions, utterly bereft of that elastic, bounding spirit of freedom, which constitutes the prime prerogative of man—his fearless independence of heart and mind. And hence, also, that national egotism which, it is certain and admitted, prevailed from the first among the Jesuits, and was never uprooted. If we read the gorgeous sentiments of the theoretical Jesuits on self-abnegation, on Christian charity, we conclude that these men, above all others, understood and promoted that equality of loving brotherhood, which He of Nazareth came to suggest and exemplify; but it was *not* so. “The Jesuits, without giving vent to their complaints, evinced their jealousy respecting that equality.”¹ Ignatius, Lainez, Borgia, doubtless perceived this element of decay in the Company; but how could they *afford* to attempt that radical reform which would have banished the evil? Natural passions, strong as ever, and pent up into narrow channels—confined to the littleness, the petty views of small circles, found pride in their *Spanish origin*; and untold dislikes, selfish disapprobation, when their “foreign” brothers were exalted, brooded in their souls.²

¹ “Les Jésuites, sans faire éclater leurs plaintes, se montraient pourtant jaloux du triomphe de cette égalité.”—*Cretineau*, ii, 172.

² *Cretineau*, after the Jesuits, mystifies this important fact as follows: “Ignace, Laynez et Borgia, quoique Espagnols, s'étaient, par esprit de justice, conformés

No man in the Company was more in the secret of these matters than the secretary and assistant, Polancus.

Existing abuses in the Company. As a preliminary to the election, he proposed to appoint a committee of the fathers to examine and report whether the Company had hitherto suffered, or was in danger of suffering damage. Five fathers were appointed from the five nations, German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, who, with the vicar-general Polancus, and four assistants, with Salmeron and Bobadilla, should receive evidence from the other fathers ; but by a large majority it was decreed that the requisite evidence should be taken only from the *electors and the procurators of the provinces*, and to be confined to practices, without extending to persons—not even to practices which might refer to individuals. The evidence of other members, particularly if they were discreet and approved men, was not to be rejected if offered ; but it was not to be asked ; and such evidence was to be given in writing, signed with the names of the informers,—stringent conditions, which point at once to the purely aristocratical exclusiveness of the Company's government. Besides the constitutional qualifications appointed for the general, the peculiar qualities suggested by the Company's present predicament were as follows :—“ 1. Whether the member proposed to be elected general, was likely to govern the Company with a paternal spirit, and not despotically—easy of access, and capable of inspiring confidence. 2. Whether he was likely to direct his serious attention to the re-establishment of that charity and union so much

à un vœu dont ils ne méconnaissaient pas l'influence ; mais, soit que certains pères fussent encore trop assujettis aux passions de l'humanité pour se laisser dominer, soit plutôt que la fierté castillane reprit trop souvent son empire, des dissensions intérieures couvaient au fond des âmes.”—ii. 172.

recommended by the Constitutions, and which had been so much admired in the Company—so that he might *cut off all the occasions of discord, and strenuously apply himself to restore the whole Company to her former and commendable union.* 3. Whether he would be likely to observe the Constitutions as to *admissions into the Company, to dismissals, profession, probation, the integrity of the vows of poverty and chastity; the mortification of the passions, and self-will; the extirpation of the hankering after distinction, the disease of ambition, carnal affection, and the partialities of kindred*—the absolute standard of obedience, &c.,—not indeed according to his own views, but according to the spirit and practice of our Father Ignatius—discarding every spirit foreign to, and at variance with, our Institute. 4. Whether he will seriously endeavour to free the Company from many things which do not bescem our Institute, and which so encumber us that we are forced to neglect those which are proper for the Institute : of the former kind are the *seminaries, the house of boarders, the college of penitentiaries, our presence at the meetings of the Inquisition for passing judgment, &c.*, contrary to the form of our decree. 5. Whether it is feared that he will be inclined to admit new colleges, *whilst the Company seems already so burthened and oppressed by the multitude of colleges, that she cannot support the load she has undertaken.* 6. Whether he will diligently take care to send proper labourers to relieve the wants of the colleges, especially the *foreign missions, where the Company is gravely deficient in the observance of the Institute, and other things, owing to the want of good superiors and labourers,* lest those who are the least adapted and qualified be dispatched to them, *as the provinces complain that such*

has often happened. . . . 8. Whether he will be kind to all without partiality—without being suspected of making exceptions as to persons—not guided by his own passions, or those motives which are called human and worldly. . . . 12. Whether he be full of zeal to promote the perfection of our men, and more inclined to the office of a shepherd, than qualified by industry and business-experience, in carrying on personally, or by others, lawsuits and worldly business; in exacting moneys, and transferring the same from one province to another; since, on that account, our Company is everywhere branded by princes in Church and State, and it is known that there has been thereby danger of schism in the Company.”¹

Honest Polancus, who suggested these matters, evidently was alive to the diseases of the Company. Had he been elected there cannot be a doubt that he would have attempted extensive reforms: —but he would have been desperately resisted —not by the vulgar herd of the Company, but by the aristocracy—already swaying the destinies of the Jesuit-empire. This document gives us a most favourable impression of Polancus. We are compelled to give him the most unlimited credit for a thorough knowledge of the Company’s members and their concerns; and we so admire his honesty of purpose, that we rather congratulate him at being postponed on account of his “taint,” to Mercurian on account of the pope’s nomination. Mercurian’s “mildness and prudence”² were better adapted to eventuate a comfortable reign in the midst of abuses, than Polanco’s honesty and reform in the midst of turbulent opposition.

¹ Dec. iii, Cong.; Corp. Instit. i. 776, *et seq.* ² “*Doux et prudent.*”—Oretineau.

Many characteristic decrees were passed in the congregation, after the election. The distribution of the hereditary wealth of the brothers, given to the Company, was a subject of considerable difficulty still. And again the matter was left chiefly to the discretion of the general—always premising due regard to the will of the kings and princes in whose dominions such property was situate.¹ Sixteen decrees are omitted in the printed copy—all of them doubtless pertaining to that growing anxiety of the Company in the increase of their wealth—in certain quarters too abundant, in others too deficient.

Distribution
of moneys.

The promise made by the novices to abdicate their wealth, after the first year of probation, was considered a hard matter by some, and in certain places it was not, apparently, complied with. It was now declared to be simply a promise, not a vow—and left to the discretion of the general.²

Abdication of
property.

Against the multiplicity of colleges, which was brought forward, no new decree was made : but the general was seriously and urgently requested and advised to attend to the former decree on the subject—touching the multiplicity of the Company's colleges, and the insufficiency of their revenues.³

Multiplicity
of colleges.

Some of the fathers proposed to expunge those enactments of the Constitutions which, by the lapse of time or otherwise, *were no longer in practice*—a startling declaration at so early a period after these Constitutions were universally approved by successive popes, and sworn to by the Company. And yet the slightest alteration suggested by the pope himself, ever met with the staunchest opposition ! It is

Inviolability
of the Consti-
tutions.

¹ Dec. xvi. in MS. D. xxvi.

² Dec. xix.

³ Dec. xx.

inconsistent : but quite natural ; and the fathers on the present occasion wisely and most sagaciously resolved that there should be, on no account, any expunging of obsolete enactments—all must remain just as “Ignatius” left them.¹ Thus, again, you see that the Jesuits could always silence objection by appealing to the inviolate Constitutions. However, there is a hiatus of *two* decrees, after this question about the *old* Constitutions. Whether any expedient was proposed and adopted to supply their place is a matter of curious conjecture. An enemy of the Jesuits would be tempted

Monita Secreta. to ascribe the idea of the famous *Monita Secreta* to this occasion, particularly as Ribadeneyra tells us that General Mercurian “prepared certain very useful *monita* for the public use of the Company : *ipse monita Societati in publicum usum perutilia concinnavit.*”²

As to the boarders who paid a stipend at the German College, nothing was decided : but the matter was left to the general, as usual, who was to consider whether the “burthen” was to be removed, and the beautiful prospectus-declaration about *gratis*-instruction, honestly practised or not. *Two* decrees are omitted.³ The Constitutions positively

Boarders at the German College. declared that no alms, no donations, were to be received for colleges which had revenues enough to support twelve scholars, besides teachers. This enactment had been infringed : the question—probably proposed by Polancus—was, How the enactment was to be understood ? It was left to the general to enforce, to interpret, or dispense with it, as he should think proper.⁴ *Four* decrees are sunk in

Touching alms and donations.

¹ Dec. xxiii. in MS. D. xxxiii.

² Bibl. Script. S. J. Ever. Merc.

³ Dec. xxiv. in MS. D. xxxv.

⁴ Dec. xxv. It is evident that the general of the Jesuits was superior to the

edifying oblivion ; and the everlasting question about the Latin translation of the Constitutions is again brought forward. It is declared that the two editions already published differed in many points—in The Constitutions. *multis invicem discrepant* : so the demand was, that the congregation should declare whether the first or the second edition, was the true original of the Constitutions—*verum originale Constitutionum*—lest they should subsequently again have to go to the Spanish copy—*exemplar Hispanicum*—which, as it was not printed, and *not open to all—nec omnibus commune*—might, perhaps, in the lapse of time, be *rather easily changed or altered* ;—*posset fortasse successu temporis facilius immutari*—a most significant piece of information decidedly. Six fathers were appointed, among the rest Ribadeneyra and Possevinus, to compare the two versions with each other, and with the “autograph ;” in order that the congregation might approve of the second edition and appoint it to be used. The autograph was to be preserved ;¹ and ought to be now in existence, in the Roman archives of the Company ; but there is something very suspicious about these same Constitutions and their editions. The subject was mooted in the preceding Congregation, although a “version” had been approved in the First Congregation, under Lainez. In the Fourth Congregation, in 1581, the version with declarations, approved in 1573, was again objected to, with demands for a new examination and comparison with the eternal original, for correction and emendation.²

Constitutions when it suited the aristocracy to vote him such ; just as the Jesuits, with Lainez at their head, voted the pope superior to the general council of the Church, when it suited their purpose to fetter the bishops by an appeal from the decrees of the Council, to the privileges conceded by their patronising masters, the popes, who used the Company for *his* purposes.

¹ Dec. xxvi.

² IV. Cong. Dec. viii.

In the Fifth Congregation, in 1593-4, it was asserted that the Latin translation of the Constitutions differed in *many points* from the Spanish original of "Ignatius;" that the points were collected; and it was demanded that inspectors might be appointed to correct the said edition:—but the demand was not granted—the edition sanctioned by the Fourth Congregation was to be retained—there was no time for the examination—the discrepancies might be referred to the general and assistants.¹ In the Sixth Congregation, in 1608, it was at length proposed to alter the Constitutions, which, it is stated, were not sufficiently respected, notwithstanding they were the "product of so many tears and prayers of Blessed Father Ignatius,—à *B. Patre Nostro tot lacrymis et orationibus conditas*;"² and finally, in the Ninth Congregation, in 1649-50, several important points of the Constitutions were proposed for *explanation*, which was given accordingly.³ Is it not most extraordinary, most unaccountable, that with so many learned linguists in the Company—men engaged with translating the Council of Trent into every language, even Arabic—there was not one who could render correctly in Latin, the original draft of the Spanish? The supposition cannot be entertained for a moment. It follows, therefore, that the Constitutions, like the Jesuits, underwent the changes of Old Time, and that it took some time to "lick" them into their present shape, without being much obliged for the same to Blessed Father Ignatius, with his tears and prayers so plentiful, after the good round lapse of a hundred years and over; the last hand—*ultima manus*—having been *apparently* given to them between 1608 and 1615, when a new edition, with declarations,

¹ V. Cong. Dec. lxxvi.

² VI. Cong. Dec. xi.

³ IX. Cong. Dec. xxxix.

issued from the Company's press at the Roman College. Such is the curious history of the famous Constitutions of the Company of Jesus. Meanwhile, there was always a collection of general rules for universal observance in the Company; and it is very probable that during the first century of the Company, access to the Constitutions was strictly confined to the professed.

In the same congregation under Mercurian a decree was passed relating to the property of the members. It was admitted that the Jesuits might enter into contracts with their relatives or any other parties, concerning their inheritances and other goods belonging to them,—the Company claiming no right to the said property: but, no such contracts should subsequently be entered into, without the general being exactly informed touching the circumstances of the brother, the inheritance, the property, the whole affair without reserve,—and the entire disposal of the business should be directed by his judgment and command.¹ It is obvious that this interference was liable to serious abuses, and likely, at least, to produce much bitterness in families—since experience attests that the settlement of money-matters amongst relatives, is generally attended with the unsettling of all the best feelings of kindred—frequently converting those nearest by blood into such rancorous foes as are nowhere else to be found. Besides, the decree was an indirect, if not a direct, infringement of a canon of the Great Council. In fact these Jesuits who were for reforming all the world, and for stretching or clipping all states and conditions to fit the Procrustean bed of the Trent-Council, were themselves the first to

The wealth
of the
brethren.

The Jesuits
oppose the
Council of
Trent.

¹ Dec. xxxix.

infringe the canons where they were at variance with their "Constitutions," and "Privileges." By the thirtieth decree in full congregation, the general was enjoined to solicit from the pope, "a relaxation of those derogations:" and they were the following canons, whose perpetual infringement was, amongst the many other causes, the perpetual source of contention between bishops and the Jesuits, the perpetual source of jealousy among other labourers in the vineyard, the perpetual source of pecuniary annoyance among families. The Council of Trent decreed—1. That all the Regulars must present themselves to the bishop, and get his benediction, before they began to preach; and no Regular is permitted to preach even in a church of his Order, if forbidden by the bishop.¹ The pride of the Jesuits stuck at this; and they were resolved not to comply with the injunction—under the shield of *Privilege*. 2. All ecclesiastical benefices, whether annexed to churches or colleges, are to be visited yearly by the Ordinaries.² Jesuit-pride and cupidity shuddered at this mandate, and they determined to hide themselves under the wings of *Privilege*. 3. Regulars were not to be ordained without a diligent examination by the bishop—to the complete exclusion of all privileges whatever,—*privilegiis quibuscumque penitus exclusis*.³ 4. In like manner, no Regular, notwithstanding his privileges, can hear confessions unless he has a parish-benefice, or be judged competent by the bishop's examination, or otherwise.⁴ 5. All censures and interdicts promulgated by order of the bishop must be published and observed by the Regulars in their churches.⁵ Jesuit-pride,

¹ Sess. xxiv. c. iv.; Sess. v. c. xi.

² Sess. vii. cc. vii. and viii.

³ Sess. xxiii. c. xii.

⁴ Sess. c. xv.

⁵ Sess. xxv. c. xii.

his Order's independence, and giant-elasticity were prepared to snap these new bonds suggested by the Dalilah of Trent in favour of the episcopal Philistia. 6. The Great and Holy Synod of Trent enjoined all Masters, Doctors, and others in the Universities, to teach the Catholic faith according to the rule laid down by the decrees of the said Council, and required them to bind themselves by a solemn oath at the beginning of every year, to observe this injunction.¹ What possible difficulty could the

¹ Sess. xxv. c. ii. Some historical elucidation is here necessary. As far back as 1560, Martin Kemnicus had published a tract entitled, "*The chief heads of the theology of the Jesuits*," printed at Cologne. It is a severe attack on the Company and its origin; but the writer's severity is chiefly directed against the doctrines advanced in the Catechism of Canisius, and a Censure published that year, at Cologne, by the Jesuits. Kemnicus quotes from both productions, to exhibit the extravagant notions of the Jesuits on the Scriptures, sin, free-will, justification, good works, the sacraments, images, &c. &c. A friend of the Jesuits, Payva Andradius, a doctor of divinity, took up their cause, lent them a hand, and attacked Kemnicus in a tract concerning *The Origin of the Company of Jesus*; but he leaves the main charges of Kemnicus entirely out of consideration, lauding the Jesuits for their exertions in the Catholic cause, and, amongst other assertions, stating, that within one or two years, the Jesuits had converted to the faith 20,000 barbarians! This was in 1566. As the Jesuits, as usual, furnished the apologist with the materials, he talks marvellously of Xavier's achievements and other Jesuit-wonders in India, already blazed to the world in a publication of their letters from India, and translated into various languages—*Diversi Avisi*, &c. . . . dall' anno 1551 sino al 1558—two years after the death of Ignatius. A professor of the Holy Scriptures, in the Academy at Heidelberg, had also attacked the whole system of the Company, in a work entitled "*The Assertion of the old and true Christianity, against the new and fictitious Jesuitism or Company of Jesus*. His name was Boquin. Lastly, Donatus Gotuisus, a divine at Treves, came forward with a tract called *The faith of Jesus and of the Jesuits*, in which he contrasts the proclaimed doctrines of the Jesuits, side by side, with the contrary doctrines of the prophets, the evangelists, the apostles, and the fathers of the Church; and he certainly makes out a strong case against the doctrines then propagated by the Company, and throws some light on the demur of the Jesuits, in taking a solemn oath to teach the doctrines of Trent. The divine of Treves proves himself as deeply learned in the fathers as Lainez in his boastful display at the Council. Some of the Jesuit-doctrines are very curious, for instance: "*The Holy Scripture is an imperfect, mutilated, defective doctrine, which does not contain all that pertains to salvation, faith, and good morals.*"—*In Jesuitarum Censurâ Colonensi*, fol. 220; in *opere Catechistico*

Company of Jesus—pronounced to be a “pious Institute” by the same Council—patronised, cherished, fondled by the Head of the Catholic Church—holding itself forth as the very champion of orthodoxy—what difficulty could the Jesuits decently allege for demurring to comply with *this* injunction? With what part of the Constitutions can this injunction be at variance? Certainly none that we can *now* discover—absolutely none that the rabidly orthodox Ignatius ever penned or sanctioned. And yet, immediately after this canon of the Council, we read the following Jesuit-protest: *So much for the decrees of the Council of Trent, manifestly repugnant to the laws and customs of our Company!—Hæc de locis Concilii Tridentini manifestè pugnantis cum legibus et consuetudinibus nostræ Societatis.*¹ Surely it is now evident from this opposition of the Jesuits—this extravagant abuse of privilege—that the wide-

Canisii, fol. 126, 160, 161, 162. Again, “The Holy Scripture, in its contents and propositions, is like a *nose of wax*, yielding no fixed and certain sense, but capable of being twisted into any meaning you like.”—*In Censura*, f. 117; *in op. Canis.* f. 44. Thirdly, “The reading of the Holy Scripture is not only not useful, but in many ways pernicious to the Church.”—*In Censura*, f. 21; *in op. Canis.* f. 301. And so on proceeds the divine, convicting the Jesuits of heretical and immoral inculcations, as put forth in their Censure, and the Catechism of Canisius. It may gratify the reader to learn that Gotuisus convicts Canisius and the Jesuit, more severely and triumphantly than Canisius did in his attack, before given, on the doctrines of Luther and the Protestants. Besides, Gotuisus lavishes no abuse whatever; he merely quotes and subjoins the contrasts from the orthodox sources above named. In the List of Authors printed at the head of this history, you will find the Latin titles of the works just named. I may observe, by the way, that in the subsequent editions of Canisius, the Jesuits took care to expunge the objectionable assertions, which were intended to “put down” the salient doctrines of the Protestants.

¹ *Corpus Instit. S. J. i. 815.* What stirred the Jesuits still more in the matter was, that Pope Gregory XIII. had just issued a bull revoking all the privileges and concessions before conceded to the Regulars, and plainly subjecting them to the disposal of the common law and Council of Trent, *although exempt*, said the Jesuits in congregation; but on what grounds, we are not told.—*Ibid.* 816.

spread ill-odour of the Jesuits, even among orthodox Catholics, and particularly the bishops, those of France especially, was not without ample cause in the spirit and practice of the Jesuits themselves, seeking and obtaining extravagant exemptions from solemn injunctions, mounted on which, they could easily distance all their rivals in the race whose reward was influence with the people, of all ranks and conditions, wealth and aggrandisement.

Why the Catholic hierarchy opposed the Jesuits.

Nor was this all. There was another canon whose smoke was likely to suffocate the Jesuits. It is mentioned among others "which seem in some way to militate against our Institute and its privileges." Jesuit-rapacity. By a curious coincidence, it actually occurs in the very passage where the Company is called a "pious Institute." One would suppose that this soft impeachment, clipped out of the Holy Synod as eagerly as a publisher snaps up a favourable sentence from a review of his speculation, would have gently "moved" the Jesuits to exhibit their "pious" gratitude by swallowing the little fly drowned in the generous wine of the oecumenical toast. Not a bit of it. Nor was it likely, when you perceive that this little fly was, to the Jesuits, a horrible swarm of locusts, eating them out of house and home, for—the Synod decreed that, "before the profession of a novice, male or female, the parents, relatives, or guardians of the same, should give no portion of the said novice's wealth to the monastery, on any pretext whatever, except for board and clothing during probation;" and the reason properly advanced is, "lest the novice, by such donation, be prevented from leaving, because the monastery possesses the whole or the greater part of his substance; and it will not be easy for him to regain

possession in the event of his leaving. Moreover, the holy Synod rather forbids, under the penalty of anathema, anything of the sort, in any way, to be done, whether by the givers or the receivers, and commands that those who leave before profession, should have all their property restored to them just as it was before.”¹ To this mandate the Jesuits were opposed, and they did not blush in seeking to evade it by privilege.

Such are the striking features of the Third Congregation—rather unprepossessing, decidedly. I have enlarged on the subject by way of additional attestation for the preceding facts. If you remember all that you have read, it must be evident that a history of the Jesuits might be written almost entirely from the decrees of their congregations.² Such was the state of affairs at Mercurian’s accession. “Mild and prudent, all he had to do,” says the Jesuit-historian, “was to consolidate the edifice of the Company;—that was his chief vocation.”³ And yet we have seen that Polancus, the secretary of the Company, and assistant of the late general, thought a vast deal more was to be expected from the “vocation” of Borgia’s successor than mere “consolidation of the Company’s edifice,” destined anon to sink by its own weight—*mole sua*,—into the gulph over which it was supported, when the flimsy rafters hastily buttressed, shall no longer resist their irrational, infatuated “consolidation.” But much

These decrees attest the history of the Jesuits.

¹ Sess. xxv. c. xvi. ; *Corpus Instit. S. J.* i. 816.

² If my readers can refer to Cretineau-Joly’s laudatory history of the Jesuits, they will see how very trippingly the partisan sums up the proceedings of this congregation, totally misrepresenting the whole affair, and dismissing, with one flimsy page, this most important passage of Jesuit-history—the very trumpet-notes of warning, booming from the thousand corners of abuses already preparing downfall and destruction.

³ Cretineau, ii. 173.

was to be done and undone ere that event could come to pass, according to the everlasting laws of providential retribution.

To the most "stirring" epoch of Jesuitism we are now advancing. The political schemes of Philip II. suggested the propriety of winning over to the Catholic cause the King of Sweden. I say the *King* of Sweden, for in those days, and long after, it was of little consequence to gain over the *people* of a kingdom, as long as the strong arm of military domination could enforce the will of potentates. We are at the present moment awaking from that dream. Cast-iron despotism is fast melting away in the furnace of public opinion.

Gustavus the Great had established Lutheranism in Sweden. He left four sons, among the rest Eric XIV., who succeeded him, and John, Duke of Finland, afterwards John III. of Sweden. Eric was an Sweden. astrologer and magician.¹ By the revelations of his stars or black art, he believed that his brother John would dethrone him, and thereupon threw him into prison, together with his young wife, the Princess Catherine of Poland, sister to Sigismund Augustus. Of course all the sons of Gustavus—"the brood of King Gustavus," as the Swedes call them—were Lutherans; but John's Catholic wife was a good decoy of Catholicism in the northern wilderness. Meanwhile, King Eric plunged into all manner of vice and atrocity. His old tutor, Denis Burgos, offered him good advice: the savage plunged his dagger into the old man's heart. Many a murder was on his conscience. The ghost of his old friend and tutor seemed to haunt him; then he seemed to relent, and liberated his brother John, with his young

¹ Florin. de Raym. (the Jesuit Richeome), l. iv. c. xvi.; Maimb. ii. 245.

wife, from prison. But Eric was half mad at least ; his magical terrors came upon him again, and he resolved to cut off all his fancied enemies at one fell swoop. He would celebrate his nuptials with a maiden of low condition, and, at the marriage-feast, he would suddenly cut off all his brothers and the nobles. His Dalilah betrayed him to his intended victims. John put himself at the head of the nobles, took Eric prisoner, and then put him to death in the most violent manner.¹ Thus it was that John of Finland became King John III. of Sweden in 1569.

In 1674 the Jesuit Warsevicz was dispatched by the pope to King John III. He represented himself as the ambassador of Queen Anne of Poland to her sister Catherine, King John's Catholic partner :
The Jesuit Warsevicz and King John. —this was the only means he had to penetrate to the Swedish Court. Warsevicz was, we are told, one of those Jesuits whom nobility of birth, experience of the world, a knowledge of mankind, had familiarised with all the positions of humanity. So the queen hid him in a room of the palace : Warsevicz awaited the propitious hour : she sounded at last ; and King John consented to see the Jesuit.² The Jesuit's mission had a two-fold object. He had to treat with the king concerning an alliance with King Philip, who was anxious to frighten the Netherlanders from the north as well as the south ; and, secondly, he had to prepare the king for a relapse or return to the faith of his ancestors.³ According to the Jesuits, the king had fructified his former imprisonment by studying the "Fathers," and thus became quite

¹ Maimb. ii. 245, *et seq.* ; Ranke, p. 150. Maimbourg merely says that Eric "died ten years after ;" but the fact of the murder is elsewhere attested, as given by Ranke. ² Cretinean, ii. 187, 188, 189. ³ *Ibid.* 189.

learned in theology ; but they say the result was only “chaos amidst light :” six days the Jesuit laboured on the king ; but no sabbath came :—the king’s anomalous Catholicism was nothing more than Protestantism befouled by the prominent vices of Romanism—an incongruity which we behold with regret amongst those who, at the present day, are the fiercest brawlers against popery. The expedition was a failure : Warsevicz took leave, and departed, after a month’s sojourn in Sweden—the first Jesuit who penetrated into that country so essentially anti-catholic.

It was evident, however, that King John, whether through the “Fathers,” or through his wife, was inclined to Catholicism : only he wished, from political motives, to compromise the matter by certain ^{Tricks of the Jesuit Nicolaï.} engraftings, as I have said, which the Jesuit accordingly reported to his general and the pope. Three years afterwards, a Jesuit, named Nicolaï, a Norwegian, was sent from Rome, in disguise, to the Swedish court, with the intention of waiting on the queen, like Mary Queen of Scots’ Italian Rizzio, and to concoct, with her Majesty’s aid, the means of re-establishing the faith in Sweden. According to the Jesuit Maimbourg, the king entered into his plans, and even cleverly advised him how to set about the matter. At all events, on the same authority, this Jesuit Nicolaï presented himself to the Lutheran ministers and preachers, and told them that he had passed all his life in the study of the high sciences, in which he thought he had, by God’s grace, made very considerable progress, which had gained a reputation in several universities ; that having heard that the king was establishing a new college at Stockholm, he had come to offer his services to his majesty,

because he much preferred to be somewhat useful to Sweden, so near to Norway, his country, rather than to strangers whom he had hitherto served, by teaching them the sciences which he professed ; and therefore he begged them to employ their credit with the king, in order to get him employment in that college. This trick succeeded admirably, says the Jesuit Maimbourg, whom I have been translating in all the foregoing tissue of lies. These ministers, continues the Jesuit, were surprised at hearing a man speak Latin so easy and elegantly, and *had not the least idea that he was anything but a Lutheran, since he was a Norwegian—n'avaient garde de s'imaginer qu'estant de Norwege il fust autre que Lutherien* ;—they believed effectually that he was a very clever man, which was true, and did not fail to recommend him particularly to the king, who, *playing his own part with equal perfection, told them that he relied on their recommendation*. Whereupon he gave him the professorship of theology ; in which, without explaining himself, *he adroitly sapped all the foundations of Lutheranism in his lectures—où, sans se declarer, il sapait adroitement dans ses leçons tous les fondemens du Lutheranisme*. The rector of the college and one of the incumbents of Stockholm detected the Jesuit's manoeuvre : the other ministers, says the unblushing Jesuit, were too ignorant to see through the thing. The former came forward and opposed “such fortunate beginnings,” says Maimbourg. But the king, under pretext that they disturbed public repose by their seditious speeches, drove them from the city, and made Nicolai rector of the college, saying that it was only justice in him to do so, in order to justify so skilful a man, whom those two seditious men had *calumniated—que ces deux seditieux avaient*

calomnié. Was there ever such bare-faced effrontery? Or did the Jesuit believe it impossible for any moral sentiment to shrink from denouncing so disgusting an instance of diabolically-deceitful means, employed to promote an end deemed "good" by the perpetrators? John III. followed up his Jesuit-roguery. He published at the same time a new Liturgy, drawn up by himself, and intended to abolish by degrees, as he said, the Lutheran practices.¹ A battle of pamphlets ensued between the exiled rector and incumbent, and the roguish Jesuit, respecting the new Liturgy, which the former denounced, and the latter defended, although "it was not altogether Catholic," as his brother-Jesuits admit. Thereupon the king advanced boldly with Catholic reforms, according to the Jesuit's account, and even sent an ambassador to Pope Gregory XIII., to treat for "the reduction of Sweden to the obedience of the Church, *on certain conditions*." Pontus de la Gardie was the ambassador.²

¹ Maimb. Hist. du Lutheran. ii. 249; Sacchin. P. iv. l. v.

² This adventurer is one of the many examples which that stirring epoch presents, of splendid fortunes achieved by talent. Pontus was a Frenchman of low birth, born in Languedoc, and originally a simple soldier in Scotland under Orsel, one of Francis II.'s lieutenants. Thence he enlisted into the armies of Denmark, turned Calvinist, and was made prisoner by the Swedes, under Varennes, their general, another French adventurer who commanded the heretics. Varennes took a fancy to his countryman, recommended him to Eric, who befriended him greatly, and placed such confidence in him, that he appointed him assistant to John, when, after his liberation, he made him lieutenant of the kingdom; assuring his brother that Pontus would prove very useful to him. And so he did with a vengeance; for Pontus was the foremost in the conspiracy against his benefactor, cut all the guards to pieces, and compelled the king to surrender at discretion. By this exploit he secured the good graces of John III.; and thenceforward became historical under the name of *Count Pontus de Gardie*, and the right hand of the monarch. A history of French adventurers, who have thus cut their way to riches and renown, would be highly interesting, even if it ended only with Bernadotte in the same kingdom. I remember when a boy, a French priest was dining at the table of the

It appears that John's main object was to induce the pope to prevail on king Philip to pay some large arrears of revenue due to his wife, from the kingdom of Naples. At all events, that was the pretext of the embassy, according to the Jesuits. The conditions for Swedish orthodoxy were four in number—the nobles were to retain the church property which they had seized ; but the king would give them a good example of restitution by restoring, from the royal share of the booty, two hundred thousand livres of revenue. Secondly, the married bishops and priests were to retain their wives ; but celibacy was to be enforced on all future candidates for orders. Thirdly, communion in both kinds. Fourthly, the divine service must be performed in Swedish. No decisive answer could be given to these terms ; but the Jesuit Possevin was dispatched by the pope to complete the king's conversion. Possevin took with him two companions, an Irish Jesuit, William Good, and a Frenchman, Father Fournier, by way of attendants ; for " this skilful man," says Maimbourg, " wishing to have a good pretext for treating freely with the king without giving umbrage to the senators," entered Stockholm as an ambassador from the Empress Maria of Austria. Dressed in a rich and appropriate costume, splendidly embroidered, a sword at his side, " not a trace of the Jesuit remained on his person," says the Jesuit ; " but to *redeem beforehand*

The stipulations.

Possevin's splendid embassy.

Swedish Governor of St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies. The Swede made some disparaging remark on the French nation ; the priest took him up, gallantly saying : " A paltry nation indeed, whose *lieutenants* are worthy to become *kings* of Sweden," alluding to Bernadotte. Pontus de la Gardie was accidentally drowned, in 1584. He had married a natural daughter of King John III., and left behind him two sons to inherit his wealth and titles, among " the great lords of Sweden."

these transient honours, he had made the greater part of his journey on foot!"¹ Such is a specimen of the method how the Jesuits managed their vow of poverty. Doubtless they played the same tricks with that of chastity—in fact, we shall find the subject "signalised" in a subsequent decree for the Company. According to Sacchinus, Possevinus completely converted the king, heard his confession, gave him absolution, and thus tranquillised his conscience, distracted by the execution or murder of his brother Eric.² Possevinus returned to the pope with no less than twelve conditions, now urged by the king, for obedience to Rome: if he was really so gloriously converted, he would scarcely have urged conditions which he knew would not be granted to a king of Sweden, "after having been refused to other princes more powerful than himself," observes the Jesuit Maimbourg.³ The conditions were almost universally rejected by the cardinals; but Possevinus was ordered to return to the king for further negotiation.

The pope resolved to send the Jesuit with more honours than ever. By a breve he made Possevin his legate, appointed him vicar-apostolic of Russia, Moravia, Lithuania, Hungary, and all the north; *his power was unlimited*; and an universal jubilee was announced for the success of his mission.⁴ That *unlimited* power seems to declare that the Jesuit might accept the king's conditions, should he be unable to make Sweden surrender at papal discretion. Evidently the pope thought Sweden was in his grasp: else why make the Jesuit a bishop of all the north, if, in spite of the stiff conditions, he was not to receive the submission of

He returns
with power
and hopes.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 195.

² Sacchin. lib. vi.; Maimb. 254.

³ Maimb. ii. 255.

⁴ Cretineau, ii. 201.

Sweden to the dominion of Rome? Nay, further, Possevinus had induced Philip II. to send a plenipotentiary to Stockholm, who was even subservient to the Jesuit, Philip having entrusted Possevin with his confidential negotiation. In fact, it was a determined onslaught on Lutheran Sweden: all that pomp, and splendour, and power, and prayer might effect, was brought to bear on the success of the scheme. Possevin's companion was the Jesuit Ludovico—a *prince* Odescalchi; and on his route he had an interview with King Albert of Bavaria; and, by the pope's order, held a conference with the Fuggers, the great bankers of Germany, "whose colossal fortune was at the service of the Church," as we are told expressly. At Prague, he had audience from the Emperor Rodolph II. At Vilna he conferred with the King of Poland. What a glorious and important embassy for the Jesuit! And at length when he got a sight of the Baltic, he found a Swedish frigate awaiting his lordship's embarkation. What more could he desire to "consolidate" the scheme so admirably planned? Indeed, the Jesuit was so confident of victory for Rome, that he would boldly enter Stockholm in the dress of his Order.¹ The Jesuit always throws off his mask as soon as he finds or fancies his weakness changed into strength.

The result. The result was a lesson to all the crafty schemers concerned. Pontus de la Gardie, who had turned Catholic again, at Rome, was at Stockholm before the Jesuit arrived. The adventurer gave an unfavourable account of his embassy, and having himself received a large portion of church property, likely to be restored with the return of papal dominion,

¹ Cretineau, ii. 202.

he joined the other nobles situated like himself, in a remonstrance to the king against the project. A general revolt was menaced. Numerous letters poured in from the Protestant princes of Germany. The king's brother, Charles, had even sent emissaries to seize Possevinus on his route. They caught a wandering dignitary, but he turned out to be an Irish bishop of Ross, and not the Jesuit Possevin, who enjoyed, without being aware of it, the misfortune of this poor Irish bishop, and continued his journey without molestation.¹ But what was his surprise to find all his hopes utterly ruined beyond redemption! He had brought very fine letters from the pope, the emperor, the King of Poland, the Duke of Bavaria, and many other Catholic princes, congratulating King John III. on his *conversion*—and what did he find when he presented himself before the king, boldly enveloped in the garb of the Jesuit? The king openly professed Lutheranism, more so than before: he was even oppressing the Catholics: he refused to perform all he had promised. All Possevin's efforts were in vain: the miraculous converter was utterly baffled by the king's inflexibility. The Jesuit Nicolai had been driven off—and he richly deserved it for his dirty craft—the college was restored to the Lutherans, its lawful owners; and Possevin, papal nuncio, vicar-apostolic of all the north, and Jesuit, “was obliged to leave Sweden, and resign the hope which he had conceived of finishing the great work he had so fortunately begun.”² Once Lutheran, and Lutheran for ever, was the national will of Sweden: the minds and hearts of the nation would never swerve from that determination. As barren as

¹ “Qui jouissait heureusement, sans le sçavoir, de la mauvaise fortune de ce pauvre Eveque Irlandais,” &c.

² Maimb. ii. 255—258.

her rocks, as hard as her iron, would Sweden ever be to the propagandism of Rome. And yet Sweden is tolerant, nobly so ; in spite of the craft and tricks which have been from time to time played upon her by the emissaries of the great propagandist. On the other hand, we must give the Jesuits credit for having done all they could—for having left no means untried to achieve their end : they failed, but the fault was not theirs : it was a blessing for Sweden that Providence interposed and swamped the bark of Rome, just sailing into port with her cargo of bulls, priests, indulgences, confessionals, all the elements of old chaos renewed.

Everard Mercurian, the general of the Jesuits, died in 1580, after a reign of eight years. Intestine broils and commotions characterised his generalate. The inequality of the gradations of rank, the mode of election, the facility of expulsion granted to the general, gave to a party formed in the Company desperate employment ; whilst another insisted that the Spanish members had a right to elect a head for themselves alone. Nor was this turbulent spirit confined to the bosom of the Company.¹ In a political quarrel between the Spanish governor of Milan, and Cardinal Borromeo, the Jesuits divided on either side according to their nations, and one of them, Julius Mazarini, who sided with the governor, being his friend and confessor, attacked the cardinal from the very pulpit, and lashed him without moderation. The archbishop bitterly complained of the outrage ; the general of the Jesuits reprimanded the delinquent ; and he was suspended from his apostolical functions for the space of two years.² These wild imaginings of the Jesuits should not surprise

Intestine
broils.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 218.

² Ibid. 222.

us ; they are but the preludes of coming events. Mercurian had soon resigned his functions to an assistant, Father Palmio. Perceiving that this appointment would be, or was, taxed with partiality, he gave Palmio an assistant, Father Manarc ; and thereby hurt the feelings of Father Palmio!¹ Can it be believed that a Jesuit—and one who was so far advanced in perfection, being a professed—could possibly exhibit the petty passions of little men ? There is the fact, however. But, notwithstanding these internal broils and outward extravagance, the Company's star was high in the ascendant—nothing could check her aggrandisement—gods and men united to promote her splendid perversion. Already she numbered more than five thousand men, one hundred and ten houses, and twenty-one provinces. Never before had her men been more in requisition, more exalted, more conspicuous. In embassies here, embassies there—everywhere infringing the prominent mandates and decrees of their Constitutions and congregations. In a whirlpool they floated : they swam indeed lustily : but in that desperate struggle they knew not what they were doing—progress in some direction, it mattered not how or whither—still progress was the one thing needful. The generalate of the superannuated Mercurian was as disastrous to the Jesuit-Institute as a long minority to a turbulent empire.

The Com-
pany's expan-
sion.

In Pope Gregory XIII. the Jesuits found admirable support. Completely had this pontiff imbibed the spirit of his predecessor. Not only would he imitate him, but he was resolved to surpass him in his zeal for the

¹ "Palmio se montra sensible à cette substitution d'autorité."—*Cretineau*, ii. 224.

cause of orthodoxy.¹ To Catholic princes at war with their heretic subjects he was lavishly bountiful with golden ducats : he gave the King of France four hundred thousand scudi (80,000*l.*) for that blessed object ; but, he raised the money by a tax on the cities of “ the Church,” which was an oppressive injustice ; and he gave liberal assistance to the Archduke Charles and the Knights of Malta, with a slice of ecclesiastical benefices, which was much more consistent at least, and much less deplorable.²

Wherever there was a Turk to be bombarded, or a heretic to be hunted down, aid from Gregory was always forthcoming with a cheer and a benediction. England, and her Elizabeth above all, caught his fancy : deeply was his heart set on the ruin of that queen in her island-throne. Of this determination the pope made no secret : a general combination against England was his soul’s desire. Year after year his nuncios negotiated on this subject with Philip II. and the Guises : Gregory plied them with the most ardent zeal. The French league, so dangerous to Henry III. and Henry IV., owed its origin to the connexion between the pope and the Guises.³ It was zeal for religion run mad.

In the same spirit, Gregory patronised the Jesuits with their strict system of ecclesiastical education. To the houses of the professed he made liberal presents ; he purchased houses, closed up streets, and allotted revenues for the purpose of giving the whole college the form it wears to this day. It

¹ “ Nella religione ha tolto non solo d’imitar, ma ancora d’avanzar Pio V.” — *Seconda relat. dell’ ambasciat, apud Ranke*, 108.

² Vito de’ Pontef. dal *Plat. ed Altri*. Ven., 1703.

³ Ranke, *ubi supra*.

was adapted to contain twenty lecture-rooms and three hundred and sixty cells for students. This was called the "Seminary of all Nations." At its foundation, in order to signify its purpose of embracing the whole world within its scope, twenty-five speeches were delivered, in as many different languages, as usual, each immediately accompanied by a Latin translation.¹ To testify their gratitude to the pope for all his benefactions, the Jesuits placed, in the large hall of the college, pictures of the two-and-twenty colleges which the pope had founded in various parts of Christendom ; and they also displayed the pope's portrait, with the following inscription : " To Gregory XIII., Sovereign Pontiff, Founder of this College, the whole Company of Jesus, defended by him with the most ample privileges, and increased by mighty benefits, placed this monument in memory of their best parent, and to attest their gratitude." Nor did the Jesuits stop here. They were never equalled in devising complimentary rewards for those who befriended them ; whatever may be said against them, and justly too, for their abuse of the religious sentiment in man—their wild encroachments on the rights of others—their domineering spirit, if you will—still, it is impossible to deny them the respectable praise of having almost invariably made an adequate return to their benefactors—adequate, because always exactly the thing to be relished by their patrons. On the present occasion, by way of displaying the enlarged dominion of the Holy See, the great hobby of the zealous Gregory, they induced some petty kings and lords of Japan to send ambassadors to the pope ! The royal blood of Japan or its representatives did the

Jesuitico-
Japanese
embassy to
Rome.

¹ Ranke, *ubi supra*.

Jesuits fetch in a journey of twenty thousand miles, to do homage to the father of the faithful. The king of Bungo and the king of Arima, the king of Cugino and the king of Omura, each sent his representative, a youth of about twenty years of age. Great was the jubilation of the holy city at the advent of these kings of the east. But the Jesuits took great care of the precious samples, and lodged them in the Gesù, or House of the Professed. The pope granted them audience in full consistory and with vast magnificence : all the princes of the Roman court vying with each other to honour the interesting strangers.¹ They had, of course, previously paid their respects to King Philip II., now ruler of the East by his usurpation of Portugal, and the king had received them with even more magnificence than the pope of Rome, whose feet they came to kiss, in attestation of the success and gratitude of the omnipotent Jesuits. It seems to have been too much for the pope. Overjoyed at the glorious event, the old pontiff exclaimed : “ *Nunc dimittis*, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace,”—and *effectually* died a few days after, killed by his joy at papal supremacy in the isles of the sea—snuffed out as a lamp by the trumpet-blast of orthodoxy! The idea was indeed a comfort amidst the wild anarchy then raging over Italy and in Rome, as you will read anon. I need scarcely state that there were many who believed the whole affair a hoax concocted by the Jesuits ; but, for my part, I think it probable that it was a veritable embassy, proving the influence which the Jesuits had achieved in Japan ; but if it was a hoax, it must be admitted that it was well conceived, admirably executed, and, what is very

¹ *Vite de' Pontef. Greg. XIII.*

significant, rather *expensive* for the mendicant Company of Jesus.¹

¹ Charlevoix, *Hist. du Japon*. iii. 106—158. The Jesuit gives a very diffuse but interesting and curious account of the whole affair. He says that Aquaviva requested the pope to receive the ambassadors without pomp—which, if made, was a very ridiculous request—at all events, rather too late, after all the grand doings in Portugal and Spain, as even the good old Charlevoix Jesuit remarks: “but,” says he, “it would have been useless even if made sooner, for Gregory XIII. had taken his resolve: at the news of the arrival of the embassy in Italy, he had held a consistory, in which it was declared that it was incumbent on the honour of the Church and the Holy See, to receive the embassy with all possible pomp and splendour.”—P. 120. Gregory sent his company of light cavalry to escort the ambassadors: a multitude of Roman lords, also mounted, with the gentry of the vicinity, formed a cavalcade which extended almost all the way from Viterbo to Rome, which they entered with the sound of trumpets, and the deafening acclamations of the holy mob of the Eternal City. The Jesuits joined in the jollification; and with their general Aquaviva at their head, escorted the curiosities to their church, where the *Te Deum* was performed. Nothing could exceed the splendour of the procession to the Vatican. All the foreign ambassadors, with their retinue, graced the pageant with their august presence: the cardinals, the chamberlains of the pope, and officers of the palace, all in their red dresses, immediately preceded the Japanese, who were on horseback, and in their national costume. Nothing could surpass the costliness and magnificence of this costume: it must have swallowed the revenue of a whole Jesuit-province, if the thing was a hoax, or the kings of Japan wisely resolved to make the Jesuits “pay for the piper.” In fact, Charlevoix intimates that Valegnani, the Jesuit leader of the Japanese, was resolved to let them have no *magnificent equipage*, and to make no show with the affair (p. 108), consequently we are at a loss to account for the production of the following magnificent equipage—*équipage magnifique*. “They wore three long robes, one on the other, but of so fine a texture that all three did not weigh as much as one of ours,” says the Jesuit, “and all of dazzling white. These robes were covered with flowers, foliage, and birds, beautifully painted, and seeming to have been embroidered, though each was all of a piece: the figures were coloured after nature, but unusually brilliant. These robes opened in front, and had extremely wide sleeves, which only reached the elbows; but in order that the fore-arm might not be uncovered, as is the custom in Japan, *Father Valegnani* had caused them to be lengthened with the same stuff, as well as at the collar, which generally opens so low that a part of the shoulder is visible. On their shoulders they wore a kind of scarf, twelve inches long, and eight inches wide, tied with ribbons, crossed over the breast, thrown behind, and knotted like a girdle. These scarfs were similar to the robes in material; but of a much finer texture. They had on boots of extremely fine leather, open at the toes. Their cimeters and swords were of the finest temper, and the hilts, as well as scabbards, were adorned with fine pearls, other precious stones, and many figures in enamel. Their heads were uncovered, and shaved quite clean, except at top,

But Gregory had been as lavish in his benefactions on the Jesuits. Their German college had become embarrassed with debt and penury from the failure of the funds ; the pope granted it not only the San Apolinare palace and the revenues of San Stefano on Monte Celio, but also ten thousand scudi (2000*l.*) from the apostolic treasury. He also founded an English college at Rome, and found means to endow the establishment. He aided their colleges in Vienna and Grätz out of his privy purse. There was probably not a Jesuit school in the world that had not cause, in some way or another, to applaud his liberality.¹ And what was his motive ? Not because he might think that the Jesuits promoted holiness—that was a matter he cared little about. His was a jovial nature. He had not scrupled to have a natural son before he became a priest, and though he led a regular life afterwards, he was at no time over-scrupulous, and to a certain kind of sanctimony he rather manifested dislike.² Why, then, did he patronise the Jesuits ? Because he thought them the ablest restorers of Catholicism, and therefore the best props of the popedom and its prerogatives. All the wealth he gave them was therefore so much money deposited on interest.³ It

whence depended behind a tuft of hair. The features of their countenances were equally *foreign* with their dress ; but people remarked that amiable air which is given by virtue and innocence, a modest haughtiness and a *je ne sçai quoi* of nobility, inspired by an illustrious blood, and which nothing can belie."—P. 123. I must confess that these last remarks of the Jesuit makes one suspect that the affair was a hoax, most clearly conceived and practised on the stupid king Philip and as stupid Pope Gregory. What baubles entrance with delight old zealots, fanatics, and shallow-brained mortals ! ¹ Ranke, *ubi supra*. ² Ibid.

³ According to Baronius, his expenditure on the education of young men, amounted to two millions : if this sum did not include the cost of the twenty colleges of the Jesuits, it will be impossible to account for the raising of the money.—Ranke, i. 431, with authorities.

was an infatuation of course ; but think of the thousands of pounds as senselessly wasted in our days by simple contributors to "religious" funds, by all denominations, year after year, to no purpose whatever in the advancement of civilisation,—funds which, if expended on the wretched poor of England, would go far to sweeten the bitterness of heart in those who find life miserable, and to prepare body and soul together for better days of enlightenment, whose advent we may accelerate indefinitely by the real determination to "fulfil *all* justice."

Gregory spent 200,000 scudi (40,000*l.*) yearly on "pious works,"—*opere pie*. We need not stop to inquire what real good he did for Humanity : but we must be curious to know how he got the money—even should the answer prove that those who received it were little better than receivers of stolen goods. Well, then, Pope Gregory got his pious funds by spoliation. He found out more rights to the property of others than the hungry wolf discovered causes of complaint against the poor lamb in the fable. He laid an impost on the corn of the Venetians : they did not comply soon enough with his measures : he forced their warehouses at Ravenna, sold the contents by auction, and imprisoned the owners. Then he discovered a host of abuses among the aristocracy of his own dominions, and wolfishly concluded that their abolition would be profitable to the papal treasury. On a most flimsy pretence of feudal rights, he seized and appropriated numerous domains belonging to the barons or gentry of Romagna and other provinces, and congratulated himself at having by such *legal* means, and not by taxation, augmented the revenues of the popedom by 100,000 scudi (20,000*l.*) The Churchmen of course approved

Gregory's
spoliations.

of these spoliations—because the end justified the means always in those days of rabid orthodoxy, which is invariably roguish. Many great families were thus suddenly ejected from properties they had considered their own by the most lawful titles: others saw themselves threatened. Daily search into old papers was made in Rome—and every day new claims were created from the musty nothings. Ere long no man thought himself secure; and many resolved to defend their possessions with the sword, rather than surrender them to the commissioners of the papal treasury. One of these feudatories once said to the pope, to his very face, “What is lost, is lost; but a man has at least some satisfaction when he has stood out in his own defence.” He did not stop short with the aristocracy. His injudicious, or rather, tyrannical measures inflicted severe losses on towns as well; by raising the tolls of Ancona, he ruined the trade of that city, and it has never recovered from the blow. Of course

Their result. men rose up against this multiplied iniquity. The whole country was in a ferment: feuds broke out on all sides. Then troops of outlawed bandits swelled into armies, and overran the provinces. Young men of the first families were their leaders. Murder and rapine overspread the country. Anarchy reigned throughout the papal dominions. The confiscations of course ceased—but they had done their work already. The aged pope was forced to receive the bandit leader Piccolomini at Rome, and give him absolution for a long list of murders which he read with shuddering. It availed little or nothing. His own capital was full of bandits and revolvers. And then the pope, weak and weary of life, looked up to heaven, and cried, “Thou wilt arise.

O Lord, and have mercy on Zion!"¹ Can anything be more bitterly ridiculous? Nevertheless such was the regenerator of Catholicism—and such was the country whence the Jesuits were sent to reform and convert all nations of the universe—Great Britain among the rest, whose "religious" troubles we are soon to contemplate.

Claudius Aquaviva was elected General of the Jesuits by a large majority. His age was only thirty-seven. When the fact was announced to the pope by the fathers, he exclaimed, "What! you have elected to govern you a young man not forty years of age!" Claudius Aquaviva was the son of the Duke d'Atri. Renouncing the world, the Court of Rome, all the hopes which his name and talents inspired, he had given himself to the Company; and now the Company gave him herself in return—another instance of Jesuit-gratitude. Piety, virtue, science, became his ambition. A deep, indefatigable student, hard study and the constant effort to repress his impetuous passions, are said to have rapidly blighted his personal graces: his black hair was already turned to grey:—sufficient by way of introduction to a man whose deeds are his best portrayers.²

The Fourth Congregation continued its sessions. The murmurs and heart-burnings of the middle ranks in the Company found a mouth-piece in the midst of that aristocratical assemblage. "Many there are in the Company," said that benevolent voice, "who have lived many virtuous years, and complain that their admission to the 'State of the Company'—*status Societatis*, is deferred too long. They fall into many temptations. They are absorbed in overwhelming

Murmurs of
the plebeian
Jesuits.

¹ Ranke, 109—111.

² Cretineau, ii. 229.

sadness, and become a scandal by renouncing our holy Institute.”¹ A strong case was that, and as strongly put to the vote:—but in vain: *nihil innovandum*—no innovation was the decree: all was left as usual to the judgment and prudence of the general, who was advised to enforce the letter of the Constitutions, without respect of persons, remembering that this was of vital importance to the preservation of the Company.² The complaint, the decree, and the advice, are equally characteristic and remarkable:—that Company which has been “stirring” all the world, is now about to be “stirred” itself.

Another proposition was made. It was a sort of speculation—a literary speculation by the gratis-teachers.

Educational speculation. Some of the members proposed that, on account of the great fruit that would accrue, and the want of good masters, and the advantages that might be derived from the enterprise, the Jesuits might receive boarders in the *northern* countries, and take them under their care; but that the stipend should be given over to the procurator: the pupils were not to be solicited, nor received against the will of their parents. The Congregation did not at once reject the proposition: but it was declared much preferable for the Company to be free from such burthens, *as far as possible*;—and the matter was committed to the prudence of the general, as usual.³

And now the aristocracy began to feel their power, and to apprehend their peril. They decreed that every Jesuit—whether lay-brother or scholastic,—who after taking the vows should return to the world, might be punished as an apostate,

Power of the Jesuit aristocracy.

¹ Cong. iv. ix.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. xiii.

according to the privileges and apostolical letters granted to the Company.¹

Mercurian and Gregory XIII. had bequeathed the Jesuits and the popedom to Aquaviva and Sixtus V., two men who deserved to be contemporaneous.

The very antipodes of each other by birth—
for Sixtus was the son of a swineherd—

Pope Six-
tus V. and
Aquaviva.

energetic unity of purpose stamped both as leading influences of the age. Both were by their natural organisation impelled to seek, to achieve, and maintain that sovereign power which results more from mental qualifications in the possessor, than from the privileges and prerogatives of rank or station. Such characters in history relieve the dull, drowsy monotony of rulers by prerogative—rulers by “right divine,” without any *other human* right to win admiration or command respect.

England and Elizabeth now began to engage the special attention of the Jesuits. Protestant ascendancy had triumphed: in other words, Catholicism was shorn of its wealth, dignity, and power:

State of parties
in England.

the Catholics themselves, as in the reigns of Henry and Edward, had virtually acquiesced in the change of their religious fortunes. They had unanimously acknowledged Queen Elizabeth's title to the throne of England:² it is stated on Catholic authority that a great majority of the people then inclined to the Roman Catholic religion:³ and yet, in spite of this national submission to the Protestant queen, Pope Pius V. fulminated a Bull of deposition against the Queen of England, in order to “stir” her people to rebellion, and rouse all nations to crush the interesting heretic. This was in 1570, just after the failure of an insurrection set on foot by a few

¹ Dec. liii.

² Dodd, ii. 4.

³ Butler, i. 271.

designing leaders, with papal approbation, to attempt the liberation of Mary Queen of Scots—the heiress to the throne of England. The Bull had long been prepared by the pope, but prudently withheld during the machinations; and was now torn from its quietude by the old man's impotent rage of desperate disappointment at the failure of the insurrection.¹ Pius said in his Bull:

“We do, out of the fulness of our apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, as being an Elizabeth “deposed” by the pope. heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of excommunication, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And moreover, we do declare her deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and also the nobility, subjects, and people, of the said kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty of dominion, allegiance, and obedience: and we also do by authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things beforenamed. And we do command and charge all and every one, the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her orders, mandates, and laws: and those which shall do the contrary, we do include them in the like sentence of anathema.”² Thus spake the “Servant to God's Servants,” as the popes called themselves by a prerogative which was the only one they *never* effectuated. Copies of the precious parchment were sent to the Duke of Alva for dispersion on the

¹ Ling. viii. 56; Camd. An. 1570; Rapin, ib. &c.

² Camd. ib.

coast of the Netherlands, and he forwarded samples to the Spanish ambassador in England. An enthusiastic or zealous Catholic, Felton by name, and a wealthy gentleman by inheritance, posted one of the Bulls on the Bishop of London's palace-gates, bidding the result—which was that he was hanged; for the deed was declared treason by the law of the land; and was decidedly seditious. Felton gloried in his exploit, called the queen a pretender, but sent her a diamond ring as a token that he “bore her no malice”—one of those curious abstractions with which party-leaders justified every atrocity. It is the famous *right intention*—*recta intentio*—of the Jesuit and other casuists.¹

A partisan of the pope is hanged.

Meanwhile, however, the great body of the English Catholics were by no means inclined for a “stir,” according to some authorities. “They never were pressed with, nor accepted of, the pope’s Bull, that pretended to dispense with them from their allegiance,” says the Catholic Church-historian. “They were entertained by the queen in her army,” he continues, “and now and then in the cabinet, till such times as the *misbehaviour of some particular persons drew a persecution upon the whole body, and occasioned those penal and sanguinary laws, to which their substance and lives have ever since been exposed. From that time, by a strange sort of logic, a Catholic and a rebel have passed current for the same thing, and so they are commonly represented, both in private conversation, in the pulpit, and at the bar.*”² But there was a different opinion proclaimed abroad in those stirring times. On the person of the Scottish Jesuit Creighton,³ when

The Catholics of England.

¹ Ling. viii. 56, *et seq.*

² Dodd, iii. 5.

³ William Creighton. “This Father,” says Dr. Oliver, “was possessed of

apprehended and imprisoned in 1584, was found a paper detailing "Reasons to shewe the easines" of invasion, grounded on the examples of history, instancing particularly the case of Henry VI.—"how a few and

considerable zeal and talent, but was deficient in judgment. To his misplaced confidence may be principally ascribed *the failure of Pope Pius IV.'s secret embassy to Mary Queen of Scots* (see p. 105 of 'Tanner's Confessors of the Society of Jesus')," says the pious and loyal doctor. "From the Diary kept in the Tower of London, by the Rev. Edward Rishton, we learn that Father Creighton, on returning from Scotland (where he had converted the Earl of Arran), was apprehended and committed to that prison on the 16th September, 1584. How long he remained in custody I know not, but Father Parsons addressed letters to him at Seville in 1596. It is clear that James VI. of Scotland [England's Master Jaques, as Henry IV. called him] had actually employed him in *a delicate embassy*: for, in a letter to Father Thomas Owen, dated 14th June, 1605, he says: 'Our kynge had so great a fear of ye nombre of Catholiks, and ye puissance of pope and Spaine, yt he offered libertie of conscience, and sent *me* to Rome to deal for ye pope's favor and making of a Scottish cardinal; as I did shew ye kyng's letters to F. Parsons.' Having no guile himself," says Dr. Oliver, "he suspected none in his weak and hollow-hearted sovereign." True enough, decidedly, of Master Jaques, if not so conclusive of this admirable Crichton. Bartoli gives another version of the capture of this Jesuit. He says that "Creighton was caught by the heretics at Ostende, and sent as a gift to Elizabeth, who was so pleased with the prey, that she gave the bearer many gifts, among the rest, a collar of gold," f. 287. Creighton was mentioned by Parry as having dissuaded him from murdering the queen; and, owing to this, says Bartoli, the queen set him free (1585), saying, "How can the Jesuits be all leagued to kill me in England, if this Jesuit defends my life even in France?" It appears from Camden that the documents found on Creighton aggravated the negotiations between Elizabeth and Mary, "women that were already displeased with one another, but principally by the discovery of certain papers which Creighton, a Scottishman, of the Society of Jesus, passing into Scotland, and being taken by some Netherland pirates, had torn in pieces: the torn pieces whereof, being thrown overboard, were by the wind blown back again, and fell by chance into the ship, not without a miracle, as Creighton himself said. These being put together by Waad with much pains and singular dexterity, discovered new designs of the Pope, the Spaniard, and the Guises, for invading England."—*Ad An.* 1584. Bartoli complains of Camden's bad faith in recounting this affair, which, however, he strangely mis-translates, with worse faith, making Camden talk to the following effect: "Volle dar luogo [alla favola] delle misteriose lettere stracciate del P. Critton, poiche si trovò in mano degli Olandesi, e gittate in mare: e quegli sparsi minuzoli, dal pazzo movimento dell' onde, con un piu che mezzo miracolo, ragunati, e poco men che non disse da sè medesimi, con magistero musaico, ricongiunti."—*Dell' Inghilt.* f. 291.

weak have overcome a great many"—and appealing actually to the *general wish and expectation of the Catholics* of England: "as for the contreye of England, it is easy to be overcome with a few forces, few fortresses or strong places in the lande. So as one army would suffice to end that warre, the *people given to change and alteration, chieffely when they get some beginninge or assurance.*"¹ This is a strong contradiction to Dodd's testimony. And yet Dodd is fully confirmed by Camden. "The most part of the moderate papists," says the queen's historian, "secretly misliked this Bull; . . . and foreseeing also that hereby a great heap of mischiefs hung over their heads, who before had private exercise of their religion within their own houses quietly enough, or else refused not to go to the service of God received in the English Church, without scruple of conscience. And from that time many of them continued firm in their obedience, when they saw the neighbour princes and Catholic countries not to forbear their wonted commerce with the queen, and that the Bull was slighted as a vain crack of words that made a noise only."² The following pages will throw some light on these discrepancies, and will show how it came to pass that the "people," or rather a faction, were "given to change and alteration;" and how the effects of the pope's Bull were anything but "a vain crack of words" to the poor, honest Catholics of England. It will follow that both assertions which I have quoted are true; and it will be curious to note what *influence* can effect with the most discordant elements of individuals and nations, provided there be some point or two

Influence.

¹ MS. Bib. Cotton. Jul. f. vi. fol. 53 (Brit. Mus.). A curious document.

² Camd. *ubi suprâ*.

whereon its grappling-irons may be flung. This metaphor does not adequately express the workings of influence, which are, however, admirably figured by the doings of the little busy bee. If you are a florist, never hope for the continuation of a favourite flower in all its purity, without a sprinkling of sulphur to protect it from the bee. In a range of five miles around the hive, that indefatigable propagandist, with *pollen on its wings*, will vitiate, adulterate every flower that it fancies, as well as yourself. Sprinkle your flower with sulphur, and then hope on. We have now to see how Queen Elizabeth sprinkled her flowers to protect them from the bees of Loyola.

An almost total disorganisation had taken place in the ecclesiastical incumbency of the Roman Catholics, after the accession of Elizabeth. Most of the monks The priesthood in England. had fled to the continent : most of the secular clergy conformed to the new religion. Those who remained were called "the old priests," and "Queen Mary's priests." Some retired to the continent, particularly the Netherlands, where, as I have stated, they were liberally patronised by Philip II., and some obtained considerable preferment. The greater number remained in England ; and of these some obtained sinecures, in which conformity was generally dispensed with : others remained in privacy, unknown, or at least unheeded. Those who actively discharged the duties of their profession were supported by individuals among the Catholic nobility and gentry who adhered to the ancient faith. Ensnconced in London and other large towns, or residing with their patrons in the country, they have gained the honour of having "preserved the remnant of the Catholic religion in England." Age,

infirmity, and death, had diminished their numbers : a total extinction of the ancient faith was expected both by its friends and its enemies.¹ How true, but incongruous, is this statement at all times repeated.

Reflections.

Why must priests be absolutely necessary to preserve the faith of a nation, if that faith is really a matter of conviction ? How are these priests *themselves preserved* ? Does this not point at once to that very cankerworm of Christianity—the inculcated dependence of man on guides as weak as himself, and from their partisan education so likely to have so many selfish motives for “preserving” what they call “religion ?” Never will the asking, the seeking, the knocking, so consolingly set forth by the Redeemer, be fully accomplished until man be enabled to stand *alone*, in the matter and manner of his faith and practice. Too long has proud man usurped the place of God in the human heart and in the human mind. Too long have we been compelled to be as the blind led by the blind—ever falling into the pit of restless, unmitigated disappointment. We are told, forsooth, that man naturally requires human guidance in these matters of religion—we are told so in spite of the forementioned divine charter of all real religion. It is an axiom invented by sacerdotal craft to sanction its prerogatives. On the contrary, *resistance*, the *spirit of independence*, are the prime impulses in all God’s organised creatures—and in man immensely more than in any other ; but, as in the former, brute force subdues resistance, so in the latter, brute force *and* influence, or the appeal to certain motives, manage to fetter that resistance and spirit of independence. This state of things is fast disappearing.

¹ Butler, i. 306, *et seq.*

Man is becoming enlightened on the score of dictatorial religionism, as in all the other checks and clogs of human advancement. The time will come when each man will think for himself, and be none the worse in practice, because he will be freed from the source of numerous abuses which vitiate the heart, deceived by a specious nomenclature craftily invented. Then it will not be asked, "What shall we believe, or do, to be saved?"—but each shall find his God in proportion to his own asking, seeking, and knocking. Systems are vanities. They may suit their *framers*; but cannot be made applicable to every individual; and therefore are too *finite* for the infinitude of man's religious sentiment, which God alone can fit and fill for ever. System-mongers have always been the bane of humanity. They have given their paltry names to a class of ideas the very product of their own individual organisation. By influence they built up a *Party*, and then burst forth all the evils of the selfish speculation. Consider the words of Him who made and taught us. What system did *He* frame? None. Good *action*—the *perfection* of man's nature in his duty to himself, his fellow-creatures, and, *therefore*, to God—these constitute the splendid sum of Christ's doctrinal example. Ye who think, who meditate good thoughts for man's advancement, beware of the usual vanity of system-mongers. Root out the foul stuff unworthy of your exalted calling. Let the conclusion of all your God-inspired argument be freedom to the mind—the equipoise of all the faculties and sentiments, and inclinations which are man's organisation, his dependence on nothing but God fulfilling His part in the covenant of man's creation—who is by *nature* perfect in his sphere of action, through his *feelings* and *intellect* called

to be perfect even as his Father in heaven. When such shall be the result of enlightenment, man will dispense with the things of party-systems for the "preservation" of his religion—"total extinction of his faith" will never be expected, because his faith will not depend upon party-ascendancy, party-views, and party-abuses.

In order to "preserve the remnant of the Catholic religion" in England—a phrase which scarcely comports with that of "*a great majority* of the people," asserted by the same pen—William Allen conceived the project of perpetuating the Catholic ministry in England by a regular succession of priests, to be educated in colleges on the Continent, and thence sent to the English mission.¹ Allen was a zealous man in the cause of orthodoxy: he did not approve of the common practice of conformity in vogue among the Catholics; he objected to their attending the divine service in Protestant churches, to avoid the severe penalties of recusancy. The English Catholic divines were very far from being unanimous on the question: but Allen was decided, and determined to take what he supposed to be the most effectual means of consolidating a Catholic party in England. The result would be disastrous to human life, to human welfare, to human progress, to everything that makes life valuable—but what mattered that? It was the result of ZEAL—and therefore, though heaven should rush amain, let the thing be done. And it was done with a vengeance. His zeal was patronised: funds flowed in: a college arose at Douay in French Flanders. All his clerical revenues abroad, this zealous man sunk in the stirring scheme of stiff-necked orthodoxy. This

Catholic
seminaries
abroad.

¹ Butler, i. 310.

was in 1568. His establishment became the resort of all the emigrant ecclesiastics. Soon he sent missionaries into England. *Their* favourable account of the scheme, and “the fruits of it, which appeared in the activity and success of their missionary labours, operated so much in its favour, that a petition was signed by the Catholic nobility and gentry of England,” by the university of Douay, by several religious communities, and by the Jesuits, recommending the infant college to the liberality of the pope. Gregory XIII. immediately settled on the college an annual pension of 2100 scudi, and soon afterwards raised it to 2500 (500*l.*)—and subsequently to 1500*l.*, which was punctually paid—from whatever source the zealous pontiff derived his contributions, always generous in the midst of his injustice. These prosperous beginnings did not endure. A party in Douay demanded the expulsion of the collegians:¹ the magistrates yielded to the cry, and ordered Allen, with his associates, to quit for a time—not without reluctance, however, and with a strong testimonial in favour of the exiles. On the invitation of the Cardinal de Lorraine and other members of the house of Guise related to the Queen of Scots—the grand and self-seeking nucleus of the Catholic party in France—Allen and his associates repaired to Rheims and were received with hospitality. This event chanced in 1576. During the *four* following years Allen sent one hundred priests into England; and during the *five* next years he expedited a greater number to the same disastrous vineyard! Forty in one

¹ Parsons, the Jesuit, accuses Elizabeth of this demonstration.—*Philop.* 65, *et seq.* There may be some likelihood in the thing: for no adequate idea can be formed of the machinations of parties in those dreadful times. See Dodd, ii. 164.

month laid down their lives in their cause.¹ Another establishment was founded at Rome, by Gregory XIII. Thus Douay, Rheims, and Rome, maintained the seed of orthodoxy which was to germinate and ripen into nonconformity in England. Hence these schools were called *Seminaries*, and the priests there prepared were named Seminary-priests—names derived from a Latin word for seed. This vegetable metaphor acquired growth subsequently—and we now hear of “propagating” the faith—propagandism—and propagandists—terms which seem to have been invented by way of contrast to Roman celibacy.

The opinion prevalent in England, at the court and amongst politicians and churchmen, respecting the training pursued in these seminaries, was very nearly, if not precisely, in accordance with the reality. “Whilst among other things, disputations were held concerning the ecclesiastical and temporal power, zeal to the pope their founder, hatred against the queen, and hope of restoring the Romish religion by the Queen of Scots, carried some of them so far that they really persuaded themselves, and so maintained, that the Bishop of Rome hath by divine right full power over the whole world, as well in ecclesiastical as temporal causes; and that he, according to that absolute power, may excommunicate kings, and, having so done, dethrone them, and absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance.” The consequence in England was that “many withdrew themselves from the received service of God, which before they had frequented without any scruple. Hanse, Nelson, and Maine, priests, and Sherwood, peremptorily taught the queen was a

The nature
of the train-
ing in these
seminaries.

¹ Butler, i. 306—309; Dodd, ii. 156—170.

schismatic and an heretic, and therefore to be deposed : for which they were put to death. Out of these seminaries were sent forth into divers parts of England and Ireland at first a few young men, and afterwards more, according as they grew up, who entered overhastily into holy orders, and instructed in the above-named principles. They pretended only to administer the sacraments of the Romish religion, and to preach to Papists : but the queen and her council soon found that they were sent underhand to seduce the subjects from their allegiance and obedience due to their prince, to oblige them by reconciliation to perform the pope's commands, to stir up intestine rebellions under *the Seal of Confession*, and flatly to execute the sentence of Pius Quintus against the queen, to the end that way might be made for the pope and the Spaniard, who had of late designed the conquest of England. To these seminaries were sent daily out of England by the Papists, in contempt and despite of the laws, great numbers of boys and young men of all sorts, and admitted into the same, making a vow to return into England : others also crept secretly from thence into the land, and more were daily expected with the *Jesuits*, who at this time first came into England. Hereupon there came forth a proclamation in the month of June : 'That whosoever had any children, wards, kinsmen, or other relations in the parts beyond the seas, should after ten days give in their names to the ordinary, and within four months call them home again, and when they were returned, should forthwith give notice of the same to the said ordinary. That they should not directly or indirectly supply such as refused to return, with any money. That no man should entertain in his

Proclamation
against the
seminaries.

house or harbour any priests sent forth of the aforesaid seminaries, or *Jesuits*, or cherish and relieve them. And that whosoever did to the contrary should be accounted a favourer of rebels and seditious persons, and be proceeded against according to the laws of the land.”¹

Events had rendered the English government vigilant, if not severe ; but the pope and the Spaniard scarcely made a secret of their aims against England.

About two years before this edict was issued, the pope had sent an expedition to invade

Stukely's
expedition
to Ireland.

Ireland. It was a joint-stock concern, conducted by one Stukely, an English refugee and adventurer, formerly patronised by the queen, but subsequently disappointed, a man without honour or conscience. Camden calls him a ruffian, a riotous spendthrift, a notable vapourer—who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, alternately abusing the confidence and betraying the secrets of each, adds Lingard—what a man for a champion, a saviour in a time of trouble and disaster! But

¹ Camden, Ad. Ann. 1580. “If the Company of Jesus could not put her foot into England,” says Bartoli, “England meanwhile put hers into the Company ; many of that nation, and men of the most valuable qualities, entering the Company. Lainez and Borgia had conceded the favour to so many, that Mercurian, their successor, seeing their multitude daily increasing, exclaimed : ‘Now it seems God’s will that the Company should march to battle against the heresy of England, since he sends to her such a numerous and valiant host from England.’ In a single year, 1578, Flanders alone gave the Company twelve select Englishmen, and they were multiplied from year to year. Their good qualities made them a part of the most worthy and estimable of the Company. They were all exiles, and scattered over Ireland, Flanders, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Spain and Italy. Many of them became eminent for piety and in letters, and were chosen to sit in the general congregations. Others went as missionaries to the East, and to the West, and to the camp of war in Hungary, fighting against the Turks ; and lastly, some devoted themselves to attend the pest-stricken, and perished in the heroic ministry.”—*Bartoli, f. 72.*

he promised to be useful to the pope notwithstanding : with three thousand Italians he would drive the English out of Ireland, and fire the fleet of England,—the apparent preliminaries, as was imagined, to get Ireland as a kingdom for the pope's natural son, whom the holy father had made Marquis of Vineola ; whilst Philip II. thought of retaliating on Elizabeth for her aid to his Netherlanders, by aiding her rebel Irish. It is curious to note that “in the meanwhile amity in words was maintained on both sides.” What an age of craft and machination ; and yet, by the numberless spies fed and maintained by all parties, in all parts of Europe, nothing was done without being made known respectively : but, as a matter of course, it followed as a certain result from this trade in rumour and espionage, that discordant intelligence mystified all deliberations—except those with Elizabeth in the midst, and her cool-headed wily politicians around her ;—from a frightful, heterogeneous, chaotic jumble of vain rumours, the English cabinet *created* security for the realm, and discomfiture for its voracious enemies. The pope made Stukely his chamberlain, Marquis of Leinster, and advanced 40,000 scudi (8000*l.*), 600 men, 3000 stand of arms, and a ship of war, for the expedition. Stukely put to sea, and reached the Tagus, where he found King Sebastian just ready to start in his disastrous enterprise against Africa. Sebastian “with youthly heat and ambition” had long before promised the pope his assistance against all Turks and heretics, and was to lead off the expedition against England : in the meantime he persuaded Stukely to go with him first and finish off the Turks before he belaboured the heretics. Stukely, the “subtile old fox,” was entrapped, went, and perished with the king and kingdom of Portugal, in the

memorable battle of Alcazarquivir, — finishing “the interlude of a loose life with an honest catastrophe or conclusion.” It was altogether a providential affair for England, or rather for the poor Catholics, ever the scape-goats. Besides the destruction of Stukely, the fall of Sebastian diverted Philip’s attention from England to the usurpation of Portugal—which for the nonce he preferred, in spite of the importunities of the Catholic fugitives recommending England to his majesty’s zealous attention. Thus all seemed at an end. Of course, the English spies had duly notified all the foreign proceedings : a fleet was waiting on the coast of Ireland to give Stukely a warm reception : it was now recalled, and Sir Henry Sydney, the Lord-deputy, bade Ireland farewell with a verse out of the Psalms, saying, “When Israel departed out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from amongst a *barbarous people*.” Meanwhile, Fitzmaurice, “an Irish refugee, likewise, with the aid of ^{Fitzmaurice.} papal funds,” who had joined Stukely, continued the voyage, with a few Irish and English exiles, and Spanish soldiers, and the famous Dr. Sanders on board as papal legate, provided with a bull constituting the invasion a regular crusade with all its “privileges.” A descent was effected near Kerry : but the people were sick of “stirs” which had hitherto only drenched them with disaster ; and they held off until the Earl of Desmond took arms against the queen. Then the whole island was in commotion. How fared the issue ? Reverse after reverse—like the sledge-hammer’s tempest on the glowing metal—befel the insurgents. Fitzmaurice himself was cut off in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen. Desmond slunk off, to perish miserably soon after : the pope’s funds fell short : the

promised aids were not forthcoming : the English punished the invaders and insurgents with horrible cruelty. Sir Walter Raleigh had a large share in this transaction. Men and women were driven into barns, and there burnt to death : children were strangled : all Munster was laid waste : English colonists overran the desolated region.¹ Which do you abhor most—the cruelly infatuated enterprise, or the savage ferocity of the victors ? I confess that I place them exactly on a par—both of them horrible abominations, which there should be no Heaven, no God to behold. But the ruthless hope of zeal sank not. To the rescue once more was the cry of infatuated zeal in the *few*—was the clamour of the self-seeking *many*—was the resolve of the cool, calculating, indefatigable *Jesuits*. And England, herself, it was resolved to make the field of “Spiritual Exercises,” to eventuate political “change and alteration.” The notorious Father Parsons, or Persons, and the ardent Campion were dispatched to found the English province of the Company of Jesus, immediately after the failure of the late invasion. Not without rejoicings they departed ; and Campion was congratulated on the glory he was about to achieve by his headlong, enthusiastic intrepidity. The Jesuits gave out that the Virgin Mary had appeared to Campion, in a visible form on an old mulberry-tree in the garden of the novitiate, and showing him a purple rag—*in panno tinto purpureo*, she had foretold to him the shedding of his blood in the glorious death which he subsequently suffered.² If Campion originated this story, our sympathy with the man and his fate must be largely

¹ *Camd. propr. annis.* ; Ling. viii. 129, *et seq.* ; Ranke, 151, *et seq.* ; Crawf. i. 300, *et seq.*

² Bartoli, *Dell Inghil.* f. 88.

diminished : it were better to transfer it to the account of Jesuit-inventions so disgraceful to the best members of the Company.

Not without being perfectly aware beforehand of what was to follow, did the Jesuits embark in this ruinous expedition. From the words of Mercurian before given, it is evident that they thought the time was now come for a demon-
The malice
prepense of
the Jesuits.
 stration. Besides, we have also seen that they had often tried to gain admission into England. And yet they admit that "it was easy to foresee that whether few or many of our Company were in England, great commotions must necessarily arise both among the Catholics and Protestants. This was so true, that soon after the arrival of the two first—as we shall presently see—there were more disputes on that score than on any other, as well among the Catholics as among their adversaries ; and this is precisely what Parsons wrote to us at the time : 'It is expected'—these are his words—'that the persecution of the Catholics will be redoubled, and that new and more sanguinary edicts will be issued against the missionary priests and the Catholics in general, as the government of that kingdom is in the hands of Protestants ; and this we shall see fulfilled soon after the two first of our Company shall have set foot in England.'"¹ They went notwithstanding, and their historian pretends that their General Mercurian consented with reluctance to the mission—though the same writer quotes the general's exclamation prophetic of that mission. At all events, the Jesuits

¹ This is Butler's translation from Bartoli : but in my own copy of Bartoli, all the letter of Parsons is omitted, and there is only the phrase—*e così appunto ne scrissero fin d'allora*. I know not whether Butler interpolated the passage from other sources by way of elucidation. My edition is that of Rome, 1667.

might have endeavoured not to fulfil their "apprehensions," instead of aggravating their debts to humanity, by producing them to the very letter, in every particular.

Robert Parsons, or Persons, was born in the parish of Stowey, in Somersetshire, in the year 1546.¹ "His Parsons. parents were right honest people," says Parsons himself, "and of the most substantial of their degree among their neighbours while they lived; and his father was reconciled to the church by Mr. Bryant, the martyr; and his mother, a grave and virtuous matron, living divers years, and dying in flight out of her country for her conscience."² Surely it mattered little to the man whether honour or dishonour attended his birth, at a time when the natural sons of popes and kings were exalted to the highest rank by no other recommendation; but in the desperate hatred which Parsons boldly excited, no epithet nor reproach was too foul to be flung on the terrible worker. On the other hand, Parsons richly deserved the worst representations, for he spared no man in his rancour. In his Response to the Queen's Edict, he lavishes the lowest reproaches, imputations, and infamy on the queen's ministers, and

¹ He used both forms of signature; but though often written *Persons* by Catholics, it is generally pronounced *Parsons*.

² In one of his anonymous diatribes, entitled "A Manifestation of the great Folly and bad Spirit of Certayne in England calling themselves Secular Priests," 1602. — "But several Romish priests and others, and among the rest Mr. Thomas Bell, (Anatomy of Popish Tyranny) and Dr. Thomas James (Life of F. Parsons, in Jesuit's Downfall) assert that 'he was basely born of mean parentage at Stokersey, in Somersetshire; that his supposed father was a blacksmith, his right father the parish priest of Stokersey; by means whereof he was binonymous, sometimes called Rob. Parsons, sometimes Rob. Cowback.' And Mr. Gee remarks that the world is not agreed either about his name or parentage, for the name of Parsons, or Persons, as he writes it himself, they will have it to be given him upon a scandalous reason, while the true name of his supposed father was Cowback, or Cubbock."—*Bayle*, Parsons [A.]

still more on the queen herself.¹ In 1563 he went to Baliol College, Oxford, either as a servitor or scholar, where he distinguished himself as an acute disputant, became Master of Arts, a Fellow of the College, and a celebrated Tutor in the University. He did not take priest's orders; but on two occasions he swore the oath of abjuration of the pope's supremacy. In alluding to this transaction, he exhibits his own character at that time in no very favourable light. "What a crime!" he writes; "ambitious youth that I was, lest I should lose my degree, I pronounced that most iniquitous oath with my lips, though I *detested* it in my mind—*licet animo detestarer*. Spare me, O merciful God," &c.² In 1574, he was expelled from the college. Accounts vary as to the cause of this event. His friends attribute it to his Catholic sentiments, which he did not conceal;³ whilst Camden, who was at the University at the time, and knew Parsons, declares that "he openly professed the Protestant religion, until he was, for his loose carriage, expelled with disgrace, and went over to the Papists."⁴ Archbishop Abbott, also contemporaneous with Parsons at Baliol, and styled an "unexceptionable witness," by Gee, an enemy of Parsons, coincides with

¹ See for instance his character and parentage of Bacon, p. 18; and of Cecil, p. 38; but above all, the disgraceful disparagement with which he befools Queen Elizabeth and her parentage: he actually intimates that Henry VIII. was not her father! "Si tamen illa Henrici Octavi filia fuerit, quod Sanderi historia ex Annæ Bolensæ matris incontinentiâ dubium planè et incertum reddit," &c., p. 260, Ed. Rom. 1593.

² "Proh scelus! his juramentum illud nequissimum juvenis ambitiosus, ne gradum amitterem labiis pronunciavi, licet animo detestarer. Parce mihi, misericors Deus, ac grande hoc juventutis meæ delictum condona; nondum enim noveram, quid esset te super omnia diligere, et honorem tuum rebus anteferre mundanis."—*Apud Oliver*.

³ Morus, Hist. Prov. Angl. l. ii. c. 7. "Cum catholicis sentire haud obscure præ se ferebat."

⁴ Ad. Ann. 1580.

Camden, not, however, without evidencing, at the same time, that there was an animus against the redoubtable Parsons, who seems to have been always similar to himself, either as Protestant or "Papist." The Archbishop says: "Bagshaw, being a smart young man, and one who thought his penny good silver, after he had his grace to be bachelor of arts, was with some despite swindged by Parsons, being dean of the college. *Hoc manet altâ mente repostum*; and Bagshaw afterward coming to be fellow, was most hot in persecution against Parsons. It was the more forwarded by Dr. Squire's displeasure, who was then master of Baliol College, and thought himself to have been much bitten by vile libels, the author whereof he conceived Parsons to be; who, in truth, was a man at that time wonderfully given to scoffing, and that with bitterness, which also was the cause that none of the Company loved him. Now, Dr. Squire and Bagshaw being desirous of some occasion to trim him, this fell out." Hereupon the Archbishop informs us that Parsons, as Bursar, falsified the reckonings much to the damage of the college, by taking advantage of the weakness of his colleague, who happened to be "a very simple fellow." Other disgraceful swindling is mentioned to the round sum total of one hundred marks, about 70*l*. Then they found out that he was illegitimate, and the Archbishop declares "that Parsons was not of the best fame concerning incontinency;" but this is only on "hearsay." His enemies now rose up *en masse*, resolved to expel him; but, at his earnest request, they permitted him to "resign," which he did accordingly, after having endured considerable humiliation from the now triumphant Squire and Bagshaw, whose conduct exhibits all the spitefulness

which grovelling natures call revenge.¹ As we have no reason to doubt the Archbishop's veracity, so are we justified in condemning the proceedings as the petty machinations of a party whose object was revenge rather than justice. This Bagshaw, however, turned "papist" not long after, became a secular priest, and figured in the "stirs" amongst his own party, at the time when they forgot even Protestant persecution to fight their petty battles of jealous prerogative. Doubtless Parsons was "a violent, fierce-natured man, and of a rough behaviour;" but there was nothing in this treatment at Oxford either to quiet the former or to mollify the latter. The whole tenor of a man's life is often decided by the pang of humiliation shot through the heart in the moment of its pride. Bartoli seems to have been conscious of this fact when he wrote commenting on this transaction: "But the synagogue of his victors," says the bristling Jesuit, "who, at having expelled him with shame, indulged their stupid merriment, will in a few years lament it with despair; and they shall have him there in the same Oxford, in a different profession of life, and with more trophies for the faith than the few he achieved amongst his pupils, which they envied him so much; and as long as he lives, yea, as long as his spirit shall live in his books, heresy will be forced to remember Robert Parsons, without any other consolation for its grief than a vain biting at air, badly striving to write and to talk him down, which is the only availing effort of desperate rancour."²

¹ See Bayle, *ubi suprâ*, for the archbishop's letter to Dr. Hussye. Parsons [B.]

² "Ma la Sinagoga de' vincitori, che dell' haverlo vergognosamente cacciato, matteggiarono in isciocca allegrezza, non tarderan molti anni a farne le disperazioni per doglia; e havranlo quivi stesso in Ossonio, in altra professione di vita, e con altri acquisti alla Fede Cattolica, che non quello scarso de' giovani suoi

Edmund Campion was born in London in 1540, the year in which the Company was founded. His parents were Catholics. At Christ's Hospital he distinguished himself as a scholar, entered subsequently at St. John's, Oxford, and had the honour on two or three occasions, to address Queen Elizabeth at Woodstock or Oxford, as spokesman of the College; and such was the opinion that Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, conceived of his wit, erudition, and good taste, that he pronounced him to be one of the *Diamonds* of England.¹ But it appears that he was all along a Protestant in name only, tormented however with that inner anguish which sometimes results from conscious simulation. As usual, this result is attributed to the "Primitive Fathers," that Catholic source of all conversions. Campion read the "Fathers," was "converted," and yet suffered himself to be "prevailed upon by dint of importunity" to receive the Protestant order of deacon. This proceeding is said to have "formed the climax of his misery. So bitter was his remorse that he hastened to throw up his fellowship, and quitted the University in 1569."² He fled to Ireland, where he was hunted by the queen's commissioners, and compelled to escape in the disguise of a servant to avoid martyrdom. In 1571 he reached Douay College, studied theology for a twelvemonth, and went to Rome in 1573, was admitted into the Company of Jesus, and sent to the novitiate at Brunn, where he saw the Virgin Mary on the mulberry tree, with the purple rag of Martyrdom,

pupilli, che tanto gli invidiarono : e fin ch' egli viva, anzi fin che viverà il suo spirito ne' suoi libri, havrà l'eresia onde ricordarsi di Roberto Personio ; senza altra consolatione al suo dolore, che d'un vano mordere all' aria, facendo a chi peggio ne scrive, e parla ; che è quel solo in che il furor disperato sa mostrarsi valente."—*Bartoli*, f. 91.

¹ Oliver, 63.

² *Ibid.* 64.

as I have related according to the Jesuit-legend. During the seven subsequent years he taught rhetoric and philosophy at the Jesuit College in Prague, was promoted to holy orders, and was vouchsafed another prediction of his destined martyrdom, according to the statement of Parsons, who says that a certain young Jesuit wrote on Campion's door the words *Campionus Martyr*.¹ It may have been a pious joke on the professor's proclaimed aspirations, and his desperate zeal:—for at Rheims, on his journey to England, he exhorted the students of the seminary to martyrdom, in an address on the text—*I am come to send fire upon earth*—and becoming violently excited, he cried out *Fire, fire, fire*, so lustily that the people in the streets, thinking there was a conflagration, rushed in with their buckets and water.² The career of the ejected Parsons was by no means so determinate. From England he went to Calais, thence to Antwerp, and Louvain, where he met Father William Good, his countryman, and under whom he went through the “Spiritual Exercises.” Padua was his next refuge. Here he applied himself to the study of medicine, and likewise civil law: but he changed his mind, and fulfilling the advice of his exercitant, Father Good, he abandoned his studies, went to the English College at Rome, and gave himself to the Company in 1575—one year after they “trimmed” him so disgracefully at Oxford. In 1578 he was ordained priest,³—his two years of probation and his four years of theology being epitomised into less than three, by “dispensation,” for the quality of his metal, or by the

¹ Oliver, 64.

² Bartoli, f. 100. This fact was a standing joke amongst the novices in the English novitiate at Hodder—one of our “pious stories” during recreation.

³ Bayle, Oliver, Bartoli.

desire to “fix” him—which however was not necessary, for Robert Parsons was now in his element. The expedition to England left Rome in 1580. The pope gave the Jesuits his benediction, and their general, Mercurian, enjoined them not to meddle in the least with any “political interests in the affairs of England—now continually agitated by the suspicions of the government, the dread of innovation, the tumults of Ireland, the imprisonment of the Queen of Scots, and the miserable oppression of the Catholics, besides the suspicion of danger from without.” The Jesuits were neither to speak nor listen to any one on the subject of politics: they were strictly to observe the prohibition, and Campion and Parsons were to make that protestation on oath to the ministers and magistrates of England, as soon as they should set foot in the country.¹ On application from Parsons and Campion the pope granted that the Bull of deposition against Elizabeth should be understood in this manner:—that it should always bind the queen and heretics: and should by no means bind Catholics, as matters then stood—but hereafter bind them, when some public execution of the Bull might be had or made—which points at once to the *hopes* of the party, and their *determination*: in the event of invasion the Catholics would be bound to stand against the queen—and it was now the “mission” of the Jesuits so to strengthen them in their “faith,” that this “hope” of the infatuated party should not be disappointed. Forsooth this was no mitigation of the Bull—but rather an aggravation; though neither Allen, Bartoli, nor Butler, ventures to explain its bearings on the events that followed.

Instructions
to Parsons
and Campion.

¹ Bartoli, f. 93.

Ambo animis, ambo insignes præstantibus ausis, these two Jesuits were well contrasted, according to the Constitutions—Campion being (by the admission of an enemy) “of a sweet disposition, and a well-polished man,” whilst Parsons was “a violent, fierce-natured man, and of a rough behaviour.”¹ Parsons was appointed superior of the mission, or expedition, which consisted of a lay-brother besides seven priests, two laymen, and “perhaps” another who is not named—making in all thirteen—by way of a good omen from the gospel-number, I suppose.² After a prosperous journey through the continent, which they fructified by a conference with Beza at Geneva, Parsons resolved to penetrate first into England, leaving Campion to follow the more adroit and brazen-faced leader.³ He gave out that he was a captain returning from Flanders to England. His dress was “of buff, layd with gold lace, with hatt and feather suted to the same.”⁴ He assumed not only the dress of an officer, but looked the character to admiration, and *v’aggiunse l’infiorarsi di gale, alla maniera de gli altri*—“full of strange oaths,” he swaggered away, to simulate the soldier completely—*quel tutto che bisognana a parer dipinto un soldato*. When Campion saw him in his character, the imitation was so complete, that he thought the sagacity of the English searchers, however keen-sighted, would be baffled and deceived: “thus no one would ever suspect that, under so different an appearance, a Jesuit was concealed—*si nascondesse un Gesuita*.”⁵ He embarked.

¹ Camden, ad Ann. 1580.

² “E forse un decimoterzo, che altri vi contano.”—*Bartoli*, f. 93.

³ “Ragion volle che al Personio, e Superiore, e piu destro, e piu franco, toccasse il fare al P. Edmondo la strada.”—*Bartoli*, 101.

⁴ Oliver, 159.

⁵ *Bartoli*, f. 101.

and reached Dover the next morning. Here the searcher, according to his commission, examined him, "found no cause of doubt in him, but let him pass with all favour, procuring him horse, and all other things necessary for his journey to Gravesend." It is at least amusing to think of the multitudinous falsehoods that Parsons must have told from the time of his embarkation to his shaking hands with the searcher, and decamping with flying colours. However, according to Jesuit-conscience, and Dr. Oliver, "This manifestation of *God's care and protection*, inspired the Father with *courage and confidence*, and he told the searcher *that he had a certain friend, a merchant, lying in St. Omer's* that would follow him very shortly, to whom he desired the said searcher to show all favour: and so he promised to do, and took a certain letter of the same Father to send to Mr. Edmunds, (for so Father Campion was now called,) and conveyed it safely to St. Omer's, in which letter Father Parsons wrote unto him the great courtesy which the searcher had showed him, and recommended him to hasten and follow him in *disposing of his stock of jewels and diamonds.*"¹ The astonishing dexterity of these Jesuits is proved by the fact, that their portraits were hung up on the gates of the towns, the seaports particularly, so as to insure their detection.² Nor must we fail to remark how active were the queen's spies in discovering the project. This chapter in the history of Elizabeth's reign is worthy of investigation: a history of the method and men, and cost of that spy system would be as interesting

Espionage in
the days of
Elizabeth.

¹ Oliver, 101, 159. Bartoli says, "un *Patritio mercante Irlandese* (era questi il P. Edmondo) lo spacciassero di presente"—because his speedy presence in London was necessary for his affairs.

² Bartoli, *ubi supra*.

as that of the Jesuits. With great difficulty Parsons journeyed on towards London. In consequence of the queen's proclamation, and the general suspicion prevailing against strangers, he found it impossible to procure accommodation at the inns, coming, as he did, without a horse. At last he found his way to the Marshalsea prison, where he met his brother-Jesuit, Thomas Pound,¹ a fact which seems to prove that the present expedition was not the first settlement, but only a more determined and better organised assault on the dragon of heresy ; and we may note the hypocrisy of the Jesuits in pretending to undertake the mission so reluctantly. The fact is, they wished to secure a right for saying to the secular priests—Your master, Allen, invited us—we consented with reluctance—and you must be silent on the score of our obtrusive ambition and interference. Meanwhile, Campion, in his garb of a pedlar or merchant—doubtless with jewels in his box to keep up the deception—reached London : Parsons was waiting for him on the banks of the Thames, and saluted him with a sign, and then shook hands with him as an expected friend, in so natural a manner that no one could suspect it was “ all artifice and a trick,” —*tutto artificio e scaltrimento*—says the Jesuit-historian.²

A meeting of the Jesuits and missionary priests now took place, and by unanimous consent Robert Parsons presided. He disclaimed all political objects, contrary to the general report, and the direct consequence of his presence and that of his brother-Jesuits, in England. The conversion of England, with the co-operation of the secular priests, was the only object in view. He swore an oath to that effect—*e sotto fide giurato certificollo*. Then he appealed

Parsons holds a meeting and entraps the priests.

¹ Bartoli and Oliver.

² Bartoli, 104.

to the Council of Trent, and protested against the attendance of Catholics at the divine service of Protestant churches, and strongly recommended non-conformity, which, of course, was just the very thing to bring on the poor Catholics a torrent of fires, racks, and gibbets. What cared the "fierce-natured man" for that? No Virgin Mary on a mulberry-tree had doomed *him* to martyrdom with a purple rag—and he had no particular fancy for the thing in itself, and so, "until some public execution of the pope's Bull of deposition against the queen might be had or made," he was resolved, by command of authority and inclination, to quicken that result by goading the government to fury against the wretched Catholics, thereby to rouse, as he hoped, all Catholicity, with King Philip II., to the invasion of England and destruction of the queen. In order to prevent conformity, which was, in most instances, the result of indifference to Catholicism, Parsons urged the necessity of supplying all parts of the kingdom equally with priests, and induced the secular priests to place themselves under him as subjects—*non attramente che sudditi*—and these "very simplefellows" offered to go and labour in any manner, and at any place, which he should prescribe to them. Thus, besides the end already mentioned, Parsons at once achieved a party in England, arrogating to himself and his Company an ascendancy in the concerns of the mission, destined to divide the body of missionaries into factions, which tore and worried the English Catholic Church in the midst of ruinous persecution. Heavens! Can there be a greater curse on humanity than priestly craft, ambition, and selfishness, united to all the recklessness of the Jesuits?¹

¹ Butler, i. 365, 371, analysing Bartoli and More.

Then began the sowing of the seed. Parsons and Campion “travelled up and down through the countrey, and to Popish gentlemens houses, covertly and in the disguised habits sometimes of soul-
Progress of the mission.
 diers, sometimes of gentlemen, sometimes of ministers of the word, and sometimes of apparitors [a sort of underling church-officer], diligently performing what they had in charge, both by word and writing. Parsons being a man of a seditious and turbulent spirit, and
Machinations.
 armed with a confident boldness, tampered so far with the Papists about deposing the queen, that some of them (I speak upon their own credit) thought to have delivered him into the magistrate's hands. Campion, though more modest, yet by a written paper challenged the ministers of the English Church to a disputation, and published a neat, well-penned book in Latin, called ‘*Ten Reasons* in Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome ;’¹ and Parsons put out another virulent book in English against Chark, who had soberly written against Campion's challenge Neither wanted there others of the Popish faction (for religion was grown into faction) who laboured tooth and nail at Rome and elsewhere in princes' courts, to raise war against their own country ; yea, they published also in print, that the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniard had conspired together to conquer England, and expose it for a spoil and prey : and this they did of purpose to give courage to their own party, and to terrifie
The queen's manifesto.
 others from their allegiance to their prince and countrey. The queen being now openly thus assailed both by the arms and cunning practices of the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniard, set forth a manifesto,

¹ It was privately printed at Lady Stonor's house at Henley.—*Olive*.

wherein (after acknowledgment of the goodness of God towards her) she declareth, 'That she had attempted nothing against any prince but for preservation of her own kingdom; nor had she invaded the provinces of any other, though she had sundry times been thereunto provoked by injuries, and invited by opportunities. If any princes go about to attempt ought against her, she doubteth not but to be able (by the blessing of God) to defend her people; and to that purpose she had mustered her forces both by sea and land, and had them now in readiness against any hostile invasion. Her faithful subjects she exhorteth to continue immovable in their allegiance and duty towards God, and their prince the minister of God. The rest, who had shaken off their love to their countrey, and their obedience to their prince, she commandeth to carry themselves modestly and peaceably, and not provoke the severity of justice against themselves: for she would no longer be so imprudent, as by sparing the bad to prove cruel to herself and her good subjects.'"¹

Such being the queen's and her cabinet's sentiments, and such being the undoubted, the admitted facts whereon they rested, the influx of missionary priests and Jesuits roused them to exert their prerogatives to the utmost, and harassing inquiries were everywhere set on foot to discover the priests and the Jesuits, with severe denunciations against all who harboured them, and against all who quitted the kingdom without the queen's license; and rewards were offered for the discovery of the offenders. Hereupon Parsons and Campion in concert addressed a letter to the Privy Council. The letter of

Parsons and
Campion ad-
dress letters
to the council.

¹ Camden, ad Ann. 1580.

Parsons is lost, says Butler, but Bartoli gives it nevertheless. It is entitled a Confession of the Faith of Robert Parsons, and complains of the general persecution, the suspicions against the Company, which he calls most blessed, and affirms the fidelity of the Catholics, which he states to be based on better grounds than that of the Protestants, especially the Puritans, who were then as ruthlessly proscribed as the Catholics.¹ Campion's letter is preserved; he gave a copy of it to one of his friends, with directions to preserve it secret, unless his friend should hear of his imprisonment; and then he was to print and give it circulation. His friend printed one thousand copies three or four months after, and thus it became public before his apprehension.² Such is the *ex parte* statement emitted by Butler; but the man who subsequently printed his "*Ten Reasons in Defence of the Church of Rome*," in such circumstances, would scarcely shrink from flinging before the public, then in uttermost excitation, his ultimate defiance to the excommunicated authorities; or, as he apprehended its probable effect on *himself*, why did he not shrink from *ever* permitting it to entail misery on his fellow Catholics?

But then comes the question, who was that "friend" alluded to by the strong Jesuit-partisan Butler, so vaguely, as if he did not know his *name*? Why, he was no other than the *Jesuit Thomas POUND*.³ Butler knew this well enough, but it did not

A curious
elucidation.

¹ Bartoli, f. 113, *et seq.*

² Butler, 371; Bartoli, 126, 127.

³ "Convien sapere, che quel nobile Confessore di Christo, e Religioso della Compagnia, Tomaso Pondo, nelle cui mane dicemmo havere il P. Campiano dipositata la sua lettera, e protestatione a Consiglieri di Stato, e inguintogli il divulgarla al primo udir che farebbe lui esser preso: dopo tre ò quattro mesi da che gli stava otiosa nelle mani, riletatala, e col sommamente piacerogli, persuaso,

suit his views to state the fact, so plainly evidencing the infatuated or reckless defiance of the Jesuits to all authority, and cruel indifference to the suffering of the Catholics whom they pretended to benefit and console. In his letter, Campion briefly informed the council of his arrival, and the object of his mission, according to the expressed *words* of the Company; and earnestly solicited permission to propound, explain, and prove his religious creed, first before the council, then before an assembly of divines of each university, and afterwards, before a meeting of graduates, in the civil and canon law.¹ Then he blazed forth and displayed the heart-and-soul ardour of his infatuated enthusiasm, saying: "As for our Company, I give you to know that all of us who are scattered and spread over the wide world in such numbers, and yet continually succeeding each other, will be able, whilst the Company lasts, to frustrate your machinations. We have entered into a holy conspiracy, and we are resolved to bear with courage the cross you place upon our backs—never to despair of your recovery as long as there remains a single man of us left to enjoy your Tyburn—to be torn to pieces by your tortures—to be consumed and pine away in your prisons. We have right well considered the matter,—we are resolved, and with the favouring impulse of God, neither force nor assault shall end the battle which now commences. Thus, from the first was the faith planted,—thus it shall be planted again with vigour renewed."² "The spirit of this letter may be admired; its prudence must be questioned," says Butler, and, we

che a ben fare, doveva farsi altrimenti da quello ch'era paruto al P. Edmondo con libertà, e findanza d'amico, senza altro attendere, la pubblicò prima del tempo."—*Bartoli*, f. 126.

¹ Butler, i. 371; *Bartoli*, f. 114, *et seq.*

² *Bartoli*, f. 76, 115.

may add, that its publication by another Jesuit aggravates the cruel infatuation. It gave great offence. Campion himself, in a letter to Mercurian, his general, says, that "its publication put the adversaries of the Catholics into a fury."¹ The thousand copies of the *Defiance*, circulated through the court, the universities, throughout the whole kingdom; and all the world were in expectation of the result. All the Catholics, and a large portion of the Protestants, wished that permission might be given to Campion to make his appearance either at London or one of the universities, for an open field to enter the lists with the Protestant theologians,—and vast would have been the concourse from far and near to witness such a glorious tournament, the like to which might never chance again.² Thus wished enthusiasm and frivolity; but what good could possibly result in those times, or any times, from a contro-

Touching
controversial
encounters.

versial tilting-match?—in a matter wherein dexterity is infinitely more likely to triumph than truth or reasonable argument—wherein, though vanquished, the disputants will argue still, for ever and a day after—in short, where infinite truths are to be propounded by finite intellects, and decided by the votes, the shouts, the stamping and clapping of hands of an audience, even incalculably less qualified to judge than the disputants themselves? Whatever was the motive of the queen and her council, their non-acceptance of the misguided Jesuit's challenge and defiance was wise in a political point of view. In truth, the elements of national discord were lawless enough, without congregating ten thousand selfish partisans on a given spot to explode with the volcanic rancour of religionism. It was infinitely better

¹ Butler, i. 372.² Bartoli, f. 127.

to let the people indulge their curiosity by listening to the adventures of Admiral Drake, then just returned to

An episode. England, "abounding with great wealth and greater renown, having prosperously sailed round about the world; being, if not the first of all which could challenge this glory, yet questionless the first but Magellan, whom death cut off in the midst of his voyage." Far better it was for Elizabeth to send her idlers to gaze at the good old ship that had ploughed a hundred seas, and which she had tenderly "caused to be drawn up into a little creek near Deptford, upon the Thames, as a monument of Drake's so lucky sailing round about the world (where the carcass thereof is yet to be seen); and having, as it were, consecrated it for a memorial with great ceremony, she was banquetted in it, and conferred on Drake the honour of knighthood. At this time a bridge of planks, by which they came on board the ship, sunk under the crowd of people, and fell down with an hundred men upon it, who notwithstanding, had none of them any harm. So as that ship may seem to have been built under a lucky planet."¹ Why were there any of the queen's subjects compelled to absent themselves from this national jollification? Why, amidst that ceremony, wherein England's queen identified herself with the fortunes of her subjects, gently praising them unto heroic exertion for their country's weal—why were there *Catholics* who slunk off, having no heart to cheer, no voice to huzza for their queen? They were busy with their catechism and "the Faith," and thus promoting the "hope" of the Jesuits and their masters, or, rather, their patrons and friends:—but the Jesuits will not succeed as they

¹ *Camd. ad Ann.* 1580.

desire. In the most acceptable moment the people of England will be eager to prove their loyalty, in spite of papal bulls and Jesuit-nonconformity. And thus it will be for ever. In England loyalty is an instinct : but it requires to be cheered by the smiles of royalty. Like a loving heart, it craves some love in return. Give it but that, and all the world may be priest-ridden, faction-ridden, sunk into republican anarchy, or democratic tyranny ; yet England's instinct will shrink from that perilous imitation of an exceedingly ambiguous model ; and she will remain for ever the hardest-worked nation under God's heaven—the most persevering spider in existence, whose web you may tear every morning, and every night you will see it again, as a proof of her industry ; for, far from preying on any other nation, it is the most remarkable fact in the world, that she has wasted on others incalculably more than she has ever gained by allies, or by colonies ; and yet she endures. In spite of all her desperate wounds from time to time, still she is a veteran, but not yet pensioned off to repose. Her rulers, her nobles, her people will again and soon be called to decide the fate of the political universe, as they were at the end of the sixteenth century, when that decision went under the name of "religion," with Philip II. and the pope on one side, and Elizabeth, with the people of England, on the other.

The terrible edict which went forth against the Jesuits flung them into constant peril, but made them objects of sympathy in England. In fact the very words of that edict which throughout England proclaimed it treason to harbour the Jesuits, was a sort of useful advertisement to them,

England's
loyalty.

Devotedness
of the
Catholics.

made them interesting, covered them with merits to which in a time of perfect toleration they would have laid claim in vain. "We are eagerly desired," writes Parsons to his general, "and whithersoever we go we are received with incredible gladness; and many there are who from afar come to seek us, to confer with us on the concerns of their souls, and to place their conscience into our hands; and they offer us all that they are, all that they can do, all that they have,—*cio che sono, cio che possono, cio che hanno.*"

Campion said that these generous Catholics seemed to have forgotten themselves, and set aside all thought for themselves, and to have centred all their solicitude on the fathers. But the Jesuits did not permit these consolatory demonstrations to throw them off their guard. They took every precaution to prevent detection and to baffle the numberless spies everywhere in quest for the pope's emissaries, the Spaniard's jackalls, and, by their own account, the idols of their infatuated dupes. They were

Disguises of the Jesuits. always disguised, and frequently changed their disguises, their names, and places of resort. Thus they deluded the spies, constantly falsifying the descriptions with which they were represented. The fashion and colour of their garb of yesterday, was not the same as to-day: the spies met the Jesuits and had no eyes for the prey. Perhaps they got hold of their names: they repeated them asking for their bearers: they asked in vain, these were no longer the names of the invisible Jesuits who perhaps stood behind them, beside them, before them. Before sun-rise the spies ransacked a house into which one of the Jesuits had entered the night before: he was already flown and many miles off. "My dresses are most numerous,"

writes Campion, "and various are my fashions, and as for names, I have an abundance."¹ The escapes of Parsons were truly wonderful: the wily old fox was never to be hunted down or entrapped. One night the hunters surrounded the house where he was sleeping: he buried himself in a heap of hay and they left him behind.² One day, whilst passing through a street, the hue and cry was raised—"Parsons! Parsons!" they cried; and in the universal rush of eager Jesuit-hunters you might see Parsons rushing too, and lustily crying—"There he is yonder," and slinking off quietly by a side-turn.³ They once besieged the house where he was: it was a sudden onslaught. Parsons boldly came forth and asked them what they wanted. "The Jesuit," they cried. "Walk in," said he, "and look for him quietly," and Parsons walked off without looking behind him.⁴ Nor were there wanting in his career, those lucky coincidences which served his turn by "attesting" the special providence over the Jesuit. He was once invited to supper by a priest, in order to convert some heretics: though he knew the place right well, though he walked the neighbourhood up and down three times in search of the spot, and inquired of the neighbours, still he could not find the house; and tired out at last, he went away. On the following day he learnt that during all that time the house was besieged by the heretics, waiting to seize him, and that they had carried off the priest and six Catholics to prison.⁵

Escapes of
Parsons and
his craft.

This is one of his own anecdotes, and so is the following. He had passed the night at the house of a priest; at break of day he was roused by certain very sharp

¹ Bartoli, 117.

² Ann. Litt. 1583.

³ A legend I heard related in the English novitiate.

⁴ Ann. Litt. 1583.

⁵ Ibid. 1583.

prickings—*stimulis quibusdam acerrimis*—so that he got up and went off as soon as possible, when the heretics came and seized the hospitable priest.¹

“By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes.”

Wonderful was the fame that Parsons achieved by his dexterity, baffling the uttermost vigilance of his enemies, and their multitudinous traps and stratagems. He slipped through their hands like an eel, and glided through his ocean of adventure—ever on the watch—but feeling secure from his repeated escapes and evasions. There is no doubt that he had made friends even in the court of Elizabeth. There were Catholics around the queen who undoubtedly hated not Catholicism, but the treason with which the pope and his party chose to connect it: the very tenement that the English Jesuits now possess in Lancashire was built by a Catholic nobleman, high in favour with the queen. Parsons was the universal theme of conversational wonder. The queen shared the wonderment of her people. To one of her Catholic lords she said she “would so like to see the invisible Jesuit.” “You shall see him,” said the lord in question. A few days afterwards the queen and some company were at the palace window gazing into the street. There came staggering down the street a drunken fellow, making all manner of game for the crowd around him. When he was out of sight, the Catholic lord told the queen that she had seen Parsons in that drunken staggerer

His portrait. —one of the Jesuit’s *Dramatis personæ*, or tragi-comic characters, which he played to perfection.² Look at the man’s portrait: and should you ever see a pike lying in ambush just under the river-bank.

¹ Ann. Litt. 1583.

² One of the legends I heard related in the English novitiate.

where the water is deep, try and catch a glimpse at his eyes, and their expression will remind you of those of Father Parsons—awfully wide awake—keen and penetrating, yet not without a shade of anxious thought, universal suspicion. Falsehood and equivocation his desperate position compelled him to use without scruple ; but that position resulted from his “*vocation*,” which he had himself embraced ; and thus, without moral excuse, he daily perverted his own heart and mind, whilst he was teaching others unto salvation and orthodoxy, for which the downfall of Protestantism and its queen was the price awarded, with ulterior contingencies. It is besides curious to observe, that this professional stickler for *non-conformity* conformed in every possible way with every possible thing—except the wishes of the queen and her council, and their sharks, to entrap or fang the Jesuit—for which, however, he must be excused, though his general, himself, and Campion, are answerable for the immediate consequences of their presence and machinations in England. Their “*apprehensions*” of that doom which they would entail on the Catholics were speedily fulfilled.¹

¹ A Catholic contemporary thus writes of this Jesuit-expedition : “ These good Fathers (as the devil will have it) came into England, and intruded themselves into our harvest, being the men in our consciences (we mean both them and others of that Society, with some of their adherents) who have been the chief instruments of all the mischiefs that have been intended against her Majesty, since the beginning of her reign, and of the miseries which we, or any other Catholics, have upon these occasions sustained. Their first repair hither was Anno 1580, when the realm of Ireland was in great combustion, and then they entered (*viz.* Maister Campion, the Subject ; and Maister Parsones, the Provincial) like a tempest, with sundry such great brags and challenges, as divers of the gravest clergy then living in England (Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and others) did greatly dislike them, and plainly foretold, that as things then stood, their proceeding after that fashion would certainly urge the state to make some sharper laws, which should not only touch them, but likewise all others, both priests and Catholics. Upon their arrival, and after the said brags, Maister

Campion's letter highly incensed the queen and her ministers. In spite of all that may be said against Elizabeth, it must be for ever impossible to deny that she was forced by the Jesuits to adopt severe and cruel measures against the Catholics. Her previous liberal toleration reacted bitterly against her feelings when she beheld the estrangement of her Catholic subjects, so evidently effected by the Jesuits. It is admitted that Catholics frequented her court: that some were advanced to places of high honour and trust: several filled subordinate offices; and though there was an act which excluded Catholics from the House of Commons, still they always sat and voted in the House of Lords.¹ To Allen's seminary-scheme and Jesuit-obtrusion must be ascribed the weight of calamity brought down upon the Catholics of England—though we are far from countenancing the horrible tortures and measures adopted to put down "Catholicism" when it was roused by Allen, Parsons, and Campion, to struggle for empire. Doubtless the partisans of religionism think all this human suffering, all these national calamities, bloodshed, deceit and craft of all kind, violence and rancour on all sides—nothing compared to the struggle for "the Faith"—for never was it more than a struggle in England: doubtless they think all these things light when compared to the "boon of the Faith:" but Providence has permitted better sentiments at length to prevail. We now feel

True causes
of the perse-
cution.

Parsons presently fell to his Jesuitical courses; and so belaboured both himself and others in matters of state, how he might set her Majesty's crown upon another head (as appeareth by a letter of his own to a certain earl), that the Catholics themselves threatened to deliver him into the hands of the civil magistrate, except he desisted from such kind of practices."—*Important Considerations by Sundry of Us the Secular Priests*. 1601.

¹ Butler, i. 362.

convinced that this “boon of the Faith” was nothing more than the “bone of contention”—the cruel pretext of factions—and therefore was it doomed never to realise its “hopes”—never to effect more than bitter calamity for the unfortunate dupes who lent themselves to the will of the schemers. Roused to exertion in self-defence, the queen and her ministers issued a severe enactment against the offenders and their dupes. The Party in power, like Herod of old, involved the whole mass of Catholics in one indiscriminate proscription. Immediately after the entrance of the Jesuits into England the parliament had provided an act whose execution the proceedings of the Jesuits expedited with a vengeance. The motive principle of the enactment was that the Jesuits, under the cover of a corrupt doctrine, sowed the seeds of sedition:—therefore the dreadful laws to counteract that treason were as follows: All persons possessing, or pretending to possess, or to exercise, the power of absolving or of withdrawing others from the established religion, or suffering themselves to be so withdrawn, should, together with their procurers and counsellors, suffer the penalties of high treason. The penalty for saying mass was increased to 200 marks, about 130*l.*, and one year’s imprisonment: for being present at the mass, 100 marks (65*l.*), and the same term of imprisonment. For absence from church (*nonconformity*) there was a standing penalty of 20 marks per month (13*l.*); and if that absence was prolonged to a whole year, the recusant was obliged to find two securities for his good behaviour in 200*l.* each. Imagine an income-tax of 3380*l.* a year on your attendance at mass alone, instead of only having to pay from one to two shillings, as at present imposed

The laws
against
Catholics.

by your priests, who, for the sake of the music, make your mass-chapels "shilling theatres," as a great duke called them, and rightly too! Here was a ravenous law—almost as bad as the enactments whereby

The penal laws and the pope's spoliations.

Pope Gregory XIII. plundered and ruined the nobles of Italy to raise funds for the destruction of the heretics, to fee the Jesuits' and Allen's seminaries—the two leading causes of Catholic calamity in England:—but there is a difference. England, or rather the party in power, cared nothing for the money:—they feared for their lives, liberties, and fortunes, menaced by the dreaded consequences of Catholic ascendancy; and thus, as usual with men, were cruel in their desperation. A horrible excuse was that: but Pope Gregory had not even that for his tyrannical proscriptions. Then open your eyes: trace events to their right sources: compare, perpend, decide that there is no difference between Catholic and Protestant selfishness when armed with power, and rendered inordinate by prescriptive abuses unchecked, unrebuked, and rampant as the raging lion. Finally, there was another enactment which corresponds exactly with the proposition made in the last congregation of the Jesuits, just given,—the proposition, you remember, to permit Jesuits to take *boarders* in the *northern* parts, in order to instruct them and "care for them entirely." This was but another method of propagandism—in their rage for the cause which they embraced with all the energy of hungry monopolists, grasping speculators. So the act provided that to prevent the concealment of priests as tutors or schoolmasters in private families, every person acting in that capacity without the approbation of the ordinary, should be liable to a year's imprisonment, and

the person who employed him to a fine of 10*l.* per month. It is plain, says Dr. Lingard, that, if these provisions had been fully executed, the profession of the Catholic creed must, in a few years, have been entirely extinguished.¹ But, for the great mass of Catholics, these enactments were only a scarecrow. To the heads of the growing faction they were a ravening tiger—and no one can wonder thereat, though we abhor with heart and mind the dreadful severity, *and* the reckless proceedings of the men who, as leaders, were the nucleus of determined opposition to the government—but of course, this was effected “solely by the exercise of the spiritual functions of the priesthood”—their own words, glibly advanced, as if this confession did not aggravate their guilt in abusing man’s religious sentiment, and making him wretched by the means of the very feelings which should constitute his happiness. Open violence would have been more honourable to the propagandists than this insidious undermining—this secret poison administered as by men who had not the courage to attempt assassination. Forsooth, treason was not the major nor the minor of the Jesuit syllogism : but it was the infallible conclusion. They reversed the usual method : for here the *end* was abominable, whilst the means, assuming their description, were “good”—for those who needed sacerdotal consolation. Now, you will be surprised to know that it was in reply to these severe enactments that *Campion* wrote those brave words to the queen and her council—following up the defiance with his *Ten Reasons* for Roman ascendancy.²

The chief aim of these laws.

In the midst of the universal excitement, the shout

¹ Hist. viii. 143 ; Stat. 23 Eliz. c. 1.

² Ling. *ubi supra*, 144.

and the cry for the Jesuits and traitors, Campion and Parsons, by their wonderful efforts at concealment, eluded the pursuit of their enemies; but heavily Sufferings of the Catholics. fell, meanwhile, the cataract of persecution on the wretched Catholics. A bitter lesson it is for men, fooled by those who should be their guides—cruelly sacrificed by those whose presence should be the good tidings of peace and happiness. Think of the result: imagine the scenes enacted. The names of fifty thousand recusants have been returned to the Council. The magistrates are urged to the utmost severity. The prisons in every county are filled with persons suspected as priests, or harbourers of priests, or delinquents against the enactments. Whilst the Jesuits changed their garbs, and fashions, and names, every day, and thus scoured the land, untouched by the thunderbolts falling around, no other man could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house. At all hours of the day, but mostly in the stillness of night, a magistrate, at the head of an armed mob, rushed amain, burst open the doors, and the pursuivants, or officers, dispersed to the different apartments, ransacked the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscoting from the walls in search of hiding-places behind, forced open the closets, drawers, and coffers, and exhausted their ingenuity to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, and priests' vestments at mass. Additional outrage was the result of remonstrance. All the inmates were interrogated: their persons searched, under the pretext that superstitious articles might be concealed among their clothes; and there are instances on record of females of rank, whose reason and lives were endangered and destroyed by the brutality of the officers.¹

¹ Ling. viii. 144, *et seq.*

Mirabeau's simple valet was always wretched if his master did not thrash him every day ; and there are men who consider human suffering to be one of the gratifications of man's all-good Creator —men who actually believe that God delights in seeing his creatures plunged in misery,—each pang they feel being an acceptable tribute to Him who said, "Come to me all ye who labour and are heavily laden." Undoubtedly the Jesuits consoled the poor Catholics with the usual arguments, for the dreadful sufferings which their presence and their insolent manœuvres entailed upon the scapegoats. It was a bitter time for the human heart—a bitter trial for humanity. And in the midst of that fearful proscription, what heroic devotedness, heroic pity and commiseration, did the Catholics evince towards the Jesuits, though they knew them to be the cause proximate at least of all their calamities. A Catholic nobleman was visited by Parsons. Terrified by the edict, the nobleman sent a message to the Jesuit, requesting him to go elsewhere, for he did not approve of his coming. Parsons turned off : but the Englishman's heart got the better of fear : the nobleman suddenly relented, grieved for the seeming hardness of heart, ran after Parsons, and, with earnest entreaties, brought him back to his mansion, exposing his life and fortunes to imminent peril.¹

It is but fair to listen to Elizabeth's historian, in his attempt to justify, excuse, or palliate the cruel severities inflicted on the Catholics and their leaders. "Such now were the times," says Camden, "that the queen (who never was of opinion that men's consciences were to be forced) complained many times

A reflection
and a fact.

Exculpation
of Elizabeth.

¹ Ann. Litt. 1583 ; Miss. Angl.

that she was driven of necessity to take these courses, unless she would suffer the ruine of herself and her subjects, upon some men's pretence of conscience and the Catholic religion. Yet, for the greater part of these silly priests, she did not at all believe them guilty of plotting the destruction of their country : but the *superiors* were they she held to be the instruments of this villany ; for these inferiour emissaries committed the full and free disposeure of themselves to their superiours. For when those that were now and afterwards taken were asked, ' whether by authority of the bull of Pius Quintus, bishop of Rome, the subjects were so absolved from their oath of allegiance towards the queen, that they might take up arms against their prince ; whether they thought her to be a lawfull queen ; whether they would subscribe to Sanders's and Bristow's opinion concerning the authority of that bull ;¹ whether, if the Bishop of Rome should wage war against the queen, they would joyn with her or him : ' they answered some of them so ambiguously, some so resolutely, and some by prevarication, or silence, shifted off the questions in such a manner, that divers ingenuous Catholicks began to suspect they fostered some treacherous disloyalty ; and Bishop, a man otherwise devoted to the Bishop of Rome, wrote against them, and solidly proved that the Constitution obruded under the name of the Lateran Council, upon which the whole authority of absolving subjects from their allegiance and deposing princes is founded, is no other than a decree of Pope Innocent the Third, and was never admitted in England ; yea, that the said Council was no council at all, nor was anything

¹ Dr. Sanders, Romish priest, who was one of the paladins in the pope's crusade against Ireland, led by Stukely and Fitzmaurice.

at all there decreed by the Fathers. Suspicions also were daily increased by the great number of priests creeping more and more into England, who privily felt the minds of men, spread abroad that princes excommunicated were to be deposed, and whispered in corners that such princes as professed not the Romish religion had forfeited their regal title and authority : that those who had taken holy orders, were, by a certain ecclesiastical privilege, exempted from all jurisdiction of princes, and not bound by their laws, nor ought they to reverence or regard their majesty.”¹ Thus spake rumour, thus believed the authorities ; and if facts did not bear out the assertions, the pope’s bull against Elizabeth was a sufficient attestation of the worst that could be rumoured or imagined. That bull was powerless, even ridiculous, before Allen’s priests and the Jesuits consolidated a Catholic party in the kingdom. Treason was not perhaps their direct inculcation ; but, in the existing circumstances, in the very proviso which the Jesuits demanded from the pope by way of explanation of the deposing bull, if treason was not a direct inculcation, it was undoubtedly the end of the scheme—the effect of a cause, so cleverly cloaked with “religion.” To all these circumstances we must add the infatuated excitement of the “religious” operators—the bellows of sedition and incendiary pharisees, who trusted to their own dexterity for escape, whilst the very sufferings

¹ Camden, Ann. 1581. In effect by one of the privileges given to the Jesuits, all kings, princes, dukes, marquises, barons, soldiers, nobles, laymen, corporations, universities, magistrates, rectors, rulers of all sorts and conditions, and of all sees whatever, are forbidden to *dare* (audeant) or *presume* (vel præsumant) to impose taxes, imposts, donations, contributions, even for the repairs of bridges, or other roads, on the Jesuits ; or to lay on them any burthens whatever, under penalty of eternal damnation—*maledictionis æternæ pœnis!*—*Compend. Priv. Exempt.* § 8.

they brought upon their dupes formed a new motive for resistance to the government, and for perpetuating religious rancour. "Some of them were not ashamed to own that they were returned into England with no other intent than, by reconciling men at confession, to absolve every one particularly from all his oaths of allegiance and obedience to the queen, just as the said bull did absolve them all at once and in general. And this seemed the easier to be effected, because they promised withal absolution from all mortal sin ; and the safer, because it was performed more closely under the seal of confession."¹ By the privileges conceded to

¹ Camden, Ann. 1581. "Our confessors," says a privilege of the Jesuits, "can remit or relax any oaths whatever, without prejudice to a third party—*quælibet juramenta sine præjudicio tertii, relaxare possunt*"—so that the only question was, what might be called "prejudice to a third party"—a salvo so vague that it stood for nothing.—*Compend. Priv. Confess.* § 6.

"The general, and the other fifty heads of the houses, and rectors, appointed by him for a time, can grant a dispensation to our men in all cases without exception—*nullo excepto*,—in the confessional only ; but the dispensation in the case of voluntary homicide is conceded, barring the ministry at the altar"—so that a Jesuit might commit murder, and all the penalty he would incur would be the prohibition of saying mass !—*Compend. Priv. Dispens.* § 4.

"The general can, in the confessional, grant a dispensation to persons of our Company, in all irregularities, even in those cases which the pope reserves to himself, namely in murder (*morte*), in the maiming of limbs (*membraorum obtruncatione*), and enormous spilling of blood (*enormi sanguinis effusione*)—provided, however, any of the three be not notorious [known to the world], and this provision is on account of the scandal [that might ensue]—*et hoc propter scandalum.*"—*Id.* § 5.

This does appear a most extraordinary privilege. Why should such a privilege be necessary to men calling themselves the Companions of Jesus—and by their profession totally precluded from all occasions where they might commit murder, maim limbs, and shed blood enormously ? In truth, there is no getting over the inferences so imperatively suggested by these privileges. A dispensation to commit murder seems indeed a horrible thing ; and yet here are the very words—*dispensare cum nostris in homicidio voluntario . . . in foro conscientia*—under the Seal of Confession, as Camden has it. The words admit of no other interpretation. A dispensation means a permission to do what is otherwise prohibited—such as a dispensation to marry within prohibited degrees. Consequently the dispensations given above are *bonâ fide* permissions to do the

the Jesuits, it is evident that these charges are rather more than probable. In their inscription, so gratefully addressed to Pope Gregory XIII., the Jesuits failed not to state that the pope had "fortified the Company with mighty privileges," as we have read; and all the privileges which I have just given were enjoyed by the Jesuits at the time of the English mission. Long before existing in manuscript, they were printed in 1635.¹

At length, thirteen months after his arrival, Campion was betrayed by a Catholic, and seized by the officers of the crown. He was found in a secret closet at the house of a Catholic gentleman. They mounted him on horseback, tied his legs under the horse, bound his arms behind him, and set a paper on his hat with an inscription in great capitals, inscribed—Campion the Seditious Jesuit. Of course he was racked and tortured—words that do not convey the hideous reality. Imagine a frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor. They tied his wrists and ancles to two rollers at the end of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, until the body rose to a level with the frame. Then the tormentors put questions to the wretched prisoner; and if his answers did not prove satisfactory, they stretched him more and more till his bones started from their sockets. Then there was the Scavenger's Daughter—a broad hoop of iron, with which they surrounded the

Campion
taken—
description of
the tortures.

wickedness they name—voluntary homicide among the rest—only the Jesuit who undertook the thing was to be precluded from saying mass. It is this straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, which corroborates the actual existence of the iniquity. Expediency or a "good" end made the deed necessary, but the letter of the law was to be respected, so that these religionists might "think they had a good conscience!"

¹ Compendium Privilegiorum et Gratiarum Soc. Jesu. Ant. 1635.

body, over the back and under the knees, screwing the hoop closer and closer, until the blood started from the nostrils, even from the hands and feet. They had also iron gauntlets, to compress the wrists, and thus to suspend the prisoner in the air. Lastly, they had what they called "little ease"—a cell so small and so constructed that the prisoner could neither stand in it, walk, sit, nor lie at full length.¹ Rome's, Spain's, Portugal's Inquisitorial atrocities imitated by Protestants! Was it a horrible inconsistency, or a dreadful RETRIBUTION by Providence permitted to teach "religious" men that forbearance which was never spontaneous in their hearts, ever possessed by the fiend of persecution? We abhor these cruelties of England's ministers: but they must not be contemplated without refreshing the memory with their prototypes, the cruelties of Rome's Inquisition:—the Protestant party in England did not invent, they only imitated the horrible atrocities which the Catholic party, at that time at least, deemed imperative to protect and establish the religion of Rome. And we may ask what right had these leaders of Rome to complain of their treatment, when it was exactly what they were prepared to inflict on the heretics in the land of orthodoxy? Nor must the fact be passed over, that these leaders of Romanism based their base hopes of ultimate success on these very atrocities. Yes, they speculated with the blood of their slaughtered brothers. Listen to the Jesuit's remark on the persecution. It is probably written by the "fierce-natured" Parsons. After repeating the torments as above, he exclaims: "But in proportion as *her womanish fury*

¹ Lingard, viii. 424, quoting the Jesuit Bartoli, whose information came from the Jesuit Parsons.

was armed for the destruction of the Catholic name, so on the other hand, equally, the minds of the Catholics were excited to resistance, impelled by their valour, and their fixed obedience to the Pope of Rome, as also by the admonitions and persuasion of the English youths who were sent over from the seminaries at Rheims, and Rome;—for these men, inflamed with the desire of restoring the Catholic religion, and prepared with the aids of learning, either confirmed many in their belief, or converted them to the faith.”¹

It is impossible to arrive at the exact truth from the conflicting accounts of Protestants and Catholics, with regard to the treatment, trial, and death of
 Trial and death of
 Campion.
 Champion.² The latter represent him as boldly declaring his allegiance to the queen, and his opposition to the papal bull: the former assert that after his condemnation he declared, that should the pope send forces against the queen, he would stand for the pope;—after having refused to answer the question whether Elizabeth was “a right and lawful Queen.”³

¹ Sed quantum ex unâ parte muliebris furor ad Catholicorum nomen excidentum armabatur; tantum ex alterâ Catholicorum animi ad resistendum excitabantur; idque tum suâ virtute, insitâque genti Romani Pontificis obedientiâ, tum vero Anglorum adolescentium qui ex Remensi Romanoque seminariis in Angliam subinde mittebantur monitis et suasu.”—*Ann. Lit.* 1583. Miss. Angl. My reason for attributing this letter to Parsons is the fact that as the head of the mission it devolved upon him to write such letter; and, secondly, in the same letter, he refers for more details to the well-known book (afterwards published) which he wrote on the Persecution in England—“sicut in eo libro, qui de persecutione Anglicanâ impressus est, copiosè exponitur: quo faciliùs excusari possum, si in hâc missione exponendâ, brevior.”—*Ib.*

² Camden, Ann. 1581. Compare Butler, i. 406, *et seq.*; Ling. viii. 146. Continuat. of Holingshed, p. 456 (hideous in truth), Hist. del glorioso Martirio di diciotto sacerdoti, &c., 1585 by Parsons. See also Hallam, i. 145.

³ Amongst the awful pious falsehoods concocted by the Jesuits, they say that one of the twelve judges who condemned Champion “saw blood running from his glove; he took it off, and found no wound, and nevertheless all he did to stop it, could not prevent the bleeding until the end of that sanguinary and unjust

Unquestionably the charges of treason against Campion were not legally proven; nor was there ever more justice in the condemnations of the Inquisition. Surely no man will say that the poor Calvinist whom Lainez tried to convert before they burnt him at Rome, was justly condemned to the flames. Let us therefore abhor both transactions equally as to the facts—but we may be permitted to award some excuse to the Protestant party of England, whose cruelties were in their own estimation justified by the direct consequences of the Jesuit's machinations, striking as they did at Protestant ascendancy, and the stability of Elizabeth's royal power, and perhaps, her very existence. Let me not be misunderstood. I pity the fate of this Jesuit. I abhor the persecution of the Catholics. But in like manner do I feel with respect to the heretics and Jews murdered by the Catholics for the faith. I look upon the mere facts in the case of the Catholics as a providential retribution: but at the same time, I cannot see anything in Allen's scheme, and that of the Jesuits, but a direct tendency to subvert the existing government in England. One of the prisoners, Bosgrave, a Jesuit, Rishton, a priest, and Orton, a layman, on being asked what part they would take in case an attempt were made to put the papal bull in execution, "gave satisfactory answers," says Dr. Lingard, and "they saved their lives." It seems to me that had Campion said as much, he would have

action!" They call this "a thing altogether prodigious—*tout prodigieuse.*" *Recueil de quelques martyrs, &c.*, in the *Tableaux*, p. 440. The same authority contradicts the statement of Parsons about the prediction of Campion's martyrdom given by a "youth" at "Prague." The author of the *Tableaux* locates it at Rome, just before Campion's departure, and makes the prophet a "man"—slight contradictions, perhaps, but meseems very significant of that glorious invention which ever characterised the Jesuits.

been spared—at least this is the inference. Dr. Lingard very properly observes: “At the same time it must be owned that the answers which six of them gave to the querics were far from being satisfactory.¹ Their hesitation to deny the opposing power (a power then indeed *maintained by the greater number of divines in Catholic kingdoms*) rendered their loyalty very problematical, in case of an attempt to enforce the bull by any foreign prince.”² Liberty of conscience, offered to all Catholics who would abjure the temporal pretensions of the pontiff, would have been the proper remedy to be

¹ “For amongst other questions that were propounded unto them, this being one, viz. If the pope do by his bull or sentence pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful *queen*, and her subjects to be discharged of their allegiance and obedience unto her; and after, the pope, or any other by his appointment and authority, do invade this realm; which part would you take, or which part ought a good subject of *England* to take? Some answered, that when the case should happen, they would take counsel what were best for them to do; another, that when that case should happen, he would answer, and not before; another, that for the present, he was not resolved what to do in such a case; another, that when the case happeneth, then he will answer; another, that if such deprivation and invasion should be made, for any matter of his faith, he thinketh he were then bound to take part with the pope. Now what king in the world, being in doubt to be invaded by his enemies,” &c. &c.—*Import. Consid. by us the Secular Priests*, 1601.

² Hist. viii. 150. Fuller says that Campion was a man of excellent parts; though he who rode post to tell him so, might come too late to bring him tidings thereof; being such a valuer of himself, that he swelled every drop of his ability into a bubble by his vain ostentation. And indeed few who were reputed scholars had more of Latin, or less of Greek, than he had. . . . His *Ten Reasons*, so purely for Latin, so plainly and pithily penned, that they were very taking, and fetched over many (neuters before) to his persuasion. . . . Some days after he was engaged in four solemn disputations, to make good that bold challenge he had made against all Protestants: “he scarcely answered the expectations raised of him,” says Camden; “and in plain truth,” continues Fuller, “no man did ever boast more when he put on his armour, or had cause to boast less when he put it off”—but then consider that a dose of the *rack* was a very poor stimulant to the Jesuit's brain and tongue, although they say it was a mild one. “Within a few days the queen was necessitated, for her own security, to make him the subject of severity, by whose laws he was executed in the following December, 1581.”—*Worthies*, i. 382. “To Campion's *Reasons* Whitaker gave a solid answer,” says Camden.

applied by Elizabeth and her council, says Dr. Lingard;¹ and so it would, had there been no Allen's Seminary-priests, no Jesuits to uphold "obedience to the Roman pontiff—*Romani pontificis obedientiam*,"—and to inflame their deluded dupes with their "admonitions and persuasion—*monitis ac suasu*."² To the infamous bull of the sainted Pope Pius V., to Allen's misguided scheme, to the sworn fidelity of the Jesuits in the service of the pope and his royal colleague of Spain—to these historical plagues must be ascribed all the calamities which befel the deluded and pitiable Catholics of England. In writing of these transactions historians fail to draw attention to the main cause of these struggles on the one hand, and tortures on the other. The question was, which ascendancy there was to be—Protestant or Catholic? The Pope, Allen, and the Jesuits, were on one side,—Elizabeth and her Ministers on the other. The sufferings that ensued were the expected price of the struggle.

Averse to all manner of ascendancies, whether political or religious, yet I for one exult that the Protestant ascendancy was never utterly shaken, and that it has reached the present times; simply because under that ascendancy we have freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of action—which were never, and never will be compatible with Catholic ascendancy. By this freedom, time enables us to correct the abuses which came from Rome; so that even Catholics have reason to rejoice that those elements are essential to Protestantism, which is necessarily tolerant by *nature* (if the phrase be allowed) and which became a persecutor only by an impulse from Rome, the gigantic persecutor of the universe.

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 150.

² Ann. Litt. as before.

Parsons did not wait to see Campion executed ; he “fled to the Continent,”¹—“preferring the duty of watching over the infant Church to the glory of martyrdom,” if I may borrow Lingard’s phrase applied to John Knox on his departure from Scotland to Geneva. Henceforth he will tempest his country by his writings and machinations ; and whilst he will be the cause of desperate unrest and suffering to others, he will keep his own skin perfectly whole—just as it should be for the comfort and consolation of all intriguers. Like a skilful general when baffled by an unsuccessful attack on the enemy’s van, he shifted his operations to the rear or flank,—casting his eyes towards Scotland. It was nothing less than an attempt to convert James VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, then imprisoned in England. Parsons sent an embassy to the young king, then in his fifteenth year. The Jesuit Creighton was the leader. Young as he was, James resolved to turn the affair to his own account. He promised to connive at the silent introduction of the Catholic missionaries ; he would even receive one at his court as his tutor in the Italian language ; he would co-operate in any plan for the deliverance of his mother : but unfortunately he was a king without a revenue ; and poverty would compel him at last, unless relieved by the Catholic princes, to submit to the pleasure of Elizabeth. Thus did the wily young Scot set a trap for the Jesuit—and he caught him easily. Forthwith Parsons and Creighton went to Paris, where they met the Duke of Guise ; Castelli, the pope’s nuncio ; Tassis, the Spanish ambassador ; Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mary’s resident in the

Parsons de-
camps to the
Continent.

His ma-
neuvres.

¹ Butler, i. 373.

French court ; Dr. Allen, the President of the Seminary at Rheims ; and the famous Père Matthieu, the provincial of the French Jesuits. A long consultation ensued. The general opinion was that Mary should be associated with her son on the Scottish throne, and that the pope and the King of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. It is probable that other projects with which we are unacquainted were also formed in this secret consultation, says Dr. Lingard : whatever they were, they afterwards obtained the assent of the captive queen, of the Scottish king, and cabinet, consisting of Lennox, Huntley, Eglinton, and other deep-schemed politicians, who doubtless had schooled James into his first hints about money-wants, and were resolved to work out the adroit contrivance. Parsons went to Valladolid and induced King Philip to promise the Scotchman a present of 12,000 crowns ; and the other Jesuit, Creighton, got the pope to promise to pay the expenses of a body-guard for the king's defence, amounting to 4000 crowns per annum.¹ But the English cabinet was made aware of the secret consultation at Paris, and the Jesuits' manoeuvres in Scotland : what the English spies dis-

¹ "Paga annuale d'una guardia di soldati sufficienti a difendere la persona del Re Jacopo."—*Bartoli*, p. 255. It was the French Jesuit Sannier who was the ambassador from this secret consultation to Mary. He entered England *en militaire*, accoutred in a doublet of orange satin, slashed and exhibiting green silk in the openings. At his saddle bow he displayed a pair of pistols, a sword at his side, and scarf round his neck. Pasquier asserts this fact on the authority of those whom he says "were not far from the Company." His endeavour was to excite a secret revolt among certain Catholic lords, against Elizabeth. This may be one of the "other projects" alluded to by Dr. Lingard, as I have stated. He induced Mary to embrace the project : but, according to Pasquier, the fellow had ulterior views in favour of the Spaniard, and ceased not to promote them through the instrumentality of the captive queen. "You may conclude," adds Pasquier, "that she had no other forgers of her death than the Jesuits."—*Catéchis.* c. xv. p. 250.

covered, the English cabinet turned to account, and forthwith organised a new revolution in Scotland, the result of which was that the young king was thrown completely into the hands of the Protestant party ; and the Scottish preachers from the pulpit pointed the resentment of their hearers against the men who had sought to restore an idolatrous worship, and to replace "an adulteress and assassin on the throne." Thus was Parsons once more baffled by Elizabeth and her men. Was it not enough to rouse the Jesuit to the utmost of his efforts, after biting his nails to the quick ? The announcement of these transactions, so fatal to his scheme, came whilst he was discussing the subject with Philip :—but he fructified his visit notwithstanding. He induced the king to give an annual pension of 2000 crowns for the support of more priests at the Seminary of Rheims ; and to promise to ask for a cardinal's hat for Allen—by way of giving more dignity and effect to the scheme of conversion and all its machinations.¹

Again was a secret consultation held at Paris between the Guise, Beaton, the pope's nuncio, and the Jesuit-provincial, Père Matthieu. The present object was to devise a plan for the liberation of ^{Machinations.} Mary : the duke was to land with an army in the south of England : James was to penetrate by the north with his Scottish forces ; and *the English friends of the Stuarts should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen.* This project was imparted to Mary by the French ambassador, to James by Holt, the English Jesuit.² Here, then, we have an admitted fact attesting

¹ Lingard, viii. 159, *et seq.* ; More, 113, *et seq.* ; Bartoli, 242—245.

² Ling. *ubi suprâ.* 164.

a political scheme against England ; a Jesuit provincial is one of the framers ; the pope lends his sanction by his nuncio ; and a Jesuit is the messenger to one of the prime agents. Assuredly it must now be evident that the English cabinet did not proceed against the Jesuits on unfounded rumours. The scheme failed in the issue : Mary refused her assent, being aware that her keepers had orders to put her to death if any attempt were made to carry her away by force. It was soon after these transactions that the Jesuit Creighton was captured and sent to the Tower, where, in the presence of the rack, he disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion which had so long alarmed Elizabeth.¹

Numberless schemes and plots succeeded, and failed by the vigilance of Elizabeth and her council : but each was cruelly followed by redoubled persecution against the poor Catholics of England. The innumerable spies of the British government perpetually added harassments to the agitated debates, whose object was to frustrate the schemes of the enemy and fortify the throne of England. Poor Queen of Scots—unfortunate indeed, since she was made a misery to herself and to all who professed her religion in England. It is impossible to form an adequate idea of the condition of the English Catholics during that period, when the Jesuit faction exhausted all their resources to bring

Sufferings of
Catholics.

¹ Ling. 172. Respecting the papers found with Creighton, Dr. Lingard says : " Creighton had torn his papers and thrown them into the sea, but the fragments were collected, and among them a paper, written in Italian about two years before, showing how England might be successfully invaded."—*Sadler*, ii. 401. " I suspect," continues Lingard, " that a paper in Strype is a translation of it."—*Strype*, iii. 414. In his confession Creighton detailed all the particulars of the consultation at Paris ; but added that the invasion was postponed till the troubles in the Low Countries should be ended.—*Sadler*, ib. See p. 363 of the present volume.

about her deliverance, by the invasion of England and the simultaneous rebellion of the partisans whom that faction continually fed with the hope of Catholic restoration. It is not the effort of Mary herself to effect her deliverance that I denounce. That was but natural. Her captivity was unjust, however expedient it might be thought by the British government : but nothing can justify the recklessness with which her partisans entered into the wildest projects, in spite of previous experience, and ever destined to fail in their objects, but sure to redouble the pitiless vengeance of the Protestant party in England. But, on the one hand, whilst “ Verily there were at this time some subtle ways taken to try how men stood affected ; counterfeited letters privily sent in the name of the Queen of Scots and the fugitives, and left in Papists’ houses ; spies sent abroad up and down the country to take notice of people’s discourse, and lay hold of their words ; reporters of vain and idle stories admitted and credited ; many brought into suspicion, amongst the rest the Earl of Northumberland ; the Earl of Arundel, his son, was confined to his house, his wife was committed to custody ; ”—whilst such were the proceedings on the one hand, still on the other we read, and from the same pen, that “ Neither yet are such ways for discovery, and easy giving credit, to be esteemed altogether vain, where there is fear for the prince’s safety. Certain it is, at this time a horrid piece of popish malice against the queen discovered itself : for they set forth books wherein they exhorted the queen’s gentlewomen to act the like against the queen, as Judith had done with applause and commendations against Holofernes. The author was never discovered, but the suspicion lighted upon Gregory

Defence of
the queen
and council.

Martin, an Oxford man, one very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues. Carter, a bookseller, was executed, who procured them to be printed. And whereas the Papists usually traduced the queen as rigid and cruel, she who was always careful to leave a good name and memorial behind her, was *highly offended with the inquisitors that were to examine and discover Papists, as inhumanely cruel towards them, and injurious to her honour* She commanded the inquisitors to forbear tortures, and the judges to refrain from putting *to death. And not long after she commanded seventy priests, some of which were condemned, and others in danger of the law, to be transported out of England : amongst whom those of chiefest note were Jaspar Haywood, son to that famous epigrammatist, who was the first of all the Jesuits that came into England ; James Bosgrave, of the Society of Jesus also ; John Heart, the most learned of all the rest ; and Edward Rishton, that impious, ungrateful man to his prince, to whom, though he owed his life, yet he soon after set forth a book wherein he vomited out the poison of his malice against her.*"¹

¹ Camden, Ann. 1584. There was one very remarkable exception to this large jail-delivery of confessors—the Jesuit Thomas Pond, whom Parsons visited at the Marshalsea, and who published Campion's letter to the queen and council. The history of this poor fellow is most touchingly interesting : when we consider his calamities, we are almost compelled to excuse his conduct with regard to the publication of Campion's imprudent letter. *His early history also throws some light on the character of Elizabeth—in no favourable point of view, however.* I shall follow Pond's own narrative as given by the Jesuit Bartoli. He was a gentleman by birth and fortune : his mother was sister to the Earl of Southampton. Remarkable for manly beauty and stature, as well as mental accomplishments, he attracted Elizabeth's attention at the College of Winchester, where, as a student, he had the honour of complimenting the queen with a Latin poem, which he recited on the occasion of a royal visit to the college. His father died, leaving the youth master of a fortune, which he resolved to enjoy to the utmost. The court of Elizabeth was the object of his ardent desire ; its splen-

At length the fate of Mary Queen of Scots was pronounced. There can be no doubt that the unfortunate queen went to great lengths in her declarations to the Spaniard Mendoza, Philip's ambassador, who, after his expulsion from England, never ceased

Mary Queen
of Scots.

dours and delights were his attraction. Thither he hastened: the smiles of his queen charmed away his religion: he conformed to that of his royal mistress. From Christmas to the Epiphany, a ceaseless round of amusements, balls, and musical entertainments, gave fresh animation to the English court; and in the year 1569, no courtier figured with greater lustre than Thomas Pond. His expenditure was lavish, and he danced to admiration. It appears that his ambition was to excel in a feat, now exclusively confined to female opera-Camillas, namely, to rise, sustaining the body on one toe, and thus to perform a pirouette, or twirl round and round with great velocity, but without giddiness and a fall. Pond performed the feat with immense applause; the courtiers shouted approbation; the queen, by way of reward, gave him her hand ungloved, and turning to Leicester, her favourite, she took his hat and sent it to Pond to cover his head, as he was very warm after his feat, and in a profuse perspiration. Interludes succeeded whilst the dancer took rest. The Queen requested him to repeat his performance. He gladly assented. Gloriously he went through the preliminary steps, and came at length to the all-important and most expected pirouette. He made the effort, but alas! his head swam round faster than his body—giddiness overpowered him—he fell to the ground with violence. Peals of bitter laughter resounded; cutting sarcasms lacerated the courtier's heart; but the cruellest cut of all was, that the queen did not give him her hand, nor take his part; on the contrary, "as if in revenge for his having thus disgraced the entertainment, brim-full of disgust she said to him, 'Get thee up, ox,' and thus redoubled the laughter around, and the poor fellow's confusion. Pond got up, and with one knee on the ground, bonding low, he muttered these solemn words:—'*Sic transit gloria mundi*—thus passeth away the glory of the world.'" He retired from the court, where he was never seen again, nor in London. Shame and inward disgust buried him in retirement at Belmont, his mansion. He then returned to his religion, and to God, practising great austerities. Some of the letters from the Jesuit-missionaries in India fell into his hands: the wonderful adventures, labours, and conversions there related inspired him with the wish to join the Company. He applied for admission; and ere the answer came from Rome, he was imprisoned for the faith: but he was accepted by the general, and took the vows in prison in the year 1578. Long was his bitter, and as far as we are aware, innocent captivity. He was confined in ten different prisons during the space of thirty years, and "in that space," said he, in a letter to Parsons in 1609, "four thousand pounds spoil suffered of my substance." On one occasion, when brought before the Court, he says, "laying my hand upon the breast of my cloak, I protested to them that I would not change it for the queen's crown." He had a good esquire's estate, but it was so pillaged by fines

to machinate the destruction of Elizabeth. A catholic conspiracy—the deliverance of Mary Stuart—these were the projects uppermost with the stirring Philip of Spain. The Queen of Scots wrote to Mendoza, saying : “The bearer is charged to impart to you certain overtures in my behalf, considering the obstinacy so great of my son in heresy, which I assure you I have bewailed and lamented night and day, more than my own calamity, and foreseeing on that score the great damage which thence will result to the catholic church by his succeeding to the throne of this kingdom, I have taken the resolution, in case my said son does not submit to the catholic church before my death, to cede and give by will my right to the said succession of the crown, to the king your master. I beg you again to keep this very secret, the more, because were it revealed, it would, in France, cause the loss of my dowry, in Scotland, the complete rupture with my son, and in this country, my total ruin and destruction. Marie.”¹

“Certain English critics,” says the deep-searching Capefigue, “have believed that many of the documents

and exactions, that even his enemies were ashamed of their cruelty. “Yea, Salisbury himself upon my plaint, telling him that our gospel taught out of Christ’s own mouth, that it was more blessed to give than to take away, as they had taken so much from me, took so much compassion on me for his own honour, as to give me back £20 for my relief of £200, which from a ward that fell to me of one of my tenants, he had taken from me and given to his secretary.” Of course it was only by dispensation that Pond was permitted to retain his patrimonial rights, deemed expedient for the province. The good old Cavalier-Jesuit subscribes himself to *Parsons*, “one of your most devoted children, although hitherto least beneficial.” At length James I. restored the venerable confessor to liberty ; and in 1615 he actually died in the very same apartment at Belmont, in which he was born seventy-six years before ! The queen and council must have had some good reason for keeping him so long in durance vile ; perhaps they feared his resentment. James probably knew nothing of his history.—Bartoli, lib. i. p. 51, *et seq.* ; Oliver, Collect.

¹ Archives of Simancas ; apud Capefigue, p. 40.

produced at the trial were forged by Elizabeth in order to destroy her rival : but there remain in the archives of Simancas, certain documents too decisive and too important to permit the possibility of still denying the participation of Mary in the grand projects of Philip II. against the Protestant crown of England.”¹ The Jesuits had stirred all Christendom, with Mary for their watchword : they had been her advisers : one of them attended her for some time during her captivity, in the quality of physician :—but all to no purpose : their address failed by the superior craft of the English cabinet ; and the Spaniard’s gold was as powerless as his armaments were destined to prove against Britain. Mary Queen of Scots was executed in 1587. Mary ^{Her execu-} could not escape her fate : she suffered like a ^{tion.} strong woman ; as admirable in her death as she was beautiful and captivating in life.² Deep was the

¹ Capof. La Ligue et Henri IV. p. 38.

² After all that has been said for and against the conduct of Elizabeth in putting Mary to death, it is somewhat curious to find that the Jesuit Ribadeneyra ascribes her fate to a veritable judgment of Heaven, for having tolerated heresy against the opinion of good Catholics, and for not having “murdered the bastard Stuart, their chief—*tolerò las heregias contra el parecer de los buenos Catolicos, y no quiso que matassen al bastardo Stuard que era cabeça dellos*” (!) This is a quoted opinion expressed to Henry III., and sanctioned by this Jesuit-patriarch. He superadds his own as follows :—“In this example we see how different are the judgments of God and those of men. For the Queen of Scotland, when for reasons of state, she connived at the heretics of her kingdom, these were numerous and powerful, and she was a woman and young, and without experience, and she followed the advice of those whom she had by her side, and told her it was better to conciliate than endanger the loss of all, which are all reasons that may excuse her in our eyes. But the Lord, who is most jealous of his honour, and who does not wish that kings, whom he has honoured above all other men, should be careless of it, punished the Queen on one hand with justice, depriving her of her kingdom and liberty, and afflicting her with so long an imprisonment, and with a treatment unworthy of her royal person ; and on the other hand, ending her miseries with so glorious an end as was the sacrifice of her life for her *most holy faith* [which is decidedly a new view] and for the same religion which she had at first defended with less firmness.”—*Tradad. de la Relig.* c. xv. 91.

impression made by the fall of that royal head : all Europe shuddered at the tale—pity and indignation shared the feelings of humanity. Pope Pius IV. had put to death the nephews of Paul IV., on the flimsiest pretences, and unjustly : no indignant sound boomed forth : the very representatives of all the world's morality at the time, the Jesuits, kissed his guilty hands with as much fervour as before. There was now, however, in the case of the unfortunate Queen of Scots an important difference : she had been the nucleus of the Catholic movement in England, whilst England was connected with France, was an object of anxious desire to the papal party, and was the hope of the Spaniard, whose influence then, in the shape of gold, extended over Europe. It required all these considerations to enlist the sympathies of the Catholic world at that time in the fate of Mary Queen of Scots.

That event accelerated the glorious Armada which Philip was preparing to crush Elizabeth. The pope's approval was demanded by the Spaniard, Preliminaries to the Spanish Invasion. who also suggested that Allen might be made a cardinal, for the purpose of coming to England as legate, with a commission to reconcile the country to the communion of Rome, and to confirm the conquest to the Spanish crown—should the expedition prove successful. Philip also demanded an aid of money from the pope. All the former requests were complied with readily by Sixtus V. ; but the subsidy—the money—a million of crowns—was to be paid when the invading army should have landed in England—a provision which at once shows the deep sagacity of the cunning Sixtus, who knew the value of money. If England were reduced to the dominion of Rome, the

million of crowns would be a very advantageous investment ; which however could never be said respecting its application to a mere attempt. Allen was ordered to prepare an explanatory address to be dispersed among the people on the arrival of the Armada ; and he complied. The result of his pious meditations was the famous *Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, concerninge the present warres, made for the execution of his holines' sentence, by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholicke of Spaine.*¹ There can be but one opinion on this precious document ; and it shall be expressed by one of the most candid writers that ever honoured the church of Rome. "This publication," says Mr. Tierney, "the most offensive, perhaps, of the many offensive libels sent forth by the party to which Allen had attached himself, was printed at Antwerp, and, in a tone of the most scurrilous invective, denounced the character and conduct of the queen ; portrayed her as the offspring of adultery and incest, a lascivious tyrant, and an unholy perjurer ; and concluded by calling upon all persons, 'if they would avoide the pope's, the kinge's, and the other prince's highe indignation,' if they would escape 'the angel's curse and malediction upon the inhabitantes of the land of Meros,' to rise against a woman odious alike to God and man, to join the liberating army upon its landing, and thus to free themselves from the disgrace of having 'suffered such a creature, almost thirtie yeares together, to raigne both over their bodies and soules, to the extinguinge not onely of religion, but of all chaste livinge and honesty.'" To increase the effect of this

The "Admonition."

A Catholic's opinion of the thing.

¹ Ling. viii. 271 ; Tierney (Dodds) iii. 28 (note) ; Strada, Ann. 1558.

address, its substance was, at the same time, compressed into a smaller compass, and printed on a broadside, for more general distribution. It was called, "A Declaration of the sentence of deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Quene of Englande."

"Our said Holy Father," declared this broadside, "of his benignity, and favour to this enterprise, out of the spirituall treasures of his church, committed to his custody and dispensation, graunteth most liberally to all such as assist, concurr, or help in any wise, to the deposition and punishment of the above-named persons, and to the reformation of these two Countryes, *Plenary Indulgence* and pardon of all their sinnes, being duly penitent, contrite, and confessed, according to the law of God, and usual custome of Christian people."

"The ostensible author of the Admonition," says Mr. Tierney, "was Allen, who inserted his name, as 'Cardinal of Englande,' in the title-page, and thus rendered himself answerable for its contents. Still, Watson and others constantly maintained that it was really panned by Parsons; a charge which Parsons himself, in his *Manifestation*, (35, 47), rather evades than denies. In another work, however, he notices the accusation of his having '*helped* the cardinal to make his book,' and to that replies at once, by denouncing it as a 'lie' (*Answer to O. E.*, p. 2, apud *Warneword*)."¹ The underlining of the word "helped," with the delicate "lie," is not what *Pallavicino*, another Jesuit, would call a "solid lie," but it is an arrant equivocation notwithstanding,—as who should say, I did not *help*

¹ *Dodd's Church History*, iii. 29. See also *Watson's Important Considerations*, &c. for a comprehensive analysis of the book; *Mendham's Edit.* 57, *et seq.*; and for a systematic digest of the atrocious production, see *Lingard*, viii. 446, note Q.

him : I wrote it for him. And now it seems to me that this Admonition to which Allen lent his name, and which is brought home to the Jesuit Parsons, attests at once the opinions entertained in England, as expressed by Camden, respecting the sentiments and doctrines of Allen's seminary-priests and the Jesuit missionaries.¹ The forceful energy of these hideous sentiments declared by the Admonition and broadside declaration, could scarcely be inspired on the spur of the moment, when the Armada was ready to put the bull into execution. No other inference is admissible ; and therefore I appeal to this last demonstration, for the opinions I have all along expressed on the machinations of the missionary faction in England. History must be grateful to the Armada of Spain for this important elucidation. All who feel an interest in the veneration due to pure religion, must exult to find that the disastrous consequences of the missionary inculcations in England, resulted from the *abuse* of the religious sentiment in men, resulted as the terrible retribution awarded to crime by a superintending Providence. Those who represented themselves as the messengers of peace and salvation, were the roaring bellows of sedition

¹ Amongst the *Important Considerations of us, the Secular Priests*, we find as follows :—"In these tumultuous and rebellious proceedings by sundry Catholics, both in England and Ireland, it could not be expected but that the Queen and the State would be greatly incensed with indignation against us. We had (some of us) greatly approved the said rebellion, highly extolled the rebels, and pitifully bewailed their ruin and overthrow. Many of our affections were knit to the Spaniard : and for our obedience to the pope, we all do profess it. The attempts both of the pope and Spaniard failing in England, his holiness, as a temporal prince, displayed his banner in Ireland. The plot was to deprive her highness first from that kingdom (if they could) and then by degrees to depose her from this. In all these plots none were more forward than many that were priests. The *Laiety*, if we had opposed ourselves to these designments, would (out of doubt) have been over-ruled by us. How many men of our calling were addicted to these courses, the State knew not."

and incendiary Pharisees. Had these priests and these Jesuits directed their efforts to conciliate rather than exasperate the queen and the government, far different would have been the result. But what was their practice must be evident from the sentiments expressed in this Admonition and declaration of the leaders. The man who penned those horrible and disgusting sentiments, had journeyed far and wide throughout the country, whilst the cruel measures of the crown against the scapegoat Catholics gave him the best opportunity for exasperating the people's rancour against their queen, preparatory to the Spaniard's invasion. Even that very persecution was made the means of stimulating foreign hatred against the queen and government of England. Parsons wrote an account of it, as I have stated, and it was translated into several languages, and scattered over Europe. Wherever there were Jesuits, hatred to the Queen of England was not wanting, if it depended on the representations of the Jesuits; but none could equal the "Polypragmon" Parsons, whose monster-heart was at length gratified when the "bulky dragons of the grand Armada" sped forth from the dark, deep waters of Vigo.¹

Spain's mighty armament made sail. Eager were the hungry billows to swallow down the boastful and blaspheming Goliaths: they were denied their meal yet awhile; and down upon Albion bore that gallant fleet which half the forests of Galicia

The grand
Armada.

¹ "The memory of which attempt," say the Secular Priests before quoted, "will be (as we trust) an everlasting monument of Jesuitical treason and cruelty. For it is apparent in a treatise penned by the advice of Father Parsons altogether (as we so verily think) that the King of Spaine was especially moved and drawn to that intended mischief against us, by the long and early solicitations of the Jesuits and other English Catholics beyond the seas, affected and altogether given to Jesuitism."—*Important Considerations*, 57.

had been felled to build, manned by all the sons of the Spanish seas, impressed from the thousand bays and creeks of the stern Cantabrian shore.¹ There were 8000 sailors and 19,000 soldiers. There were 135 ships of war : all the mysteries of heaven and the holy men of earth had their namesakes in the motley armament. There was the St. Louis, the St. Philip, the St. Bernard, the St. Christopher, the Maiden and She-Mouse, the Samson, the Little St. Peter, the Trinity, the Crucifix, and the Conception—all under the command of the Marquess Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross.² No lack of celestial patronage for Philip's glorious "idea." And whilst the indefatigable Jesuits stirred all Europe in the papal-Spanish cause, on every road were met bodies of volunteer-soldiers, noble or otherwise, hastening from Spain, and Germany, and Italy, to the place of the gathering—all impelled with one undoubted hope to crush the queen in her island-home.³ And what was the fleet that Elizabeth opposed to this awful visitation ? What the number of her men ? It were absurd to tell that computation against the Leviathans and myriads of Spain. Never was England less able to cope by numbers with the invader ; but the old age of Elizabeth was made youthful by an ardent heart and a vigorous mind, and she sought and she found a world-defying rampart in that *new* people whom the Reformation dashed into the political movement of the sixteenth century.⁴ Tough were the hearts that had defied Rome, with all her terrors—they might fear no other devilish foe—and they feared not the Spaniard and his invincible Armada. And the poor oppressed,

¹ Borrow's *Bible in Spain*, c. xxviii. 168.

² Capefigue, *La Ligue et Henri IV.* 42. ³ Ling, viii. 272. ⁴ Capefigue, p. 47.

persecuted Catholics—will they not now hail the mock sun of freedom, and rise in its deceitful blaze to crush their queen and country for the Spaniard? Some say they amounted to one half the population, which is very improbable; others raise the number to two-thirds, which is as absurd as it is improbable; still they were undoubtedly numerous; and if being two-thirds, as Allen and the Jesuits stated, they had still submitted to their queen, acknowledged her right to the throne, were *loyal*, why had they been stimulated to disaffection by their self-appointed teachers? By their own showing, have we not here a proof of that partisan-infatuation and downright treason which accompanied and motived the Catholic movement in England, impelled by the Jesuits and those seminary-priests who were managed by the Jesuits? And now, in the very teeth of the Spaniard's demonstration, contemptuously trampling on the base prospect of righting themselves by betraying their country, they stood forth to a man—loyal as God, as their country, as their own hearts imperatively willed—in utter defiance of that horrible abuse of religion, whereby their pope pretended to free them from their oaths of allegiance, and to justify the murder of their queen—the betrayal of their country.¹ *There*

¹ “And whereas, it is well known that the Duke of Medina Sidonia [the Spanish admiral after Santa Cruz] had given it out directly, that if once he might land in *England*, both Catholics and Heretics that came in his way should be all one to him: his sword could not discern them, so he might make way for his master, all was one to him.”—*Important Considerations by us, the Secular Priests*, 57. In effect, there is no doubt that Philip was the more easily induced to undertake this crusade against England, inasmuch as he had many things to avenge on Elizabeth. She had thwarted him as he deserved to be, on every occasion. Her ships had intercepted his ill-gotten treasures in the Indies; she had aided his enemies, the Netherlanders, in their battle of freedom, civil and religious. The latter conduct was highly honourable to her, though the former and her dissimulation in both were reprehensible. Still, let it never

was the admitted end of the admitted machinations of the sacerdotal traitors. What a disappointment for these traitors—but how the heart of all humanity should exult to find that God, and nature, and our country's love, are infinitely more powerful, more influential in noble minds and hearts, than all the vile tricks, and craft, and machinations of sacerdotal iniquity. And thus it will ever be. Such will ever be the termination of sacerdotal abuses of man's religious sentiment: they will work out their own punishment amain: God and His providence, and humanity, will be justified—to the utter destruction of *all* sacerdotal pretensions, contrivances, machinations, and *influence* amongst men. *This* is the finality of that retribution which sacerdotal iniquity has deserved—and to this finality we are advancing—nay, half the providential work is already achieved. Bitter it is to record that the base fears generated by sacerdotal and Jesuitical machinations in England, suggested to some of Elizabeth's politicians the imitation of that Catholic monstrosity—the massacre of St. Bartholomew, whereat Philip so exulted, and the Pope of Rome gave holiday and sang *Te Deum*. These short-sighted politicians cruelly advised the queen to cut off the heads of the Catholic party in England. Such is the force of example. Henry VIII. had perpetrated a similar atrocity, when the pope instigated the emperor and the King of France to threaten invasion; and the massacre of the French Protestants was still fresh in the memories of men. But Elizabeth rejected the barbarous advice. No trace

be forgotten, that was the very age of craft and roguery of all kinds, civil and religious; in this respect, they were all nearly alike, if Philip was not worse than any.

of a disloyal project could be discovered : she therefore refused to dip her hands in the blood of the innocent, “ upon some pretence or other,” as they basely worded the infernal suggestion. Still she permitted the Catholics to be subjected to the severest trials. The “ setters ” ferreted more keenly than ever. Crowds of Catholics of both sexes, and of every rank, were dragged to the common jails throughout the kingdom. But no provocation could urge them to any act of imprudence. They displayed no less patriotism than their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependents in the service of the queen. Some of the Catholic gentlemen equipped vessels, and gave the command to *Protestants* ; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy. But the Eternal seemed to interpose in behalf of Britain and her queen, and her loyal subjects, Catholic and Protestant. In truth, it could not be permitted that so crying an injustice as that of Rome and Spain should be crowned with success. Prodigies of valour were achieved by England’s pigmy fleet against the dragons of the invader. Fireships shot panic through the men of the flaming Inquisition—as by a judgment—and all was confusion ; then a mighty tempest undertook the battle of England. “ Thou didst blow with thy wind—the sea covered them—they sank as lead in the mighty waters.” In a single night the invincible Armada sank in “ the yeast of waves,”—a tribute to the *manes* of Loyola and the spirit of his legion. How the rejoicing waves exulted with the wrecks of that glorious armament—one hundred and twenty ships, with Spain’s best soldiers, her best trained mariners, down in the worrying waters, tearing them to pieces as the vultures

tear a carrion, and the glutted waves rejoiced and sported with the wrecks of that proud armament. Far along the coast of Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, the floating remnants sped and proclaimed Spain's downfall begun. England's destiny was developed, and the glorious prosperity and power of the persecuted Netherlanders dawned with that day when Spain was humbled. A single ship reached Spain—a crippled wreck—pierced on all sides, her masts shattered with shot, almost every man wounded, incapable of duty; from day to day they had flung their dead by sixes to the deep. Such was the end of Philip's gigantic enterprise—that project intended to establish Catholic unity *and* the immeasurable grandeur of *his* royal power. Pasquin, at Rome, announced that “The pope would grant, from the plenitude of his power, indulgencies for a thousand years, if any one would tell him for certain what had become of the Spanish Armada:—whither it had gone, whether it was lifted up to heaven or driven down to hell—or was somewhere hanging in the air, or tossing in a sea.”¹ What thought Philip when he heard the result? Heaven only knows: but he *said* these words: “I sent my army to punish the pride and insolence of the English, and not to fight with the fury of the winds and the rage of the troubled ocean. I thank God that I have still a few ships remaining after such a furious tempest;” and he forbade all public mourning, and among the survivors he distributed 50,000 crowns out of his Indian treasury.² Historians vary as to the *words* of Philip on this occasion: but most of them give him praise for the same; and

¹ Nares, iii. 385.

² Philip had a million of ducats yearly from Peru; and one-fifth of twenty millions brought from the other Indies yearly.—MS. Bib. Cotton, Jul. F. vi. 142.

Dr. Lingard, otherwise so shrewd, calls this “the magnanimity of Philip.” For my part, I perfectly agree with the Catholic Condillac, who says: “I would admire the sentiment, perhaps, if he had not had the imprudence to reject the advice of the Duke of Parma.¹ I say *perhaps*, because I do not think that the courage of a sovereign consists in evincing insensibility, whilst his subjects are perishing around him: especially, if he has not foreseen that there are winds and waves on the ocean. Whilst his generals were winning the battle of St. Quentin, he remained in his tent between two monks, with whom he was praying to heaven for victory; and he did not go out until he was informed of the total defeat of the French. A king who watches over his own safety with so much prudence is willingly rash when he only exposes his soldiers; and when he suffers loss, his seeming fortitude is only the mask of a vain mind, which will not admit its errors.”²

¹ Parma advised the reduction of Flushing before the invasion; and Sir William Stanley, one of the Catholic traitors of England, in the king's service, had advised the occupation of Ireland as a measure necessary to secure the conquest of England; but the king would admit of no delay. Parsons had primed and loaded him—and he could not help going off. See *Lingard*, viii. 279.

² *Hist. Mod. Ouvres*, t. xxiv. p. 283. For the Armada and the catastrophe, see *Ling.* viii. 270—285; *Capefigue*, *Ref. et Henry IV.* p. 42, *et seq.* The Spanish clergy, who had prophesied the happy issue of this expedition to be certain, were much embarrassed, but at length laid the blame upon the toleration afforded in Spain to the infidels. All the Protestant powers rejoiced at the failure, for if England had fallen, they would scarcely have been able to resist; but even the Catholic powers, who likewise dreaded the preponderating influence of Philip, did not much regret the issue. To Henry IV. of France it was of immediate advantage, and the independence of the Dutch was as good as decided. They, therefore, above all others, took part in the joy of the English, and struck medals in commemoration of the destruction of the Invincible Armada, with the inscription, *Venit, ivit, fuit*, (it came, it went, and was no more). Since that time, Spain has never recovered any decisive influence in the affairs of Europe. Some isolated moments of active exertion and bold enthusiasm have not been able to arrest the lamentable decay of the state and the people.—*Raumer, Polit. Hist.* i. 356.

Leaving England to follow up her advantages in the crippled condition of Spain—the Earl of Essex ravaging the coasts of Portugal, capturing Cadiz, advancing to Seville ; whilst Frobisher and Drake on the ocean winnowed the galleons of Spain, laden with Indian wares and virgin gold,—Lancaster pillaging Brazil,—Raleigh, Hawkins, Norris, and Cavendish, seizing the South Sea islands ;—and leaving the Jesuit Parsons and Allen still machinating in behalf of Spanish interests in England, amidst intestine bickerings and paper-warfare among the body of the still persecuted Catholics—let us contemplate the Jesuits in another field, and consider the religio-political opinions which, amidst the agitations of Europe, they advanced and defended. In France the Duke of Guise had reached the culminating point of his ambition, swaying the nation with higher prospects unconcealed. The stirring Spaniard, Philip II., was his master. The proud Guise vowed “ a most faithful and most perfect obedience ” to the golden monarch, whose design seems to have been universal sovereignty for himself, amidst Catholic unity for the pope, &c.¹ Orthodoxy, “ religion,” were the pretences of Philip and all his humbled and obedient servants. The oath taken by all who joined the league, at once declares its nature and its aim. “ I swear to God the Creator and under penalty of anathema and eternal damnation, that I have entered into this Catholic Association—according to the form of the treaty which has just been read to me—loyally, and sincerely, whether to command or to obey and serve ; and I promise, with my life and my honour, to continue therein to the last drop of my blood, without

The Catholic
league in
France.

¹ Capefigue, quoting a letter from Guise to Philip. Ref. et Henri IV. p. 51.

resisting it or retiring at any command, on any pretext, excuse, nor occasion whatever.”¹ Henry III., the King of France, finding himself circumvented by the Spanish or Catholic party, and made their tool, tore from them at once, and threw himself into the arms of the opposition, after causing the Duke of Guise to be murdered. This event roused the grand Catholic League or Association to open hostility, and bound it more closely to its motive head, the King of Spain. Pope Sixtus V. was its patron. He resented the fall of Guise : but when the duke’s brother, the Cardinal of Guise, also was assassinated, his indignation became religiously inexorable. Henry III. trembled not before the pope’s displeasure. His was not the resistance of manly vigour, but the petulant excitement of mental weakness, stimulated by the desperate position into which the machinations of party had thrown him. He thwarted the pope to the utmost. The Court of Rome made a prospective demand that he should declare Henry of Navarre (the future Henry IV.) incapacitated to succeed to the throne of France. Far from complying, the king struck an alliance with the Huguenot, whom he recognised as the lawful heir to the crown of France. This sealed his fate : —but many important events had led to the issue.

It is a striking fact that whilst the Protestant ascendancy of England maintained itself triumphant, and impregnable to the misguided efforts of the Jesuits and seminary-priests, the struggle against the Catholic ascendancy of France was most vigorous and determined —full of hope, and, in all appearance, driving to complete success in the accession of a Protestant king. It was this desolating prospect that inspired the oath

¹ Cretineau-Joly, ii. 388.

which the Leaguers swore to God Almighty. Catholic theorists amuse themselves with discovering in the League a grand result of religious reaction : and so it was, but let it be always understood as the religious reaction of a most despicably corrupt age—a most unchristian humanity. At the prospect of a Protestant—a Huguenot king, the Leaguers grew frantic ; and none were more desperate than the Jesuits. They joined and organised the insurrection.¹ It was favoured by Philip II. and the Pope—how could the Jesuits hold aloof ? The Jesuits were skilful negotiators ; the League gave them employment.² Samnier overran Germany, Italy, and Spain. Claude Matthieu won the title of the *League's Courier* by his indefatigable exertions in the cause. Henry III. complained to the pope respecting the ardour of the Jesuits in the agitation of which he had the good sense to disapprove, if not induced by fear for his own security. To their general, Aquaviva, he notified his wish that only French Jesuits should for the future be appointed to govern the houses and colleges of France.³ Now it happened that the famous Auger possessed the confidence of the king ; and it also happened that Père Matthieu was a kind of foreigner, although the provincial of Paris ; and so Matthieu accused Auger, his brother Jesuit, of jealousy and ambition—giving him credit for the move. He was nevertheless superseded in his office, and Odon Pigenat was named his successor.⁴ When Matthieu

¹ Cretineau, ii. 391.

² Id. ib. 392.

³ Id. ib. 393.

⁴ The council-faction of the *Sixteen*, so called because they ruled the sixteen wards of Paris, was sometimes graced by the presence of this Jesuit, for the purpose of moderating "the fury of that execrable tribunal," if we may believe the Jesuit Richeome.—*Documents, ubi suprâ*. The Jesuit college in the Rue St. Jaques, was sometimes the rendezvous of these secret conspirators and traitors, in the service of the Spaniard. It was in the Jesuit houses that Mendoza, Aguilon, Feria, and other agents of Philip worked out their schemes and plots.—*Plaid. d'Arnaud, Les Jesuites Crim.* p. 200.

returned from Rome in 1585, the king ordered him to retire to Pont-à-Mousson, and menaced him with his anger should he disobey.¹ Aquaviva did not countenance the League, and the king resolved to put down its very active courier, Père Matthieu—the ring-leader of the Jesuit-section. The General of the Jesuits did more. He complained of Père Matthieu to the pope. It seems an extraordinary procedure for the general to appeal to the pope against his own subject: but it evidences the fact that Père Matthieu was under authority distinct from that of the Company and its Constitutions. Aquaviva earnestly requested the pope not to permit any Jesuit to meddle with combinations so foreign and dangerous to the Institute. “Give an order to confirm these words to Claude Matthieu,” said the general to the pope, “and permit me to send him into a country where he cannot be suspected of such negotiations.”² Pope Sixtus V. positively refused to accede to the petition. The Jesuit Leaguers Matthieu, Sannier,³ Hay,

¹ So far Cretineau and the Jesuits; but they do not state the object of his mission. He had been sent to Rome by the Leaguers in order to induce the pope to favour the rebellion and the enemies of the state. “We find,” says Mezeray, “by a letter of this Jesuit, which was given to the public, that the pope did not approve of the proposal to assassinate the king; but he advised the seizure of his person, so as to ensure the occupation of the towns under his authority.—*Abrégé Chron.* t. ii. 504, ed. 1755. *Annales*, t. i. p. 457, n. 3.

² Cretineau, ii. 395.

³ The facts which I have quoted from the last Jesuit-historian seem to prove all that the enemies of the Company lay to its charge in the troubles of the League. From Cretineau’s account, it is evident that the League owed much of its rapid development to the intrigues and doctrines of the Jesuits. The Jesuit Sannier was the first of the confraternity employed in the machinations. Pasquier styles him a man disposed and resolved for all sorts of hazards. He was sent in 1581 to all the Catholic princes to discover the prospects of affairs. A man better qualified could not be selected for the business. He could transform himself into as many forms as objects—sometimes dressed as a soldier; sometimes as a priest, at others, as a country clown. Games at dice, cards, &c. were as familiar to him as his breviary. He could change his name as easily as his garb. He visited successively, in his project, Germany, Italy and Spain. His

Commolet, the Rector of the Parisian House of the Professed, and other Jesuits enrolled under the banner of the League, "*only did their duty*," according to the pope's opinion.¹ Aquaviva forbade Matthieu to meddle with politics for the future, without his express permission. Nevertheless, soon after, he accepted a commission from the chiefs of the League, and set off for Italy. At Loretto he received a letter from Aquaviva, couched in the most respectful terms imaginable, according to the general's practice, but strongly and imperatively opposed to his return into France, "for a certain affair," which is not particularised (probably referring either to the seizure or the murder of the king); and expressly commanding him, in the most respectful terms, not to leave Loretto until further orders. He died in this exile, within fifteen months. "Inactivity killed him in 1587," says the historian of the Jesuits. Thus it appears that Aquaviva sided with the king, whose adviser was the Jesuit Edmond Auger.²

business was to represent to the sovereigns the danger of the Catholic religion in France, and the connivance of the king, Henry III., to that state of affairs, by secretly favouring the Huguenots.—*Pusquier, Cat. des Jesuites*, c. xi. In the alphabetical defence put forth by the Jesuits, touching the *Jesuit Leaguers*, *Samnier* is omitted; so we may suppose that nothing could be said in his favour.—*Documents*, i.; *Jes. Lig.* p. 37.

¹ Cretineau, ii. 395, et Juvenç. Hist. Part V.

² At the moment of this his most exalted position, Edmond Auger becomes very interesting, particularly as we now find that the most determined adviser of heretic proscription is become indifferent, if not hostile, to the grand Catholic demonstration of France. Edmond Auger, when a youth, was a domestic or cook-assistant among the Jesuits at Rome. His disposition and apparent talents merited and won encouragement; the Jesuits set him to study, he advanced, figured in France as we have read, and finally became preacher and confessor to Henry III. This was a trying position, for Henry was one of the most profligate men of that most profligate age: still "he had principles of religion," as Father Origny the Jesuit, observes; and, we may add, that the same praise may be awarded to the worst men of the time—and its cause is to be found in the prevailing mania of the "religious" question on all sides. The confraternity of penitents invented by the Jesuits, or at least revived by them,

This Jesuit kept aloof, with the king, from the machinations of the League. Whether it was a clever stroke of policy in the general, the result of that calculation which computed the infallible catastrophe impending, is but a matter of conjecture : certain it is that though Aquaviva kept aloof, the Jesuit Leaguers in France were as active as ever, and even accused Auger of too great complacency towards Henry III., because he did not “throw himself into the League with his *habitual fervour*.” Aquaviva yielded or seemed to yield, and summoned Auger from the Court of France ! Henry could not do without his father confessor, who “had felt the pulse of his conscience,” and appealed to the pope, craving his intervention. The pope complied, the general submitted, and Auger continued to feel the conscience-pulse of King Henry III. Meanwhile the Jesuit Leaguers, determined to achieve a triumph over heresy, had “fashioned themselves to a life half-religious, half-military, which the dangers, the predications, the enthusiasm of every hour rendered attractive to men of courage and men of faith.”¹ Many of the Jesuits were

pleased the king for some reasons unknown, and he took a part in them, dressed in a sack, and performed all the mummeries. Auger published, in 1584, a treatise on the subject, entitled “Metanoelogy [or, a discourse on repentance] touching the arch-congregation of penitents of Our Lady’s Annunciation, and all the other beautiful devout assemblies of the Holy Church.” The people objected to the practice, and branded it as hypocrisy ; but the king liked these meetings, and the confessor humoured the disgusting fancy, for to suppose piety or devotion in Henry III. were absurd. He describes and boasts of these penitential coteries, and their practices, not forgetting their sacks, their girdles, the discipline or whipping, and fails not to be excessively severe on those ecclesiastics and laymen in great numbers who objected to the mummeries. Auger’s influence with the king was turned to the account of the Company ; but he seems himself to have led an exemplary life in spite of his connection with the lewd and unprincipled king. His panegyrist, Origny, says that he appeared to several persons after his death. The same companion of Jesus tells us that Auger was the first Jesuit who had the honour to be confessor to the King of France.—*Vie du P. Edmond Auger, par Jean d’Origny*, p. 299, *et seq.* See also *Gregoire, Confess. des Rois*, p. 303, *et seq.*

¹ Cretineau, ii. 400.

massacred by the Huguenots: many of their colleges were sacked: but they received compensation in other numerous foundations,—when Aquaviva sent a visitor to investigate the state of the French provinces of the Company of Jesus. He also enjoined Auger to induce the king to permit his departure from that royal conscience whose pulse he had felt so deeply. The Jesuit left the king. He went to Lyons, and preached *against* the League. The people threatened to throw the Jesuit into the Rhone; and he was ordered to leave the city within four-and-twenty hours. He went into retirement at Como.¹

It was immediately after the Jesuit's departure that Henry III. murdered the Duke of Guise. Then the pulpits blazed forth execrations, and heaped maledictions on the royal murderer. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and called down upon his head all the wrath of heaven and earth; and "a miserable little monk," named Jacques Clement, plunged a knife into the stomach of the king; and the wound was mortal. He had time enough, however, to make Henry of Navarre promise to punish those who had given him so much trouble, but, above all things, to get *himself instructed into a Catholic as soon as possible*,—and then he expired.² Henry was once before converted, we remember; and as words cost him as little as deeds, he made the promise to the dying king who had acknowledged him for his successor. It seems to me highly probable, from the Jesuit narrative of all these transactions, that Aquaviva might have boldly "predicted" the murder of the

¹ Cretineau, ii. 401.

² Ranke, p. 172; Capefigue, c. ii. and iii.; Cretineau, ii. 392, *et seq.*; Cheverney, Mem. Ann. 1589, &c. &c.

Guises. It remains for us now to consider the curious doctrine of the Jesuits bearing at once upon the events both in England and in France, which have been just related.

The unlimited supremacy of the Church over the State was their aim—together with all the results of papal prerogatives. And how was that to be established? Not by kings, whose individual interests clashed with papal prerogatives—Papal supremacy and regicides. which in point of fact were the representatives, nay, the very substance of “the Church.” If not by the kings then, by whose overwhelming voice was the Supremacy of “the Church” or the Catholic Party to be established? By the *People*. Conscious of their growing influence and ability to govern and to direct the popular will, the Jesuits did not hesitate to advance the most sweeping democratic doctrines as a basis of their machinations. They deduced princely power from the people. They blended together the theory of the pope’s omnipotence with the doctrine of the people’s sovereignty. Bellarmine, their everlasting oracle, discovered that God had not bestowed the temporal authority on any one in particular:—whence it followed that he bestowed it on the masses. Therefore, the authority of the state is lodged in the people, and the people consign it sometimes to a single individual, sometimes to several: but the people perpetually retain the right of changing the forms of government, of retracting their grant of authority, and disposing of it anew. The Jesuits roundly asserted that a king might be deposed by the people for tyranny, or for neglect of his duties, and another be elected in his stead by the majority of the nation. Meanwhile the Catholic ascendancy was never for one moment out of view.¹ This salient motive everywhere

¹ Ranke.

dispels the illusion when a turbulent democrat brightens as he reads his justification by the Jesuit-doctors of the law. The Supremacy of the Church, or Catholic Ascendancy, must be the end of the people's enterprise. Kings are, indeed, responsible to the sovereign People : but the people are subject to the sovereign Pontiff. Such is the theory, but unfortunately the practice is totally distinct. Once rouse or justify, or countenance the revolt of a nation,—and then you must leave events and the human passions to work out the problem you have proposed. The only point on which you may count infallibly, is the fact of revolt : all beyond you must leave to the direction of events and the passions of men ; and all who pray will call upon Providence to avert or mitigate calamity. In the Jesuit doctrines on this interesting and most important subject, it is impossible to separate the ideal supremacy of the Church from the sovereignty of the People, which is merely the instrument of Church supremacy. Though the king is subject to the people, ecclesiastics are not subject to the king ; for “ the rebellion of an ecclesiastic against a king is not a crime of high treason, because he is not subject to the king.”¹ Thus taught the Jesuits by Emmanuel Sa, at the period in contemplation. Defending themselves by right divine, they decide the fate of kings and princes with a sweep of the pen. “ An infidel or heretic king endeavouring to draw his subjects to *his* heresy or infidelity, is not to be endured by Christians.” Passable enough ; but then who is to decide whether the conduct of the king comes under this ban ? “ It is the province of the sovereign pontiff to decide whether the king draws them into heresy or

¹ Emmanuel Sa, Aphorism. Confess. in verb. *Clericus*. “ Clerici rebellio in regem, non est crimen læsæ-majestatis, qui non est subditus regi.” — *Ed. Colon.* 1590.

not." This being assumed, the consequence is as follows:— "It is, therefore, for the pontiff to determine whether the king must be deposed or not."¹ What a wide field is here open to such a pope as Gregory XIII., who scrupled not to plunder so many barons on the pretence of musty parchments. And proclaimed in the very midst of the dreadful struggles for the religion of the sixteenth century, how powerfully such a doctrine must have operated to evolve the desperate "stirs" in Ireland and England, and in France—not without blood-guiltiness. It was, nevertheless, the doctrine put forth by Bellarmine—one of the most influential Jesuits—in 1596. Nay, "the spiritual power," *i. e.* the pope, may change kingdoms, and take them from one to transfer them to another, as a spiritual prince, if it should be necessary—for the *salvation of souls*."² What is the meaning of this proviso? I am unable to say—unless the doctrine was based on the Bull of Pope Alexander VI., who gave the Kings of Spain and Portugal the two hemispheres, dashing in a word for the "salvation of souls." But though we cannot understand the meaning of the proviso, we have but too plainly seen the result of the doctrine in the kingdom of England. Another Jesuit—and one of vast authority too—goes so far as to "wrench the words of Paul" to the destruction of regal or secular power. "The language of St. Paul," says Francis Tolet, in 1603, "is not opposed to it, who

¹ Non licet Christianis tolerare regem infidelem aut hereticum, si ille conetur protrahere subditos ad suum hæresim vel infidelitatem. At judicare an rex pertrahat ad hæresim necne, pertinet ad pontificem, cui est commissa cura religionis. Ergo pontificis est judicare, regem esse deponendum vel non deponendum."—*De Rom. Pontif.* lib. v. c. vii.

² "Potest mutare regna, et uni auferre, atque alteri conferre, tanquam princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem."—*Bellarmin. ubi suprâ*, lib. v. c. vi.

means that all men should be subject to the *higher* powers, but not to the *secular* powers: for he does not deny to spiritual ministers the power of *exempting* whomsoever, and as far as they shall please, from the secular power, whenever they may deem it *expedient*.”¹ A mere quibble, of course: but the word “expedient” does sound better than “the salvation of souls.” Nor should this sweeping prerogative surprise us, since even the eternal is ruled by “the Church” or the pope, according to the Jesuit Maldonat, who affirms “for certain and immovable, that the Church has the power of excommunicating even the dead, that is, she may deprive them of suffrage,” or the benefit of prayers.² Then there is no wonder that the pope “can deprive princes of their empire and kingdom, or may transfer their dominions to another prince, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance which they owe to them, and from the oath which they have sworn, that the word of the Lord which he spake to Jeremiah the prophet, &c. &c.”³ And if the idea of the prophet Jeremiah’s giving a vote to this papal empire be painfully startling, you must summon all your patience to

¹ “Nec adversatur huic Pauli verbum, qui omnes vult esse subjectos potestatibus sublimioribus, non vero sæcularibus: non tamen negat potestatem ministris spiritualibus quando id expedire judicaverint, eximendi quos et quantum eis visum fuerit.”—*Comment. in Epist. B. Pauli, Apost. ad Roman. Annat. 2, in c. xiii.*

² “Duo tamen certa, fixaque esse debent: alterum, Ecclesiam potestatem habere etiam mortuos excommunicandi, id est, jus privandi suffragiis.”—*Comment. in Matth. c. xvi. p. 342, E.*

³ “Potest eos imperio et regno privare, vel eorum ditiones alteri principi tradere, et eorum subditos ab obedientiâ illis debitâ, et juramento facto absolvere. Ut verum sit in pontifice Romano illud verbum Domini dictum ad prophetam Jeremiam.”—Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth: See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.”—*Comment. in Evangelic. Hist. &c. t. iv. P. iii. Tr. 4. Ed. Colon. 1602.*

hear that even Christ himself is made to subscribe to the article,—“for in commanding Peter to feed his sheep Christ has given him the power to drive away the wolves and to kill them, if they should be obnoxious to the sheep. And it will also be lawful for the shepherd to depose the ram, the leader of the flock, from his sovereignty over the flock, if he infects the other sheep with his contagion, and attacks them with his horns.”¹ A word or two from the redoubtable Parsons must be necessarily interesting. “The *whole school of theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers*,” says Parsons, “maintain—and it is a thing both certain and matter of faith—that every Christian prince, if he has manifestly departed from the Catholic religion and has wished to turn others from it, is immediately divested of all power and dignity, whether of divine or human right, and that, too, even before the sentence pronounced against him by the supreme pastor and judge ; and that all his subjects are free from every obligation of the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to him as their lawful prince ; and that they may and must (if they have the power) drive such a man from the sovereignty of Christian men, as an apostate, a heretic, and a deserter of Christ the Lord, and as an alien and an enemy to his country, lest he corrupt others, and turn them from the faith by his example or his command. This true, determined, and undoubted opinion of very learned men, is perfectly conformable and agreeable to the apostolic doctrine.”²

¹ “Nam præcipiendo oves pascere, dedit illi potestatem arcendi lupos et interficiendi, si infesti sint ovibus. Imò etiam arietem, ducem gregis, si alias oves tabe conficiat, et cornibus petat, licebit pastori de principatu gregis depone-
nere.”—*Alp. Salmeron, Comment. in omnes Epist. B. Pauli, &c.* Lib. i. P. iii. Disp. 12. *Ed. Colon.* 1604.

² Responsio ad Edict. Reginæ Angliæ, sect. ii. n. 157 ; *Ed. Romæ*, 1593.

But this terribly practical Jesuit does not long amuse his readers with such spiritual notions, forsooth. Into the very pith of the matter he flings his mighty head and horns, driving all before him in the camp of the "*Navarrese Liar*," as he calls Henry IV. of France, then in his struggle with the Catholic League. Away to the winds with Henry IV.'s "heresy, his suspected illegitimacy—*suspectis natalibus*—his practices against the faith and other impediments—his deprivation of power by the sentence of the pope—his rebellion and other crimes against Charles X., *Cardinal and King of France*—(enough, however, to exclude him)—let all these impediments be no obstacle to him," cries Parsons, "but this one thing I believe, namely, that the most iniquitous judge of events will not deny that *the royal power is founded on civil right and not on the right of nature or the race*. But the civil right (according to St. Isidore and all other philosophers, lawyers and even divines) is known to be what every people or state has resolved upon for itself, by those conditions which the commonweal has laid down, and this, by its own will and judgment, according to the interest and arbitrament of each country—not by the necessity of nature, or by the decree and consent of all nations—by which two points, natural right, and the right of nations, are distinguished in the highest degree, and most properly, from civil right. That kings are not by nature, nor by the right of nations, is plainly evident from the fact that they were not at first necessary, nor have they always afterwards existed from the beginning, nor have they been received among all nations and people, nor have they always everywhere ruled on the same conditions. The agreement of the most learned men has decreed the conditions which are necessary to

establish the rights of nature and of nations. And certainly if we go back to the beginning, we shall find that the world held together without kings, for many ages ; and, besides the rest, that the Hebrew people of God, after the long lapse of three thousand years, at length received the power from God to appoint a king, not spontaneously, but reluctantly conceded. Among the Romans, for a very long time, there were no kings ; nor are there any among the Venetians, Genoese, and other republics. And where kings are in use—*in usu sunt*—it is manifest that they do not rule everywhere by the same right : for the kings of Poland and Bohemia succeed not by generation but by election, whose children and relatives lay no claim to succession at their death or deposition. Finally, the right and manner of royal rule are circumscribed by different limits in France to what they are in England or in Spain. From all this, it seems manifest that the royal dignity and power has proceeded from the free will and ordination of the commonweal, with God's approval, whilst it is bestowed by a Christian people on princes chosen by themselves, with this especial and primary condition, namely, that they defend the Roman Catholic Faith ; and they are bound to this by two oaths,—one in baptism when they are made Christians,—the other at their coronation. Who will be so absurd, or so blind in mind, as to affirm *him* competent to reign, who has neither of these rights ?”¹ This contemptuous treatment of right divine is not intended to favour republicanism, or democracy ; but merely to bring human motives to the exclusion of an obnoxious ruler, such as Elizabeth of England or Henry IV. of France. Nevertheless, the tendency of

¹ Ubi supra, n. 153—4.

such sentiments pronounced authoritatively in a time of agitation, must have added vast energy to the spirit of factions. Then the famous Mariana flung his strong and philosophical sentiments into the whirlpool of politics. His whole book is altogether on kings and their conduct. Full of striking and startling sentiments is this famous book of a famous Jesuit. His heart was brimful of hatred to tyranny: he did not spare his own general and government,—how could he be expected to mince matters with kings and their institute? “Many examples, ancient and even recent, might be unfolded to prove the great power of a multitude aroused by hatred of their king, and that the anger of the people is the destruction of the king. Lately in France,” continues Mariana, “a noble example was given. It shows how essential it is that the minds of the people should be soothed:—a splendid and pitiable attestation that the minds of men are not to be governed just like their persons. Henry III. of France lies low, felled by the hand of a monk, with a poisoned knife driven into his stomach—a sad spectacle which hath few equals: but it teaches kings that their impious attempts are not without punishments. It shows that the power of kings is weak indeed, if they once cease to respect the minds of their subjects.” Brave words unquestionably; and then he proceeds, from the summit of this glorious and popular notion, to the very depths of professional bigotry, much in the style of Parsons touching the intended succession of Henry IV.—denouncing the murder of the Guises, to whom he thinks no prince in Christendom is comparable—and then he exclaims: “but the movements of the people are like a torrent; soon the tide upsurges . . . The audacity of one youth in a short time retrieved affairs which were almost

desperate. His name was Jacques Clement—born in the obscure village of Sorbonne, he was studying theology in the Dominican college of his order, when, having been assured by the theologians whom he consulted, that a tyrant may be rightfully cut off he departed for the camp with the resolution of killing the king After a few words had passed between them, pretending to deliver some letters, he approached the king, concealing his poisoned knife, and inflicted on him a deep wound above the bladder. Splendid boldness of soul—memorable exploit !¹ . . . By killing the king he achieved for himself a mighty name Thus perished Clement, twenty-four years of age, a youth of simple mind and not strong in body ; but a greater power gave strength and courage to his soul.”²

After this celebration of the regicide, Mariana proceeds to details respecting the method to be pursued in getting rid of a king. Admonition must first be tried :

¹ He was instantly wounded by the king and despatched by the attendants. Nor is Ribadeneyra’s notice of this detestable murder less significant in his work professedly written against the principles of Machiavelli. He calls the murder “ a just judgment ”—*justo juyzio*, effected “ by the hand of a poor, young, simple, homely friar, with the blow of a small knife, in the king’s own apartment, surrounded by his servants and armed people, and a powerful troop with which he intended, in a few days, to *destroy* the city of Paris ” (!) “ Por mano de un pobre frayle, moço, simple, y llano, de una herida que le dio eun un cuchillo pequeño en su mismo aposento, estando el Rey rodeado de criados y de gente armada, y con un exercito poderoso con el qual pensava assolar dentro de pocos dias la ciudad de Paris.” “ Has the world ever had an example like this, so new, so strange, and never before heard of by mortals,” exclaims this religious Machiavel, a thousand times more pernicious to humanity than the political Italian, because the wickedness which he substitutes for that of Machiavel is presented under the cloak of religion.—*Tratado de la Religion*, c. xv. p. 90. Ed. Madrid, 1595. He wrote before Mariana.

² “ Insignem animi confidentiam, facinus memorabile. . . . Cæso Rege ingens sibi nomen fecit. . . . Sic Clemens ille periit, viginti quatuor natus annos, simplici juvenis ingenio, neque robusto corpore : sed major vis vires et animum confirmabat.”—*Mariana*, De Rege, c. vi.

“if he comply, if he satisfy the state and correct the errors of his past life, I am of opinion that it will be necessary to stop, and to desist from harsher measures. But if he refuse the remedy, and there remains no hope of cure, it will be lawful for the state, after sentence has been pronounced, in the first place to refuse to acknowledge his empire; and since war will of necessity be raised, to unfold the plans of defence, to take up arms, and to levy contributions upon the people to meet the expenses of the war; and if circumstances will permit, and the state cannot be otherwise preserved, by the same just right of defence, by a more forcible and peculiar power, to destroy with the sword the prince who is declared to be a public enemy. And let the same power be vested in any private individual, who, renouncing the hope of impunity, and disregarding his safety, would exert an effort in the service of the state . . . I shall never consider that man to have done wrong, who, favouring the public wishes, would attempt to kill him . . . Most men are deterred by a love of self-preservation, which is very frequently opposed to deeds of enterprise. It is for this reason that among the number of tyrants who lived in ancient times, there were so few who perished by the sword of their subjects . . . Still it is useful that princes should know, that if they oppress the state, and become intolerable by their vices and their pollution, they hold their lives upon this tenure, that to put them to death is not only lawful, but a laudable and a glorious action . . . Wretched, indeed, is a tyrant's life which is held upon the tenure that he who should kill him would be highly esteemed, both in favour and in praise. It is a glorious thing to exterminate this pestilent and mischievous race from

the community of men. For putrid members are cut off, lest they infect the rest of the body. So should this cruelty of the beast, in the form of man, be removed from the state, as from a body, and be severed from it with the sword. He who terrifies, must fear for himself; and the terror he strikes is not greater than the shudder he feels¹ . . . There is no doubt whether it is lawful to kill a tyrant and public enemy (the same decision applies to both) with poison and deadly herbs. The same question was proposed to me some years ago by a prince in Sicily, whilst I was teaching the theological schools in that island. I know that it has been frequently done—*et scæpe factum scimus*—nor do I think that any one resolved on the deed of poison would let slip the opportunity of destruction, if given, and wait for the decision of theologians, and prefer to assault with the sword—especially as the danger [for the poisoner] being less, his hope of impunity is greater, in order that the public rejoicing be not at all diminished at the destruction of the enemy, if the author and architect of public liberty be preserved. As for my part, I am not considering what men are likely to do, but what is permitted by the laws of nature; and, indeed, what matters it whether you kill by the sword or by poison? Especially as treachery and fraud are conceded in the faculty of action; and there are many ancient and recent examples of enemies cut off by that kind of

¹ “Miseram plane vitam, cujus ea conditio est ut qui occiderit, in magnâ tum gratiâ, tum laude futurus sit. Hoc omne genus pestiferum et exitiale ex hominum communitate exterminare gloriosum est. Enimvero membra quædam secantur si putrida sunt, ne reliquum corpus inficiant: sic ista in hominis specie bestię immanitas, à republicâ tanquam à corpore amoveri debet, ferroque excindi. Timeat videlicet necesse est, qui terret: neque major sit terror incussus quam metus susceptus.”—*Mariana*, De Rege, c. vii.

death . . . In my own opinion, deleterious drugs should not be given to an enemy, neither should a deadly poison be mixed with his food, or in his cup, for the purpose of destroying him. Yet it will be lawful to use this method in the case in question, if the person who is destroyed be not *forced* to drink the poison, which, inwardly received, would deprive him of life,—but let it be applied outwardly by another person without his intervention : as when there is so much strength in the poison, that if spread upon a seat, or on the clothes, it would have the power to cause death. Thus I find that the Moorish kings have often destroyed other princes by the [poisoned] presents they sent them, consisting of precious garments, napkins, arms, or *saddles*,¹ and it is

¹ By a striking coincidence, the alleged attempt at *saddle-poison* against Queen Elizabeth, by Squires, at the instigation of the Jesuit Walpole, occurred about the *same time* that Mariana was giving his curious suggestions to the heroes of the age. His book was published at Toledo in 1598, and Squires's alleged attempt took place in the *same year*, after having been concocted in Spain. The prominence which Mariana, then in Spain, and an authoritative theologian, gives to these strange cases of poisoning, which he actually suggests as *models*, must, I think, give some countenance to the affair, as an *attempt*, however absurd it may seem to our ignorance of such infernally potent concoctions. It is circumstantially related by Pasquier and Joy Camden ; and the facts are as follows : Squires was an English prisoner in Spain : he was set free at the intercession of the Jesuit Walpole, his countryman, who tried to convert him, but finding the heretic firmer than he expected, Walpole got him arrested by the Inquisition. Squires then turned Catholic. Thereupon the Jesuit began to practise on the fellow, and proposed the poisoning of the Queen as a fine offering to God, assuring him that he would run no risk by pursuing the method he would suggest. It was a very subtle poison, which he was to rub on the Queen's saddle, just before she mounted, so that her hands on touching the saddle should receive the venom. The chair of Essex was to be served in like manner. He found his opportunity, got into the royal stable just in time, and performed the operation, which, however, failed in the issue : "her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand no more hurt than Paul's did when he shook off the viper into the fire." His attempt on Essex was equally unsuccessful, although it deranged his stomach at supper. Many months elapsed, and Walpole, not hearing of the Queen's death, and supposing that Squires had played him false, resolved to be even with him, and sent over an Englishman, Stanley by name, to accuse Squires of the

generally known that certain elegant boots were wickedly given by a Moorish chief to Henry, the King of Castile, and as soon as he drew them on, his feet were infected with poison, whereby he suffered ill health to the end of his days. A purple garment, adorned with gold, was sent by another to the King of Grenada, and it killed him within thirty days. A third perished in a poisoned shirt.”¹

I need not inform the reader that the maintenance of these regicidal opinions forms one of the great charges against the Jesuits. They are conscious of the stigma : but instead of at once admitting the evil tendency of these doctrines, and instead of tracing the doctrines

project. Squires admitted that “Walpole had proposed the murder to him, but that he had never consented to it, nor even employed poison for that purpose.” Lingard states that he “died asserting both his own innocence and that of Walpole, with his last breath.” Camden and Speed are the authorities to which Lingard refers ; but Camden does not mention *that* fact, which, however, might have occurred without altering the features of the case, since it convicted him of falsehood. Stanley, the accuser, stated that he was sent by the Spanish ministers to ruin Squires in revenge for not killing the queen ; and on being racked, he said he himself was dispatched to shoot Elizabeth. Dr. Lingard treats the affair as a “ridiculous plot ;” and so it might be if disconnected from Mariana’s suggestions, rampant at the very time. Walpole strenuously denied the charge, as a matter of course, and vilified the character of Squires, in a pamphlet which he published in self-defence. It is the *preciseness* of the accusation which seems to give weight to the charge. Not that such poison was really possible, but *intended by the parties*, after the fashion of Mariana. Dr. Lingard says that Walpole was little known to Squires : but this is contradicted by Walpole himself, stating that he “*knew and dealt with Squire in Spaine.*” Such are the facts, however, and there we may leave them, with Camden saying, “A pestilent opinion had possessed the minds of some men, yea, some priests (I am ashamed to speak it) that to take away the lives of kings excommunicated, was nothing else but to weed out the cockle out of the Lord’s field,” which is, as we have seen, the veritable opinion of the leading theologians then influencing the age.—See Camden, ann. 1598 ; Rapin, ii. p. 148 ; Pasquier, Catéchis. p. 212, *et seq.* ; Lingard, viii. 341 and 453, note U. It is curious that the pamphlet by Walpole (anonymous) is directed against *Squires* and not against Stanley, though evidently the prime mover in the disclosure.—See its title in Lingard.

¹ Mariana, De Rege, c. vii. ed. Mogunt. 1605.

themselves to the peculiar exigencies of the times when two parties were striving for victory, the apologists for the Jesuit-regicides strive to mystify the minds of their readers with theological distinctions, and what is perhaps still worse, by enlisting the whole body of Catholic teachers, from the earliest times, into the lawless ranks of king-killers or king-deposers.

Like the blinded Samson, as they cannot escape, they shake ruin around them, and enjoy the suicidal triumph.¹

As many other Jesuits maintained the opposite doctrine, it becomes of importance to bear in mind that *expediency* which required their influential theologians to countenance and to suggest rebellion and murder. This expediency was the triumph of Catholic unity. These inflammatory doctrines were intended and issued by order or request, to promote that grand consummation.² Through numerous editions, these books circulated

¹ See their voluminous apologetic *Documents*, t. ii. p. 83, *et seq.*, for a list of "some of the Thomist and Dominican theologians, doctors of the university, &c., who have professed the doctrine of Tyrannicide." Such is the title at the head of the column, whilst opposite the same, there is a list of *all* the Jesuit-professors of the doctrine, amounting to fourteen only,—a fact which is most curiously illustrative of Jesuitism. The Jesuits expediently upheld the doctrine during the time it was needed by the cause they served, and as expediently held their tongues or their pens when the politico-religious question subsided or took a different turn—about the middle of the seventeenth century, Escobar being the last regicidal professor. The opposite list of other doctors and professors of regicide extends from St. Thomas in the the 13th century, with rapid succession, down to the year 1762. There is something extremely unpleasant in seeing religious men so eager to exhibit the shame of their colleagues, for their own excuse or extenuation.

² Unquestionably Mariana's work is the most desperate on the subject, and yet "he composed it at the solicitation of several persons at the court of Spain, and it was printed at Toledo with the permission of the king and the approbation of the Inquisition."—*Documents*, t. ii. 62. His first chapter is a dedication or address to Philip III., who had just succeeded to his father, the "stirring" Philip II., A. D. 1598.

rapidly : they were the grateful, the savoury food of the party-spirits then tempesting the world of struggling heresy and ravenous orthodoxy. It must not, for one moment, be supposed that these denunciations of tyranny were meant as universal applications. They were directed pointedly and fixedly against *heretic* rulers, or such as did not go to the utmost extremes of the ultracatholic party. What greater proof can we need of this view than the fact of these opinions being advanced under the auspices of the ruthless Philip II. and his Inquisition ? Their Jesuit promulgators were either Spaniards and Portuguese, or the very pillars that supported the Spanish faction in England and in France. Subsequently, when the party which had changed sides in France, or who had reason to oppose the Jesuits, whom they also envied, raised a clamour against these regicidal doctrines, leading, as they believed, to the murder of Henry IV., the general, Aquaviva, issued a decree against any further promulgation of such doctrines, either privately or publicly, by advice or by writing. This was in 1614.¹ A Jesuit apologist hereupon exclaims :—“This decree was so well observed, that the search has been in vain to find in the four quarters of the world, a Jesuit, who, since then, has taught the doctrine of tyrannicide.”² Not in *books* : but there can be no doubt that the Company was not cured of that disease by Aquaviva’s first mandate. Another decree was deemed necessary, and issued in 1616, against the discussion “of papal power, and the

¹ Contrary to my usual practice, I must here stop to point out a voluntary misstatement—a misdate of this decree by the Jesuit of the *Documents*, t. ii. 64. He dates it the 6th of July, 1610 (the year of *Henry IV.’s* assassination), whereas it was issued on the 1st of August, 1614. See *Censuræ Collect.* c. v. ; *Corp. Instit. S. J.* t. ii. p. 251. Ed. Ant. 1702.

² *Documents*, t. ii. 64.

deposition, &c. of princes"—*de potestate Summi Pontificis super Principes, eos deponendi, &c.*"¹ And even a third was called forth from General Vitelleschi ten years after, in 1626.

But not the Jesuits alone must bear the blame of these horrible doctrines. They were too convenient not to serve as cloaks for the unscrupulous rebels of the sixteenth century, as they have served in every age, in every nation.² Nowhere were they promulgated with such furious violence as in France. It is impossible to meet with any thing more anti-royal than the diatribes thundered from the pulpit by Jean Boucher, successively Rector of the University of Paris, Prior of the Sorbonne, Doctor and priest of Saint Benoit, and one of the most ardent firebrands of the League. This preacher found centered in the estates of the nation, all public might and majesty—the power to bind and to loose—the indefeasible sovereignty and judicial sway over the sceptre and the realm. In the estates of the nation he found the fountain of these prerogatives: from the

¹ Sic in Orig. Censuræ Coll. c. v. 3. Such writings were first to be examined and approved at Rome. Ib.

² See the *Documents* again for a succinct and elaborate dissertation on the prevalence of rebellious or regicidal practices, from the earliest times, in Italy, Germany, Spain, England (which the writer scoffingly calls "the classic land of liberty," and quotes this title as "the language of the simpletons and charlatans of the Revolution," p. 111), and France, where "modern instances" were so rife. Fierce is the Jesuit's apostrophe to the modern enemies of his Company. He thunders forth: "Hypocritical friends of kings that you are, declared enemies of the Catholic religion, and its ready persecutors—apostles of toleration and liberty, presuming to do violence to consciences, and whose unexampled tyranny penetrates even into the bosom of families to assault the rights of paternity, which are respected even among the most barbarous nations! Brutally use the right of the strongest, if you have it—but go no further; or if a remnant of shame induces you to attempt a justification of your inconceivable excesses, try and have some gleam of common sense, and learn at least the first elements of history."—T. ii. p. 120. Such is a specimen of Jesuit-fire in their apologies for the proud Company of Jesus.

people he deduced the existence of the king—not by necessity and compulsion, but by free election—just as Parsons develops the glorious lever of machination. He takes the same view as Bellarmine of the relation between church and state, and repeats the comparison of body and soul. One condition alone, he says, limits the freedom of the popular choice: one thing alone is forbidden the people, namely, to accept a *heretic* king: they would thereby bring down upon them the curse of God.¹ “Strange combination of ecclesiastical pretensions and democratic notions, of absolute freedom and complete subjection—self-contradictory and anti-national—but which still could cast an inexplicable spell over the minds of men,” exclaims Ranke: but there was really no spell at all in the matter. The Catholic party botched up a theory to put down the Protestant party; and they contrived it so as to flatter the masses to put it into practice. It was a comparatively safe method in those times, and it menaced no reaction when the masses were completely dependent on the great. It is different now-a-days: and those who have stirred the masses will be the first to bleed for their pains—and at the hands of the masses themselves. In those days, as at the present time, it was easy to rouse the thoughtless multitude. The Sorbonne had hitherto constantly defended the royal and national privileges against these ultra-montane sacerdotal pretensions: but now, after the murder of the Guises, these doctrines were preached from the pulpits; it was proclaimed aloud in the streets, and typified by symbols on the altars and in processions, that King Henry III. had forfeited his crown.²

¹ Jean Boucher, *Sermons*, Paris, 1594. Ranke, p. 177.

² Ranke, p. 178. Pelens, t. iv. livre xiv.

And “the good citizens and inhabitants of the city,” as they called themselves, turned, in their scruples of conscience,” to the theological faculty of the University of Paris, to obtain from it a valid decision respecting the legality of their resistance to their sovereign. Thereupon the Sorbonne assembled on the 7th of January, 1589 ; and “after having heard the mature and free counsels of all the magistri,” says their Decision, “after many and divers arguments heard, drawn for the most part *verbatim* from Holy Writ, the Canon Law, and the papal ordinances,—it has been concluded by the Dean of the Faculty, without any dissenting voice—first, that the people of this realm are absolved from the oath of allegiance and obedience sworn by them to King Henry. Furthermore, that the said people may, without scruple of conscience, combine together, arm themselves, and collect money for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic apostolic religion against the abominable proceedings of the aforesaid king.”¹ Seventy members of the Faculty were present ; the younger of them, in particular, voted for the resolution with fierce enthusiasm. “The general acquiescence which these theories obtained,” says Ranke, “was doubtless owing chiefly to their being, at the moment, the real expression of events. In the struggles of France, popular and ecclesiastical opposition had actually come forward from their respective sides and met in alliance. The citizens of Paris had been countenanced and confirmed in their insurrection against their lawful sovereign by the *Pope’s Legate*. Bellarmine himself had long been in the suite of the latter. The doctrines which he had wrought out in his learned solitude—and put forward with such logical consistency—

¹ Respons. Facult. Theol. Parisiens. ; apud Ranke, p. 178.

and with such great success, announced themselves *in the event which he witnessed, and in part elicited.*"¹ Meanwhile the King of Spain was linked in the efforts for the renovation of Catholicism—not with the priests alone, but also with the revolted people. The people of Paris reposed greater confidence in Philip than in the French princes at the head of the League. A new ally, as it were, now presented itself to the king in the doctrines of the Jesuits. There seemed no reason to foresee that he might have anything to fear from them: they rather afforded his policy a justification both legal and religious, highly advantageous to his dignity and importance even in Spain, and immediately conducive to the success of his foreign enterprises. The king dwelt more on this momentary utility of the Jesuit-doctrines than on their general purport and tendency."²

But to this papal theory of popular domination and omnipotence, there was an antagonistic resistance in Protestantism. The Catholics had accused Protestantism as essentially the spirit of lawlessness and revolt: in their opinion to be a heretic and a disloyal subject was one and the same. Such was Catholic opinion: but the fact to which it alluded was never anything else than the fixed determination in the Protestants to believe what they pleased—unfettered by popes, unterrified by papal kings. And now, in this anarchy of Catholicism—in the midst of this wild spirit of revolt—unscrupulous and regicidal—Protestantism upheld the rights of royalty. It was a physical and intellectual, a moral necessity. "The idea of a sacerdotal religion ruling supreme over all the temporalities of the world, encountered a mighty resistance in that national independence

¹ Ranke, p. 178.

² Id. ib.

which is the proper expression of the temporal element of society." Religion must be the safeguard of man's freedom—the shield of his physical, intellectual, and moral rights : if it cease to be such, it is the religionism of a selfish party striving by force or craft to achieve a lucrative domination. Short-lived must ever be such a triumph, whenever and wherever effected, because it is based on injustice, accompanied by the infringement of those moral and intellectual statutes which are the covenant of God with man. In the land of Luther the antagonism of that lawless casuistry, by monks, and doctors, and Jesuits defended, stood forth in defence of royalty. "The Germanic institution of monarchy diffused through the nations of Roman origin, and deeply rooted amongst them, has invariably triumphed over every attempt to overthrow it—whether by the pretensions of the priesthood, or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which has always finally proved untenable." Sovereignty of the "People"! Tell me what *is* the "People," here alluded to, and I may understand its sovereignty. Half-a-dozen bewildered heads above, and ten thousand convulsive hands, arms, and legs below, may represent the thing in practice. Tell me of the sovereignty of physical, moral, and intellectual *Justice*, and I can understand the splendid theory of which it can be made the basis : but if you talk of the sovereignty of the "people," a hundred historical remembrances rush before me, and I find it impossible to believe its propounders aught else but calculating egotists—not even hot-headed fanatics. And in truth the end and aim of that theoretic sovereignty were not misunderstood at the end of the sixteenth century. It was spiritual monarchy for the pope, and it was temporal

monarchy for the King of Spain. None believed those leagues sincere: the designs of the Catholic princes were refined in the furnace of Rome, and worked to their object by the pope: the extermination of Protestantism was the grand finality.¹ The priesthood and the "sovereign people" were combined to overthrow that antagonism, by raising over Europe orthodox and persecuting tyrants, to supply the place of those whom the deposing power and the regicidal doctrines might effectually incapacitate. Then it was that the doctrine which upholds "the divine right of kings" found supporters. "God alone," the Protestants maintained, "sets princes and sovereigns over the human race. He has reserved to Himself to lift up and bring low, to apportion and to moderate authority. True, He no longer descends from Heaven to point out with his finger those to whom dominion is due, but through his eternal providence there have been introduced into every kingdom laws and an established order of things, according to which the ruler is chosen. If, by virtue of this appointed order, a prince is invested with power, his title is precisely the same as though God's voice declared, This shall be your king. Time was when God did point out Moses, the judges, and the first kings personally to his people; but after a fixed order had been established, those who subsequently ascended the throne were equally God's anointed as the former."² Such was, again, another compensating permission of Providence, to eventuate equilibrium in the affairs of men. When first I called your attention to the subject,

¹ Ph. de Mornay, Mem. i. p. 175.

² "Explicatio Controversiarum quæ à nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borboni regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione," c. ii. ; apud Ranke, p. 179.

we beheld Ignatius rushing to the rescue of Catholicism—and effectuating something like an equilibrium.¹ We behold that very Protestantism, which he and his followers managed to hold in check, now presenting a rampart against that anomalous tide of opinions which threatened the physical, intellectual and moral freedom of mankind. It was a glorious destiny for Protestantism. In rallying round the banner of royalty and right divine, at that period of man's history, the angels that preside over empires sang—*Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.* I allude to the effects of that reaction. The infatuated, senseless, ever abortive attempts of Rome and Spain against England's monarchy, served but to cement more strongly together the everlasting foundations of that essentially Protestant throne: the people's wisdom and loyalty helped them along towards that exalted destiny which has made, and will ever make, Great Britain the central power of the universe. And well had it been for France had faction not compelled Henry IV. to sacrifice to it that religion or theory, if you like, which, once established around the throne, might have utterly shut out those hideous abuses which festered and festered through his reign, and the reigns of his successors, until they were visited with their penalties in the great Revolution.²

¹ See vol. i. p. 204.

² It is indeed most remarkable that, from the Reformation down to the present time, national calamities have fearfully hung on the abuses of Romanism round about the thrones of Europe. Examine the subject—even beginning no farther back than Philip II., and Spain and Portugal—through Scotland and Mary—England and Charles I.—Austria, Poland, Bavaria, France—everywhere the remnants of that gangrene whose termination is death. It seems almost ridiculous to instance the last illustration in this interesting theory. I mean the late skirmish of the modern Jesuits in Switzerland. That event and its immediate results gave the initiative to the epidemic revolutions which are

Now, therefore, Protestantism was the spirit of peace and loyalty : Catholicism (with a fractional exception) was the spirit of war and revolt. The former “insisted on the necessity of submitting even to unjust and censurable sovereigns. No man is perfect. Now, if it were once deemed allowable to deviate from the order appointed by God, even trifling defects would be seized on to justify the deposition of a sovereign. Not even heresy on the monarch’s part could, on the whole, absolve subjects from their allegiance. The son must not indeed obey the impious father in what is contrary to God’s commands—in other respects, however, he continues to owe him reverence and subjection.”¹ As a contrast, take the following : “What is more execrable,” says a contemporaneous author, “the Sorbonne, formerly the honour of the Church, being consulted by the Sixteen, concluded, by a public act [already given], that Henry of Valois was no longer king, and that arms might be justly, and with good reason, raised against him : the Sorbonne approved the sentence of degradation fulminated against the king—whence ensued the attempts against his person. We may say in truth that it was the Sorbonne who killed him, since it excited and resolved the assassins to such madness and wickedness The Sorbonne compared the parricide of a great king, oh execrable blasphemy ! to the holy mysteries of the incarnation and the resurrection of our Lord.”²

now scattering dismay over Europe : revolutions whereat the thoughtless may exult, but the wise must forebode desolation. In the midst of this crisis—and ere these words are printed, war will be Europe’s occupation—in the midst of this crisis the *Pope of Rome* pretends to forfend retribution from his throne by those little Italian tricks which there is a party in England to cheer and applaud !

¹ Explic. Controv. *ut antea*, apud Ranke, p. 179.

² This extract from *Peleus* (t. iii. livre viii. p. 538), is triumphantly alleged by the Jesuit-apologist excusing the regicidal doctrines of his colleagues. Here is

The Jesuits were not content to applaud this execrable deed in their factious assemblies ; they celebrated it in writing ; and they did more. When the assassin's mother appeared at Paris, they told the people to go

the original, in the *quoted* form, the *capital letters and italics* being the Jesuits' : " Co qui est de plus exécration, la Sorbonne, autrefois l'honneur de l'Eglise, consultée par les SEIZE, conclut, par acte public, que Henri de Valois n'était plus roi, et que l'on pouvait justement et à bon droit prendre les armes contre lui ; la Sorbonne approuva la dégradation du Roi, fulmina contre lui ; d'où s'ensuivirent les attentats commis depuis sur la personne. Nous pouvons dire en vérité que c'est LA SORBONNE QUI L'A TUÉ, puisqu'elle a INCITÉ ET RÉSOULU les assassins à telle forcenerie et méchanceté . . . Elle a comparé le parricide d'un grand Roi, oh ! blasphème exécration ! aux saints mystères de l'incarnation et résurrection de notre Seigneur."—*Documents*, t. ii. Now it happens that the Jesuit college was one of the rendezvous of the Sixteen ! See Davila, i. 517, and the Jesuits themselves are forced to admit that at least one of them was "sometimes" present at the meeting of the Sixteen, namely, Pigenat, "at the request of Brisson," forsooth, who had nothing to do with the faction, for he "declared for Henry IV., and was hanged accordingly by the Leaguers in 1591," as the Jesuit Feller informs his readers. It was a secret, erratic assembly, and none could be admitted who were not sworn members ; and certainly not for the purpose of "moderating the fury of that execrable tribunal," as Richeome the Jesuit calls it, at the time when affairs had changed faces. It thus follows that one Jesuit, at least, voted for the blasphemy above given. I have before quoted this admission of Richeome (*De la Vérité défendue*, c. lvi.), and it is among the exceedingly sophistic *Documents* of the Jesuits, t. i. *Des Jésuites Liguers*, p. 35. Pasquier addresses the Jesuits as follows on the subject :— "Respecting what your opponents object to you, (namely, that your Father Odon Pigenat was the captain of the Sixteen who ruled in Paris, not only the ordinary magistrate, but even the king,) you admit the fact, in your pleadings, and also by the book of Montaigne (a Jesuit), chap. lvi. ; true, you say it was in order to moderate their actions somewhat. When we read these two passages we began to laugh, knowing that Pigenat, though by no means gifted with wisdom, burned with fire and anger : in fact, he has since then become so furiously mad, that he is confined in a room well bound and corded."—*Catéchisme*, p. 287, b. This Pigenat must not be confounded with his brother, Francis Pigenat, a famous preacher of the League, who signed the deposition of Henry III., pronounced the funeral oration of the Guises, whom he called martyrs, and declared that it was impossible for Henry IV. to be converted—moreover, that the pope could not absolve him—and, if he did, he (the pope himself) would be excommunicated."—*Fuller, Biog. Univ.* They were *Arcades ambo*, as you perceive ; but the Jesuit of the *Documents* is not, of course, satisfied with the evidence against the Jesuit-brother, and would have us believe that the excesses of Francis have been ascribed to Odon !—*Ubi supra*, p. 34, et seq.

and *venerate that blessed mother of a holy martyr*. Thus in their pulpits they called the murderer a martyr, and they styled Henry III. a Herod. They placed the portrait of Jacques Clement over the altars of their churches; and even proposed, it is said, to erect a statue to him in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame.¹ It is remarkable that the king was murdered on the very day he had appointed for their expulsion from Bordeaux. They had fomented the machinations of the Spanish faction and the League against the king in that city: he ordered them to quit the place quietly, to prevent "scandal and murmuring:" they retired to the neighbouring cities; and in their annual letter celebrated the murder of the king as a vindicating judgment.² And no wonder that the servants exulted at the crime, when the master praised it to the skies. Pope Sixtus V., in full consistory, compared the murderer to Judith and Eleazar. "This death," said he, "which strikes such astonishment and admiration, will scarcely be believed by posterity. A most powerful king, surrounded by a strong army, who had compelled Paris to ask mercy at his hands, is killed at one blow of a knife, by a poor monk. Certes! this great example was given in order that all may know the force of God's judgments."³ "To nothing but the hand of the Almighty himself," says Spain's ambassador to Philip, "can we ascribe this happy event; and it leads us to hope that it is now

¹ Hist. abrégé des Jesuites, i. 111; Fabre, Ann. 1589.

² Ann. Litt. Soc. Jesu. Ann. 1589. in tit. Coll. Burdigalense. "Quo die nos regis edicto Burdigalâ pellebamus, eo die rex ipse qui edixerat, à vitâ depulsus est. At nos compingebamus ad S. Macharii . . . ut simul opprimeremur omnes, seu hoc suspicio multorum, seu fama tulit, nisi antea oppressus ille unus fuisset."—Apud *Les Jesuites Crimin.* p. 205. Hist. du Mar. de Matignon, livre ii. cc. xviii. xix.; Coudrette, i. 185, *et seq.*

³ Hist. des Jesuites, i. 112; Ranke, 173; Dispaccio Veneto, 1 Settemb.

all over with the heretics."¹ The joy of the orthodox and Spanish and papal party was universal, and gushingly expressed.

Meanwhile, the immediate consequence of the murder proved that it was *not* all over with the heretics. Henry of Navarre, as Henry IV. assumed the title of King of France, being the next heir to the throne, and named successor by the murdered king. Strange had been the fortunes of the Huguenot Henry. In his infancy a conspiracy had been contrived to seize and deliver him, with his mother and other supporters of heresy, to King Philip and the Inquisition.² It failed ; and he lived to be frightened into abjuration by Charles IX., as we have read, during the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Henry III., on his death-bed, advised him to turn Catholic, if he wished to enjoy the crown. He was still a Huguenot, notwithstanding. The League, Philip II., and the pope, were resolved on no condition to suffer Henry to attain the enjoyment of his rights. Pope Sixtus had proposed his own nephew to succeed when Henry III. murdered the Guises :³ he had since excommunicated Henry of Navarre, and delivered him over to the rancorous animosity and hostility of the papal-Spanish faction in France. The Jesuits did not remain idle. Pope Sixtus, in order to foment the opposition, sent over Cardinal Gaetano as his legate, and associated with him the Jesuits Bellarmine and Tyrius—with orders to effectuate the election of a

¹ "Il a plus à Nostre Seigneur de nous en desliverer par un événement si heureux qu'on ne peut l'attribuer qu'à sa main toute-puissante, et qui faict espérer qu'on en a fini avec les hérétiques."—*Archives de Simancas, apud Capefigue*, p. 124.

² Thuan. i. xxxvi. Ann. 1564. Quesnel gives the plot to the Jesuits, ii. 105.

³ Ranke, 181.

Roman Catholic king for the people of France. At the head of the other Leaguers they led forth processions ; prescribed double fasts and vows to keep up the agitation in Paris ; kept watch in their turn as sentinels ; and made themselves “generally useful,” together with the *other monks*, according to the desires of their master the pope. Over the kingdom they spread with the same pious intention. They preached sedition in their sermons, scattered it by their written addresses, and infused it into their fanatical *congregations*—that powerful arsenal of Jesuit-machination.¹ The horrors of siege came upon the deluded people. Round about the rebellious city Henry IV. and his Huguenot army encamped in array : the Leaguers within — monks, doctors, and Jesuits—kept up the spirits of the deluded Parisians with potent doses of wild fanaticism : the pensioners of Spain administered a dose of their *Catholicism*, and their miserable dupes consented to suffer for what was called religion and orthodoxy. Through the streets they went, following a huge crucifix and image of the Virgin Mary, by way of standard, with the Bishop of Senlis for their captain—a motley crowd of priests, monks, Jesuits, and “devout and religious” citizens, resolved to defend their religion by force, like true Maccabees, or die in its defence. “And in that beautiful and devout assemblage, there were some whose bones pierced their skins by stress of fastings and abstinence, such as the begging friars of St. Bernard, eating only bread and raw herbs, or by way of a delicacy, boiled in salt and water. The sight of this beautiful and devout assemblage so inflamed the hearts of the people, and with a fire so ardent, that it seemed as

¹ Hist. des derniers Troubles, Ann. 1589 ; Coudrette, i. 188.

though the whole ocean would not be sufficient to quench the least spark of it—*que toute la mer ne just pas bastante pour en estreindre la moindre estincelle.*"¹ There was one slight drawback on all this gallant devotion—want of food—want of everything. The pope's legate, the Bishop of Paris, and the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, proposed to convert the silver of the churches into money to pay the troops; and the Spanish ambassador laid a premium on the duration of the miserable siege, by engaging to distribute to the poor dupes of their teachers and masters, a hundred and twenty crowns' worth of bread daily: and thus, in behalf of his master, the King of Spain, he prolonged the sedition so senseless and useless, at the paltry cost of 30*l.* per day, yielding a miserable subsistence to starving thousands.² Meanwhile, Henry IV. pressed vigorously the hopeless but fanatical city:—ever yearning for peace, ever pitying the deluded dupes of the faction, but still resolute in defence of his rights, and determined to enforce, if he could not conciliate, the surrender of the rebellious city. Vain were the vows of the deluded wretches to our Lady of Loretto in the dreadful hunger of the thousand mouths feeding on horseflesh, muleflesh, and bread made of powdered bones dug out of the tombs. Vain were "the very devout processions of people who went bare-foot," with long prayers and a thousand mummeries all the livelong day and the livelong night—whilst harrowing disease, like plague, made the spectres of famine more horrible to see. To reduce the swellings of their limbs, and the numberless maladies of the hunger-tortured wretches, the pope's legate distributed pardons and indulgencies amain; and the monks, priests, and

¹ Pierre Cornejo, Ligueur, *Discours bref et véritable.*

² *Id. ib.*

Jesuits, gave them sermons “ which so encouraged them in all their sufferings, that the sermons served them as bread—*que les sermons leur servoyent de pain.*” And when they falsely told them in these sermons that they would be relieved in eight days, they went away contented.¹ Poor, miserable dupes of priestcraft. Shall humanity never be rid of the heartless, fiendish iniquity—the true Moloch of earth. “ Long live the King of Spain,” the miserable dupes were taught to shout within the walls of the city, pining in famine, wasting in disease. For a little crust of bread the poor wretches, “ blind in their misery, sang songs to the praise of the League, and boasted of their good fortune in belonging to a Roman Catholic king, namely, the King of Spain.”² And Mendoza, his ambassador, to reward their fidelity, scattered among them a quantity of coppers stamped with the arms of Spain: “ Long live the King of Spain,” more lustily they shouted.³ Still they starved: the coppers could not feed them. So desperate was the famine that eight thousand persons died in a few days; and frantic despair, with unavailing tears, called for pity and for food. “ Give us bread; we die of hunger,” they now cried, when Mendoza flung them his Spanish coppers. And the people must be fed, if faction must endure: so it was proposed and resolved by the prelates that all the houses of the ecclesiastics should be visited and searched for food to feed the starving dupes of faction: a contribution from each house, according to the supply in hand, was demanded. The Jesuits were the first to refuse consent to the expedient, the charitable, the just demand; and Tyrius, the rector of the Jesuit

¹ P. Cornejo, *ubi supra*; Davila, ii. 154.

² P. Cornejo, *ubi supra*.

³ *Id. ib.*

college, petitioned the pope's legate to exempt him from this visitation. "Your request is neither civil nor Christian," said the sheriff of the merchants to the Jesuit. "Why should you be exempt? Is your life more valuable than ours?" They covered the Jesuit with confusion, and set to work with the visitation. It was all clover in the rack of the holy fathers. They found quantities of wheat, hay, and biscuit, enough for a year's consumption. They found also a large quantity of salted meat, which the Jesuits had dried to make it keep. In short, there were more provisions in their house than in the four best houses of Paris.¹ Hence you see how much better it is to be the leaders of a faction than its dupes; and here we see how the siege was prolonged. If Henry could have starved out the leaders, the Spanish ambassador would have been long before bowed out with his coppers. But is it not bitterly ridiculous to find out at last how these roaring bellows of sedition fortified their lungs to preach their falsehoods to their miserable dupes? And is it not disgustingly true in all times, that incendiary pharisees, whilst they preach up sacrifice to their dupes, take vast care not to be themselves the victims? Not a single house of the ecclesiastics was found without a supply of biscuits sufficient for a year's consumption at the least. "Even the house of the Capuchin monks, who are said to live on nothing but what is given to them day by day, reserving nothing for the morrow, but giving the remnants to the poor—even *their* house was found well provided. Whereat many were astonished"—and well they might be, if they were stupid enough to take them at their word.²

The provisions thus obtained, and sold to the hungry

¹ P. Cornejo, *ubi supra*.

² P. Cornejo, *ubi supra*.

people who had money, and given to those who had none, staved off the famine for a while—for the demand was only made for fifteen days; and when that term expired the supplies stopped, and the second state was worse than the first. Dogs and cats had been boiled up in huge cauldrons, with herbs and roots to feed the poor. A bit of a dog or a cat, and an ounce of bread, had been the allowance—nay, it was a stipulated condition announced to the poor wretches that, before the distribution, they must bring all their cats and their dogs to a place appointed. And yet they made them pay, and very dearly too, for the bread at sixpence a pound, and the biscuit at eight pence—a nice little traffic for the Jesuits and other churchmen during that fair of the famine.¹ Henry IV. pitied the dupes of the heartless faction. Their cries reached his camp, and resounded afar: shrill were the pangs of agony. Dead bodies strewed the streets of the city. Night and day they buried them, and yet there were more to be buried.

¹ These churchmen sold the skins of the dogs and cats to the starving people. It is affirmed that this dog-flesh and cat-flesh were sold by some of these monks and priests to the amount of 30,000 crowns. "For these priests, foreseeing that the dogs and cats would be in demand, had set some poor people, whom they fed in return, to catch all the dogs that followed the persons who went to mass. Be that as it may, they managed so well, that soon after, not a cat nor a dog was to be seen in Paris."—*Bref Traité des Misères &c.* annexed to the *Satyre Menippée* in the *Pantheon Litt.* The Jesuits even required the crown jewels as security for the cost of provisions which they supplied to the Leaguers; and the crown jewels were delivered to them by the Duke de Nemours! The turn which the modern apologists give to this affair is, that some of the jewels were "deposited" with the Jesuits "to prevent their entire dilapidation." They were afterwards restored to the king by an order of the council—a sad necessity which is scarcely a matter for boasting, as the Jesuit-apologist makes the transaction. The other depositories of the crown jewels sold them, which shows, perhaps, that the other fat ecclesiastics were less wise in their generation than the Jesuits, who would have been seriously compromised by such a proceeding. Documents, *ubi supra*, p. 21, *et seq.*; Cayet, Chron. novenn. t. i. livre vi.; Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, livre xvi. p. 338.

Over the walls, into the ditch below, some of the wretches leaped, maddened by hunger, strong by despair, and reached the camp of the Huguenot. With tears they begged him to let some of their fellow-sufferers leave the city of the famine and the plague—and Henry consented. Four thousand escaped, and more would have followed had the soldiers not driven them back and compelled the Parisians to close their gates—shutting up the rest to famine and disease. Even the richest and the noblest of the great city now writhed in the fangs of horrible hunger. One lady, of rank and fortune, lost two of her children, who died of hunger. Famine hardened her heart, and made her inventive: she put weights in two coffins which were buried, and she kept the bodies of her poor children to feed her hunger: but never a morsel did she eat of that piteous food, which was not drenched with the tears of a mother; and she died ere the death-feast was ended.¹

Still the Faction, the well-fed, comfortable Faction held out—in the midst of physical and moral desolation. The contact of the soldiers, and the Spaniards, *marrans Espagnols*, utterly corrupted all morals and decency. The suburbs were ruined, deserted. The city became poor and a solitude. All around it was desolation. A hundred thousand persons died in the space of three months, through hunger, disgust of life, and wretchedness—in the streets, and in the hospitals—without relief or pity. The University was deserted, or served as a refuge for the husbandmen; and the colleges were filled with cows and their calves.² In the

¹ Bref Traité des Misères, &c., Sat. Menip.

² The Jesuits boasted that during these troubles they benefited the city of Paris by continuing to teach the young, as there was no other college in the university but theirs in full play. "Would you know the reason?" said some

palace, the *Leaguers and their party* had taken up their exclusive above. Grass grew in the streets. The shops were for the most part closed. Horror and solitude reigned where before was heard the sound of the cart and the coach. It was on the *lower orders* that the greater weight of the tempest fell bitterly—and on certain families which were well to do before the war. The well-provisioned ecclesiastics talked of nothing but patience. Roze, the ardent firebrand, Pigenat, Commolet,

one to Pasquier. “The reason is, that the principals of the other colleges had dropped their hands, deploring in their souls the calamities caused by the rebellion : whereas the Jesuits raised their hands to the skies as those who thought they had won the victory of the enterprise.” But, above all, I found a curious letter which was sent to Spain, but intercepted by Le Seigneur de Chaseron, the governor of Bourbonnois, of which *Père Matthieu*, Jesuit, was the bearer. This letter was put into my hands, and it was as follows : “Sire, your Catholic majesty having been so kind to us, as to give us to understand by the very religious and reverend Father Matthieu, not only your holy intentions in the general cause of religion, but especially your good affections towards this city of Paris . . . We hope soon that the arms of his Holiness and your Catholic majesty united, will deliver us from the oppression of our enemy, who has to the present, for a year and a half, blockaded us on all sides, without anything being able to enter into this city except by chance, or by force of arms ; and he would strive to pass through were it not for the troops which your majesty has pleased to appoint us. We can certainly assure your Catholic majesty that the vows and wishes of all the Catholics are to see your Catholic majesty in possession of the sceptre of this crown, and reigning over us, likewise as we most willingly throw ourselves into your arms, as those of our father . . . The reverend Father Matthieu, the present bearer, who has much edified us, being well acquainted with our affairs, will supply the deficiency of our letters to your Catholic majesty, whom we humbly beg to give credence to what he will say.” The Père Matthieu here named is not the famous Claude Matthieu, the courier of the League, but either another Jesuit, or a Spanish monk. The Jesuit apologist of the Documents, in spite of the explanation given by Pasquier, falsely tells his readers that Pasquier or rather Arnaud meant *Claude Matthieu*. This is one of those mean tricks in which the Jesuits presume on the ignorance of their dupes. Compare Pasquier, *Catéchisme*, p. 289, *et seq.*, and the Documents, *ubi supra*, p. 32, *et seq.* Pasquier is of opinion that this Matthieu was a Jesuit, and gives his reasons ; but he does not say he was the famous *Claude*. But the main point here is the letter, with its *sentiments*—and these are not denied. Arnaud said, “The Father Matthieu of the same Order, but a *different person* to him of whom I before spoke,” &c. Plaidoyer, p. 38 ; Jesuites Criminels, p. 212.

Pelletier, Boucher, Garin, Christin, and other seditious preachers, incessantly thundered against the king and his people, and never delivered a sermon without promising succour from Spain. The Sixteen on one hand—the Forty on the other—and the supporters of the parliament shoved the wheels along—kept the machine of Faction in motion. The chiefs, amongst others the Duke de Nemours, who was contriving mighty projects, being well stocked with provisions for themselves, cared for the people only just as much as they thought necessary to prevent them from mutiny. Spanish gold was the cement of this misery, whilst they waited for the arrival of the Duke of Parma with his liberating army. If there were any priests, such as, amongst others, Benoit and Morenne, who exhorted the people to moderation, they expelled them; no man was a zealous Catholic if he did not transform the late king and the present into a sorcerer, devil, heretic damned. The miserable city was full of factions, all vomiting a perpetual fire of deadly hatred against the king. If he appeared gracious, they called him a hare and a fox; if severe, all the tyrants in the world had been good people compared to *him*: and the more their necessities increased, the more wretchedly they bit the stone which was thrown to them from on high, as they evidenced in the first siege, and in the second which followed the retreat of the Spaniards. Thus, as in a diseased body, whilst the bad humours remain, there is no hope of health—so, whilst the chiefs of the League, namely, the Guise party, the pope's legate, the ambassador and agent of Spain, the Sixteen, the seditious preachers, were in Paris, and swayed the people, that body remained in a wretched condition: but in proportion as these humours were

evacuated, health returned to those who would have perished utterly, if the chiefs of the League had remained however short a time longer in Paris.¹

Still it cannot be asserted that the Jesuits did not share the dangers of the enterprise. On one occasion they saved the city for the Leaguers and for Spain. Henry had alarmed the city, but without effect, and the weary people had retired to their houses: "but these good fathers," says an admiring Leaguer, "either in order to give an account of the night's proceedings, or by divine inspiration for the salvation of the city, would not retire, and remained on the fortifications until four o'clock of the morning. They heard a noise and gave the alarm: but the enemy had time to plant six or seven scaling-ladders, and mounted the wall—the first invader rushed towards one of the Jesuits, who fetched him such a desperate stroke with an old halbert that it split in two on his head—and the soldier rolled head over heels into the ditch below. The good fathers served two others in like manner. One of the scalers had already thrown over his ladder inside, so as to get into the city, but the good fathers belaboured him so hotly with two halberts that they wrenched the ladder from his left hand, and did not give him time to use the cutlass he held in his right, though he struck at them lustily, but they aimed at his throat and knocked him into the ditch like the rest. At the noise, an Englishman, named William Baldwin, a lawyer, and one Nivelles, a bookseller, ran up and found these good fathers struggling with another Huguenot, whom they overpowered, dispatched, and flung into the ditch Soon the city was roused, a lot of straw was fired and hurled into the

¹ *Abregé des Estats de la Ligue* (Pantheon Litt., Sat. Menippée).

ditch, so that the enemy, finding that they were discovered, sounded a retreat. It was the third and best opportunity these blinded people had for capturing the city; for if instead of six ladders they had fixed six hundred, and in different places, as they might have done, having more than fifteen hundred, (the people and everybody being tired and fatigued) they would have succeeded in their enterprise, but God was pleased to blind them as on the other occasions,—and wished that these good fathers should have the glory of having defended this city, not only with their doctrine, but also with their arms, and at the risk of their lives. So that there are five things which preserved this people, without all of which it seems that it would have been impossible to preserve it—namely, the contrivance and valour of Monseigneur de Nemours, the governor, the presence of the pope's legate, the alms of the Spanish ambassador, the persuasion of the preachers, and the news sent by Monseigneur de Mayenne and published by the princesses;—we can say that the sixth and most evident of all was the diligence and care of these good fathers.”¹

¹ Pierre Cornejo, *Discours bref et véritable, &c.* “The method of apology which the Jesuits have always adopted,” observes St. Priest, “has always led them to deny everything to servè a temporary purpose, even courageous and honourable deeds.” The deed just related was at least courageous—and yet the Jesuits deny it in the face of four authorities, Davila among the rest. The only argument they allege is the assertion of De Thou, that the assault failed on account of the shortness of the ladders—certainly a very improbable deficiency in such a veteran army as that of Henry IV., who had made the attempt twice before. De Thou actually quotes the fact from Cornejo, and the Leaguer's description of the famine; though he introduces the man's name as one who in some respects did not write with exact diligence respecting those times—*illius temporis plerunque minus exactâ diligentia scripsit*. Still he quotes the fact, and there is no evidence to show that he saw reason to gainsay the Leaguer's account, which certainly has no appearance of a fabrication, as the man writes in admiration of the deeds of the “good fathers.” The apologist of the Documents

At length, after an important victory or two, and much skilful management to little purpose, or, at least, after the most conciliating conduct on his part, Henry IV. resolved to "take the perilous leap," as he wrote to his mistress, and turned Roman Catholic once more, to confound his enemies and secure the crown of France.¹ Henry IV. humbled himself to the pitiful ceremonial in order to consolidate his ascendant, to group round about him the cities of the League, to fling confusion and disorder amongst the powers which resisted his rights of inheritance and victory.² What a bitter thing it was for his faithful Huguenots! But he promised them complete protection—and they loved him so well that they let him "take the perilous leap," as he piteously

truncates De Thou in order to make the aspersion on Cornejo conclusive. The fact is, however, that the expedition was a blunder on the part of Henry, as many believed, according to Davila, and it remained for De Thou to account for the exceedingly curt manner in which he dismisses the transaction. See *Davila*, ii. 175. The affair is also given in the *Journal de l'Etoile*, and the *Brieve Histoire des Guerres civiles avenues en Flandres*. The denial is in vol. i. of the *Documents, Des Jesuites Ligueurs*, p. 21. In favour of Cornejo, it may be stated, that Capefigue quotes him, p. 152, *La Ligue et Henri IV.* It seems to me that the authority of Davila is far superior to that of De Thou. Davila served under the banners of Henry IV., and therefore knew the cause of the failure: he ascribes it to "a Jesuit," but, of course, leaves it to those within the city to describe the particulars, which the Leaguer Cornejo has done so graphically. Touching Davila, see *Sismondi, Historic View*, ii. 59.

¹ "J'arrivai hier soir de bonheur," écrivait-il à sa belle maîtresse, 'et fut importuné de Dieu garde jusqu' à mon coucher. Nous croyons la trêve, et qu'elle se doit conclure aujourd'hui; pour moi, je suis à l'endroit des Ligueurs, de l'ordre de Saint-Thomas. Je commence ce matin à parler aux évesques, outre ceux que je vous mandois hier . . . L'espérance que j'ai de vous voir demain, retient ma main de vous faire plus long discours. Ce sera demain que je ferai le saut périlleux. A l'heure que je vous écris, j'ai cent importuns sur les espauls qui me feront hair Saint Denis comme vous faictes Mantes. Bon jour, mon cœur; venez demain de bonne heure, car il me semble qu'il y a desjà un an que je ne vous ai vus. Je baise un million de fois les belles mains de mon auge et la bouche de ma chère maîtresse.'—*Henri IV. à la Marquise de Mouscaux; apud Capefigue, ubi supra*, p. 251, et seq.

² Capef. 247.

wrote to his mistress, just before he abjured his faith, made his confession, was otherwise humiliated—in fact did the thing completely, and heard a grand *Te Deum* sung over his fall from personal dignity, and his ascent to a golden crown of thorns. How Elizabeth of England bewailed that natural but too significant transaction. “Ah! what grief,” she wrote to the unscrupulous conformist, “and what regrets, and what groans I have felt in my soul at the sound of such tidings as Morlans has related! My God! is it possible that any human respect can efface the terror which Divine fear threatens! Can we even, by arguments of reason, expect a good consequence of actions so iniquitous? He who has supported and preserved you in mercy, can you imagine that He will permit you to advance, unaided from on high, to the greatest predicament? But it is dangerous to do evil with the hope of good from it. Your very faithful sister, Sire, *after the old fashion*—I have nothing to do with the *new one*. ELIZABETH.”¹ Doubtless Henry felt a momentary pang or misgiving at these earnest words of upright expostulation; but doubtless, too, he smiled it away when he thought of the results which the mummery promised. Indifferent to all creeds but that of Machiavel, Henry of Navarre mocked and made a jest of his abjuration, to which he so flippantly alludes in his love-letter to his mistress—by way of

¹ “Ah! quelles douleurs! et quels regrets et quels gémissemens j’ay sentis en mon ame par le son de telles nouvelles que Morlans m’a contées! Mon Dieu! est-il possible qu’aucun mondain respect dust effacer la terreur que la crainte divine menace! Pouvons-nous, par raison même, attendre bonne sequelle d’actes si iniques? Celui qui vous a maintenu et conservé par sa merci, pouvez-vous imaginer qu’il vous permist aller seul au plus grand besoin. Or, cela est dangereux de mal faire pour en espérer du bien. Votre très assurée soeur, sire, à la vielle mode, avec la nouvelle je n’ay que faire. ELIZABETH.”—*Bibl. du Roi, MSS. de Colbert, apud Oapefigue*, p. 251.

a most dismal preparation for that general confession which he was to make on the morrow—with contrition—and absolution—and holy communion. His veritable motive was a political transaction—a purely worldly means for gaining a crown. The preliminaries were clap-trap: the finality was expedience: but the verbal abjuration of his Calvinistic creed was complete. He cloaked himself with popery—the charmed garment that could dazzle and win the blinking religionists of the realm. To the churchmen of St. Denis he swore every article of Roman Faith: to the Protestant princes he only said: “That following the counsel of his friends and other princes, he had consented to hold a conference with the Catholic lords and ecclesiastics of the moderate party, and even to adopt *the papal ceremonies*, as the only means of avoiding a greater defection among his subjects,—to destroy that accusation of heretic relapse which served as a pretext of revolt,—to save his crown and wait for new succours from abroad: that Queen Elizabeth of England herself had already engaged to give him fresh assistance”¹—*recognising the necessity in which he was placed*,—which was false, as we have seen by the queen’s afflicted letter.

Here now, however, was a Roman Catholic king to throw all rivals out of the royal field. Besides, there was valour, there was victory, there was force of arms still to advance his pretension. Henry’s “conversion.”

¹ Correspond. de Henri IV. avec Maurice-le-Savant par M. de Rommel. p. 6. Henry’s sister, Catherine, afterwards Duchess of Lorraine, wrote about the same time as follows to the Prince Palatine John I. “I beseech you, whatever you may hear, not to believe that I will change my religion: for with God’s aid, I shall make so exemplary a confession of it, that no one will doubt that I am resolved to end my days in it, that I would deem myself very unfortunate if I abandoned God for men. Do me the good, I beseech you, to assure all good people of this.”—*Id.*

was ready money to the moderates ; though Spanish doubloons still stimulated the holy union of sedition. It was a moment of crisis—a time when public opinion was totally unsettled, and therefore might be swayed with dexterity in any direction, if skilfully handled. Pamphlets swarmed accordingly—biting ridicule—cutting sarcasm—stinging jokes fell thick upon the Spanish faction, so pious, so holy, so comfortable in the midst of starving thousands. In truth, the sixteenth century was the epoch of caricature and pamphlets. Luther, the German and Genevan school, and subsequently the Dutch and Flemish, had popularised those dashes of biting rage which went at once to the common sense of the multitude. They would seize whatever was ridiculous in a man, or a measure, or a cause, or a system, and fling it to feed the herd of mockers. So desperately given to horrible bloodshed—so often in the midst of hideous sights, that sickened the heart until it was made insensible as stone—the men of the sixteenth century needed farce, folly, burlesque, and masquerade—a mixture of religion and debauchery, so necessary to unite a dreadful earth to that heaven which, after all, those religionists felt was receding from them further and further for ever. They sang their mistresses and the holy confraternities together. Fantastic religionism and rampant licentiousness are the most untable things in existence ; infinitely more so in times when dreadful crimes must be committed with the deliberation we commonly require to perform an act of heroic virtue. Hence the people then loved the excitement of vivid importraitures, whether tending to inspire grief, hatred, pity, or withering contempt. Never had the productions of caricature been more touching,—light, yet penetrating.

It pounced on all the emotions, all the creeds of the epoch. Had it to account for religious persecution? How naturally it fetched a devil, and showed him up blowing forth the infernal atrocity. Nor did it scruple to paint the great serpent lugging off to his quarters flocks of Huguenots and politicians. Intentions, characters, absurdities were perfectly reproduced, and assumed embodiment life-like, unmistakeable under the creative hand of the artist. The parliamentarians took hold of this powerful arm as soon as it favoured them. Paris was inundated with pamphlets, with caricatures, and striking suggestions. They represented the Spanish ambassador under the figure of a huge hen, her head covered with an enormous red bonnet and plume, carrying on her back a long broom, and holding up a little owl—evidently meant for Philip's *infanta*, the royal dream of the Spanish and Jesuit faction—for France or for England. This fowl ambassador is holding a parley with the pope's legate—a remarkably fine cock with long feathers, accoutred in a crimson episcopal roundabout, and armed with a cross-bow, at the end of which is a little fish, to represent Saint Peter's hook, which caught beautiful pence rather than the souls of the purgatorial caverns.¹ Disgusting and blasphemous.

¹ Capefigue, *ubi supra*, 162, *et seq.* It were impossible to quote many of the fancies emitted in those days of "religious" excitement. Capefigue gives some of the worst. In French, horrible as is the meaning, much of the offensiveness is removed by that conventionality which makes "all things lawful" to that language. The same remark is applicable to all the *Roman* languages, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. Whence comes this? Is it not a striking proof of that mental debauchery which resulted from the licentiousness that accompanied the highest development of continental intellect? Words the most revolting to Englishmen are familiar to the French. Imagine the name of a thoroughfare to be "*Hell-street!*" And yet nobody shudders at hearing and repeating *Rue d'Enfer* in Paris. These remarks might be very

mous were many other thoughts and fancies of the hour—a terrible reaction, however, against the still more disgusting and blasphemous proceedings of the Leaguers and their sacerdotal bellows. When ridicule is whelmingly brought to bear upon a cause, nothing remains for it but to die,—and that was the doom which ridicule prepared for the selfish League, its selfish priest-craft and fanaticism. Cervantes has been awarded the merit of having ridiculed chivalry, or knight-errantry, out of fashion : but many other causes had already combined to direct men's thoughts to more profitable phantoms. It is, however, unquestionable that the authors of the famous *Satyre Menippée* killed the hydra of the League. This pasquinade tore the veil from men's eyes, whilst it laid bare the deformities of the monster which had preyed upon them so long, so recklessly, so cruelly. The original title was the *Satyre Menippée*, or *The virtue of the Spanish Catholicon, and the sitting of the Estates of Paris during the League*,—published in 1594.¹ It became a joint-stock composition, when it “took” with the public, and consisted of several parts by “different hands.” The first, or the *Catholicon*, was composed by Le Roi, chaplain to the young Cardinal de Bourbon ; the second part, or the *Farce* of the

largely extended through the whole range of French conversational expression and *littérature*. One of the causes was the abuse of the *religious sentiment*, which the Roman teachers applied to the basest purposes, and made subservient to the vilest interests and expedience.

¹ The word *Menippée* is derived from Menippus, a Cynic philosopher of Phœnicia, originally a slave ; he purchased his liberty and became one of the greatest usurers at Thebes. He grew so desperate from the continual reproaches and insults to which he was daily exposed on account of his meanness, that he destroyed himself. He wrote thirteen books of satires, which have been lost ; “all full of salted witticisms, and peppered jeerings and jokes provocative of laughter, to exasperate the vicious men of his time.”—*Discours de l'Imprimeur, Sat. Menip. (Panth. Litt.)*

Estates of the League, was by many hands ; but Passerat and Rapin composed the poetry—some of the best specimens in the French language. The harangue put in the mouth of the cardinal legate was by Gillot, canon of the *Sainte Chapelle* of Paris, and a clerical member of the parliament. His house was the workshop of the whole satire ; and he it was who represented the burlesque procession of the Leaguers, as pictured among the cuts of the early editions. Florent, Chretien, and Pierre Pithon, other wits of the day, produced the curious and striking harangues of the other sacerdotal Pharisees.¹ It is thus evident that it was a systematic onslaught, with determined energy and resolution to put down the humbug, which was done accordingly. The opening at once gives a full idea of the entire performance. Two charlatans are represented, one as a Spaniard, the other as a man of Lorraine, stationed in the court of the Louvre—both “ quacking ” their drugs, and hocuspocussing all day long before all who would go and see their performance, which was *gratis*. “ The Spanish charlatan (the Cardinal de Plaisance) was very merry, and mounted on a small scaffold, playing the virginals, and keeping a bank, as we see at Venice in the St. Mark. To his scaffold was attached a great skin of parchment, with inscriptions in several languages, sealed with five or six seals of gold, lead, and wax, with titles in letters of gold, as follows : —“ Credentials of the power of a Spaniard, and of the wonderful effects of his drug, called *Higuiero de Inferno*, or Compound Catholicon.”² The sum of the schedule

¹ Henault, *Hist. de France*, ii. 600 ; Feller, *Biog. Univ. in voce*, Gillot.

² *Higuiero d'Inferno* means, in Spanish, *Fig-tree of Hell*. The drug was so called for many reasons. “ First, the fig-tree is a wretched and infamous tree, whose leaves, according to the Bible, served to clothe our first parents after they had sinned, and committed high treason against their God, their father and

was, that this quack was the grandson of a Spaniard of Grenada, exiled into Africa for Mahometanism, physician to the high-priest of the Moors, who, from being a schoolmaster and preacher, made himself King of Morocco by a species of *Higuero*, by dispossessing his master by degrees, and finally killing him, and taking his place. The father of this quack being dead, the son

creator, just as the Leaguers, in order to cover their disobedience and ingratitude against their king and benefactor, have taken the *Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church* to cover their shame and their sin. Wherefore the *catholicon* of Spain is the pretext which the King of Spain and the Jesuits, and other preachers, gained over by the doubloons of Spain, have given to the seditious and ambitious Leaguers, to rise up and revolt against their natural and lawful king, and wage more than civil war in their country : the *Catholicon* can, therefore, be properly called the Fig-tree of Hell, whereas that with which Adam and Eve covered themselves, was the Fig-tree of Paradise. You know, also, that the ancients considered this tree a gibbet, as when Timon the Athenian wished to root up one which he had in his garden, and was somewhat in the way, but on which many persons had hanged themselves already,—he sent forth a trumpeter to proclaim, that if any one wished to hang himself, he must be quick, because the fig-tree was to be uprooted. Pliny tells us that this tree has no odour, neither has the *League* : also, that it easily drops its fruit, just like the *League* : thirdly, that it receives all kinds of graftings, just as the *League* receives all sorts of people : fourthly, that it is short-lived, just as the *League* : fifthly, that the greater part of the fruit which appears at first, does not reach maturity, exactly like that of the *League*. But what beseems it most, and which has more resemblance to the *League* than St. Francis has to our Lord, is the fig-tree of the Indies, which the Spaniards themselves have named Fig-tree of Hell [*Higuera Infernal*, the *castor-oil plant*] of which Mathiol says, that if you cut off only a leaf, and plant it half way in the soil, it strikes root, and then on that leaf another leaf sprouts ; thus, leaves sprouting on leaves, the plant becomes as high as a tree, trunkless, stemless, branchless, and, as it were, rootless, so that it may be placed amongst the wonders of nature. Is there anything so similar and apposite to the *League*, which, from a single leaf, that is, a small beginning, has attained by degrees, from one accession to another, that great altitude at which we have seen it, and yet, for want of having a good footing, and a strong stem to support it, has toppled over at the first wind ?” And so on, the writer follows up the curious allegory with wonderful and most amusing minuteness of similitude, diverging into the *cocoa-nut tree*, and the numberless uses to which it subserves ; “like the *League*, which from the first served the purpose of all sorts of people, with all sorts of hopes, with all sorts of means to cover all sorts of passions—hatred, avarice, ambition, vengeance, and ingratitude.”—*Discours de l’Imprimeur, Sat. Menip. (Panth. Litt.)*

came to Spain, got baptized, and put himself to service at the *Jesuits'* college of Toledo. Here, having learnt that the simple Catholicon of Rome had no other effects than the edification of souls, and caused salvation and beatitude in the next world only, and being rather annoyed at so long a delay, he resolved (in compliance with the testamentary advice of his father) to sophisticate that Catholicon,—so that, by dint of handling, stirring, refining, calcining, and sublimating, he had composed in that college of the Jesuits a sovereign electuary which surpasses every philosopher's stone, the proofs whereof were couched in five articles." Then follow the said articles, of which I shall translate the most striking. "What that great emperor Charles V. could not do with all the united forces and all the guns of Europe, his brave son, Dom Philip, by the help of this drug [compounded in the Jesuit college of Toledo, a city famous for magic], has been able to do sportively with a simple lieutenant of twelve or fifteen thousand men." "Let a retired king [Philip II.] amuse himself with refining this drug in the Escorial—let him write a word in Flanders, to Father Ignatius, sealed with the Catholicon, and the Father will find him a man who (*salvâ conscientiâ*) will murder his enemy whom he could not conquer by arms in twenty years," alluding to the assassination of the Prince of Orange at Delft.¹ "If this king proposes to secure his estates to his children after his death, and to usurp his neighbour's kingdom at small cost, let him write a word to Mendoza his ambassador, or to Father Commolet [Jesuit], and let him write at the bottom of his letter, with the *higuiero de inferno*, 'Yo el Rey, and they will

¹ This murder by Baltazar Girard is ascribed to the instigation of the Jesuits by Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, livre viii. c. 20 ; *Catéchisme*, 202 b.

furnish him with a religious apostate [Jacques Clement], who will go, with a fine face, like a Judas, and assassinate, in cold blood, a great king of France for him, his own brother-in-law, in the midst of his camp, without fearing either God or men : they will do more—they will canonise that murderer, and will place that Judas above Saint Peter, and will baptize that horrible and portentous enormity, with the name of *a blow from heaven* [as did Mendoza], whose godfathers will be the cardinals, the legates, and primates”—the Cardinals Gaetano and Plaisance, legates, the Cardinal de Pelvé, and the Archbishop of Lyons. “Serve as a spy in the camp, in the trenches, at the cannon, in the king’s chamber, and in his counsels ; although you be known as a spy, provided you have taken in the morning a grain of *Higuiero*, whoever challenges you will be considered a Huguenot and favourer of the heretics.” In the harangue of the Archbishop of Lyons, composed by Rapin, the archbishop is made to speak appositely for *all* French revolutions, as well as the League. “O illustrious assistants, chosen and appointed at random for the dignities of this notable assembly—the pure cream of our provinces—the unpressed wine of our governments—who have come hither with so much toil, some on foot, others unattended, some by night, and most of them *at your expense* ! Do you not admire the heroic deeds of our Louchards, Bussys, Senaults, &c. [the Sixteen], who have made their way so well *by the pen* ? What do you think of so many heads [*caboches, noddles*], which have been called together, and which God has raised up at Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, Troyes, Toulouse, Amiens, where you behold butchers, tailors, knavish lawyers, watermen, cutlers, and other sorts of

the scum of the mob, possessing the first vote in the council and assembly of the nation, and giving the law to those who were before great by birth, by wealth, and by qualifications, who would not dare now to hem or mutter before them? Is not that the fulfilment of the prophecy which says :—*De stercore erigens pauperem?* Would it not be a crime to pass over in silence that holy martyr Jacques Clement, who, having been the most debauched monk of his convent (as all the Jacobins of this city know full well), and even after having been publicly reprimanded in the chapter, and whipped, several times, for his thefts and wickedness, is, nevertheless, to-day sanctified, and is now on high, disputing precedence with St. Jago de Compostella? O blessed confessor and martyr of God, how gladly would I deliver an oration and eulogium in thy praise, if my eloquence could reach thy merits! But I prefer to be silent rather than say too little; and continuing my speech, I will speak of the strange conversion of my own person. Though Cato observes :—*Nec te laudaris, nec te culpaveris ipse*—neither praise nor inculcate thyself; still I will confess freely to you, that, before this holy enterprise of union, I was not a great eater of crucifixes, *mangeur de crucifix*, [not very devout,] and some of my relatives, and those who have been most intimate with me, have thought that I smelt somewhat of the fagot, because, when a young scholar, I took delight in reading the books of Calvin, and at Toulouse had joined the nocturnal disputations with the new Lutherans; and subsequently I have not much scrupled to eat meat in Lent, nor to commit ———, according to the example of the holy patriarchs in the Bible :¹ but

¹ “L’archevesque de Lyon, lors irrité contre le Roi [Henri III.] pour des vers qu’il avait faits, et fait faire, en recriminant, et sous les noms de Philon et

since I have subscribed to the holy League, and the fundamental law of this estate, accompanied by doubloons and the hope of a cardinal's hat, no one has any longer doubted of my belief, nor made any further inquiries about my conscience, and my conduct You know, gentlemen, that our *pensions* are matters for serious consideration. But, above all, frequently see to the renovation of the oaths of unity, on the precious body of our Lord, and continue the *confraternities of the name of Jesus* and of the Order : for these are good collars for small folks—where-with we charge the honour and conscience of our good fathers the Jesuits ; and we also recommend to them our spies, in order that they may continue to expedite with certainty our news to Spain, and enable us to receive the secret commands of his Catholic Majesty, to ensure their being obeyed by the ambassadors, agents, curés, convents, churchwardens, and masters of the *confraternities* ; and in their particular confessionals, let them not forget to forbid, under penalty of eternal damnation, every one to desire peace, and still less, to talk of it—but to make the devout Christians stubborn and resolved on assault, blood, and fire, rather than submit to the Bearnese [Henri IV.], even should he go to mass,—as he has charged his ambassadors to assure the pope. But we well know the antidote should this happen, and we will take care to issue a command that his Holiness shall believe nothing of the kind, and even should he believe, he shall do nothing, and should he do anything, we will receive nothing, *if I am not made a cardinal*. Why should I not be made a cardinal, if Pierre de Frontac, being a simple advocate at Paris during the reign of King John, was

made a cardinal for having strenuously defended the cause of the church ?¹ And I—who have deserted my master, and have betrayed my country to support the grandeur of the holy apostolic see—must not be a cardinal ? Yes, I shall—indeed I will—I promise you—or my friends will fail me. I have spoken.”²

These extracts will serve to give some small idea of this whelming appeal to public opinion against the religious quackery of the League, by which this association managed to inflame the people to their own misery and destruction. The *Satyre Menippée* took effect ; and the good citizens of Paris laughed themselves into wisdom—unquestionably the best method of escape from irrational bigotry and political folly. At the present day, in the midst of our sympathetic stirrings, the British Pasquin of the world may prove himself the grand pacificator of England. It is only to be hoped that the minds and hearts of our governors will not stop short with the triumph of security—but will rather make the dutiful effort to reform abuses and forfend calamity by meriting no retribution.

In its last days the League had lost its primitive grandeur. The prestige—the leading idea—was no more. Its chiefs had let themselves down by the guilt of meanness in the eyes of the people. After so much treasure wasted on the part of Philip,—so much abominable roguery on the part of the pope, the priesthood, the monkhood, and the Jesuits,—after so much dreadful suffering on the part of the people by famine and disease—

¹ The allusion is to Pierre de Fretigny, advocate of the parliament and canon of the Church of Paris, who supported the party of the pope, or anti-pope, Clement VII., and was by him made cardinal in 1385, in the reign of Charles VI. —See Ciaconius (Clement VII.) ; and the *Mélanges d'Histoire*, t. i. ; *Vigneul Marville, Catholicon d'Espagne*.

² Harangue de M. de Lyon, Sat. Menip.

after *all*—the thing turns out to be a complete failure. It is so delightful to contemplate such a result, that we would do well to fix the antecedents in the memory of the mind and in the memory of the heart. Events and circumstances had antagonised two systems in Europe,—that of Philip and ultramontane Catholicism, whose end and aim were universal monarchy in unity of faith—which must be Roman Catholic :—that of Elizabeth and Protestantism, whose aim and end were simply self-defence in the destruction of the monster enemy. The Catholic League was, for the King of Spain, the principle of an universal policy. Under its influence, France succumbed under the domination of Philip : the Netherlands could scarcely escape the same fate : the fleets of the great king overshadowed England with their ten thousand sails—and fanned Catholic “stirs” or insurrections in the heart of the country and in Scotland. This glorious scheme was completely understood by Elizabeth. And she thwarted it to admiration. The alliances of “the poor old lady—*la pauvre vieille*,” as she called herself in her dispatches, tended to effectuate the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy by the triple league of the Pyrenees, France, and Italy. To that end she enlisted into her service the Protestantism of the Huguenots wherever they existed on the Continent. Henry IV., the exponent of “religious indifferentism,”—if the expression be not absurd—placed himself exactly in the midst of the two grand systems. By his abjuration he did not abandon his alliance with England—nor the stronger friendship of his brave Huguenot chivalry. Still, a most dexterous politician, at the peace of Vervins, he satisfied Spain,—and yet without offending England. Henry IV. was, in politics, exactly what he was in religion—indifferent

as to persons—forgetful of services rendered him—placing himself between two systems in order to create one for himself alone, both in his personal interests and those of the crown he was assuming. Philip's constitutional indecision was an immense advantage to Henry IV. The Spaniard's prodigious activity was that of a doll effected by a string—totally irrational, and therefore easily “played off” by a politician as cunning and crafty as ever wore a crown. Consider the Spaniard's agents:—all of them small intriguers—in-capable of those large contrivances which take into consideration all the passions of men—their desires, their so-called best interests—driving each its own way, apparently, and yet eventuating the mighty result in contemplation. But there never was anything like a well-laid design in any of Philip's machinations. His agents “stirred” everywhere recklessly—thwarting each other, exasperating the princes, lavishing heaps of doubloons, which the insatiate avidity of the great vassals in France devoured, without promoting in the least the grand result contemplated—namely, the destruction of heresy as an obstacle to Spain's universal domination. In fine, there was needed in that revolution, as in all popular movements, a decided and resolute leader, capable of grasping the energies of the masses to apply them vigorously as he listed, and by a whelming will to neccssitate achievement.¹

¹ See Capefigue, *La Ligue et Henri IV.* p. 271. It is this deficiency—this deficiency of a superior mind, that renders the present epoch of wild and desultory revolutions a crisis full of gloomy foreboding. All over Europe the revolutionary heads are as weak and shallow as the revolutionary members are wild and frantic. We may be sure that royalism on the continent will take advantage of this desperate deficiency. Counter-revolutions will follow. The scheme may now be machinating, which will render Russia the last but triumphant hope of exasperated royalism. Such a result will be disastrous to the freedom of Europe: the second state will be worse than the first. God forfend it!

In 1594 the good people of Paris opened their gates to Henry IV. "The reduction of the city to the obedience of his majesty was so sweet and so gracious, and with such contentment, that none of the citizens received harm in person or property, and the whole day was spent in thanksgivings for so many unexpected felicities, and bonfires blazed during the night for a sign of gladness."¹ Henry IV., in his turn, by way of attesting his precious adhesion to the Catholic mysteries, accompanied the processions and grand ceremonies which filled the streets of Paris in every direction. The rectors, deans, theologians, all the whole tribe of universitarians were foremost with their allegiance to the Roman Huguenot. They "swore with heart and mouth to the most Christian Henry IV., with all submission, reverence, and homage, to recognise him for their lord and prince temporal, sovereign, sole, and legitimate heir; renouncing all leagues and pretended unions, both within and without the kingdom; and we confirm the same," they said, "placing our hands, one after the other, on the holy gospels."² This was the finale of the grand Catholic League so glorious. And a most appropriate ending it was. No other could be expected from its beginning and its progress. Elaborate theories have been developed to explain the phenomenon: but after all, two words suffice to declare both the cause and the effect—*human nature*. How long must we continue to be fooled by names? The paltriest clique-skirmishes and feuds of the paltriest villages perfectly represent the contentions of kings and nations. Some petty jealousy, some thwarted selfishness, shall make two or

¹ Thus the event was recorded by the Parisian town-council in their registers.
—See Capefigue, *ubi supra*, 311.

² Capefigue, *ubi supra*, 323.

more families desperate enemies to each other. Some unforeseen fortuitous incident shall bring them together once more ; hands will be shaken ; and the lips, which uttered erewhile words of implacable detestation, then fashion themselves to outpour exhaustless compliment. It is precisely thus with the little men of great rank and pretensions. A thousand theories may be invented to explain political events—but it is *human nature* after all. When historians shall cease to mount on stilts in order to instruct mankind respecting the doings of the kings and great ones of earth, then their tomes will be the archives of honest wisdom speaking truth and shaming the devil.

Poor human nature ! We should be ashamed of it were we not sure that, in spite of its baseness, it is called to a better destiny, which it can and would reach, were it not for our most defective indoctrination and conventionalities. The turn-coat University of Paris—every other would do the same—belied itself expediently. Thereupon, the League was confined, or rather, was thrown to the dogs or on a dunghill, to vanish by *eremacausis*—elemental putrefaction. Woe to the vanquished ! was the fact, and numberless caricatures and libels fixed their talons on the holy union of the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church—even as “ a violent cross wind from either coast,” the reaction “ blew it transverse, ten thousand leagues awry into the devious air ”—

“ Then might ye see

Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
 And flutter'd into rags : then relics, beads,
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 The sport of winds : all these, upwhirl'd aloft,
 Fly o'er the backside of the world far off,
 Into a limbo large and broad, since call'd
The Paradise of Fools.”

Odes, sonnets, quatrains, stanzas, couplets, in laudation of the Bearnese, were the gushing productions of every pen in the turn-coat city of Paris. All the heroes of pagan mythology lent their attributes and jackets to the triumphant Huguenot. *Henri IV.* was Perseus, and *la France* was Andromeda. *La France* had been sacrificed, and *Henri IV.* delivered her from the monster who held her in his fangs. Such was the *reaction*—the like to which might at any time, in any revolution, be brought about by those who understand human nature and have “put money in their pocket.” Let me be perfectly understood—my firm conviction is, that the *originators* of all revolutions are invariably the worst specimens of human nature. No man who has a heart to feel for humanity will consign the physical, moral, and intellectual fortunes of millions to the arbitrament of a mob.

Henry IV., himself, was astonished at the issue of events. “Can I believe,” he exclaimed, “that I am where I am? The more I think of it, the more am I astounded.”¹ Surely this attestation is enough to silence all theories in explanation—except that of *human nature*. Some of the preachers continued to denounce the Huguenot king. Henry silenced them,—drove the most ardent into exile: but where he struck, the blow was inflicted with discernment: he was not a merciful king, but a deeply political sovereign.² By favour and money he continued vigorously to sap the foundations of the League. One of its great military heads, Brissac, had betrayed the Spanish cause: treason became contagious, or rather in fashion—for treason was, and ever is, a matter of example. All rushed to sell their allegiance

¹ Capefigue, *ubi supra*, 331.

² *Id. ib.*

to the Huguenot : they tried to outstrip each other in their desertion of the conquered cause. When a cause falls on evil days, the most desperate wound it has to endure is dissension amongst its defenders. The exultation of victory stifles the fermentation of internal discord : whilst the spring-tide of successful or offensive battle rushes onwards, there is neither time nor inclination for internal strife : but when the receding tide of adversity lays bare the unsightly mud-bottom of the cause, suggesting chilling reflections on the ghastly sights disclosed,—in that last winter of a cause erewhile so ardent, when defection from its ranks is bold and prominent, and the future darkens with despair—then is the time for mutual, unmeasured, and bitter recriminations amongst the members. This happened to the League, and Henry IV. exerted himself to the utmost to fan the flame of discord.¹ The League and Philip became contemptible. Narrowness of mind, — petty jealousies,—frivolous vanity supplied the grand motives of action. The Catholic question was sunk before the eyes of all the world, into the uttermost depths of desperate egotism, where it had always been in point of fact, though specifically raised to the surface by the bladders of vain promises and pretences. It now became a trade in corruption—hard gold being the circulating medium, and dastardly defection the marketable commodity. Henry IV. enticed away the chiefs of the League, whilst Philip II. bought up men and war-posts. It was no longer a royal contest of chivalry, but a subornation of the vilest sentiments of the heart. Day by day the strength of the Spanish faction in France vanished amain : the country was evacuated. The

¹ Capefigue, *ubi supra*, 336, *et seq.*

wonderful activity of Henry IV. reduced, one by one, all the war-posts bought over with doubloons, or acquired by craft. It was now a war of *nationality*—faction was no more. The Spaniards would have to measure their prowess with that of the French: the League was shattered for ever. The furies which had stimulated civil discord in France were now to direct their energies against the very nation whose king and whose gold had roused them to treasonable insurrection and their country's destruction. This was exactly as it should be—by way of retribution.

The Jesuits and the Jacobins had not acquiesced in this turn of affairs so glorious for Henry IV. Popular among their party, and beloved by a certain portion of the masses, the Jesuits and the Jacobins had not bent the knee before the victorious "heretic of Navarre," as the Jesuit Parsons called him at the very time in question. When the king commanded these preachers to announce his power, and to justify his authority, the two corporations had disobeyed. In the secrets of the confessional, in that mysterious interchange of opinions, advice, and penance, the Jesuits had often recalled to remembrance the glorious days of Catholic power in the League—in the midst of grand processions, with incense and flowers, with endless oaths and infinite obtestations.¹

¹ Capefigue, *ubi suprâ*, p. 347. The university, the curés, all the orders of monks gladly submitted to Henry IV. The Jacobins and Jesuits were the only dissentients. The oath proposed to them by De Harlay, president of the university, was simple enough: "I promise and swear, that I will live and die in the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman faith, under obedience to Henry IV., most Christian and Catholic King of France and Navarre; and I renounce all leagues and assemblies made against his service, and I will undertake nothing against his authority." Jouvenci, the Jesuit historian, says that this oath was framed purposely to destroy the Jesuits: but it is difficult to see what objection they could make to it, unless their party-spirit was by themselves admitted to be paramount

As long as these mighty men of influence remained opposed to the king, there could be no security for his rights or his life. The thought of assassinating the king was familiar with the people: the opinion of the corporations was, that a heretic not reconciled to the Church was without the pale of common rights—it was a meritorious deed to use the knife in order to rid the city of the anathema.¹ Private suggestions, religious insinuations, were not necessary to arm the hand of a fanatic: it was an article of faith, universally proclaimed, that a heretic king might be cut off, as we have heard from the Jesuit-schools: there was immortal glory (according to Mariana, *whose book was just published*,) for the assassin who would cut down an offensive tyrant—that is, a heretic king. Few believed in the sincerity of Henry's abjuration: the pope mistrusted the Huguenot. Sixtus V. was dead, but Pope Clement VIII. was disposed to carry out the papal policy. The inflammatory book of the Jesuit Parsons against Elizabeth, but including, as we have seen, strong argumentation against Henry of Navarre, had gone through several editions, with a wide circulation over France: an edition had just appeared, published under the pope's own eyes at Rome.² Until the king could be absolved

to all other considerations of allegiance to the accepted king of the country. This is, doubtless, the secret of the opposition. At Lyons, also, they refused to take the oath, although the mob threatened to storm their house, and overwhelmed them with abuse.—*Du Boulay, &c. ; Coudrette, i. 194, et seq.*

¹ Capefiguc, *ubi supra*, p. 346.

² *Andree Philopatris ad Elizabethae Reginae Edictum, 29 Novembris, 1591, promulgatum responsio.* In 1592 it was published at Lyons, and in the same year at Augsburg. The copy in my possession was printed at Rome in 1593. By the superscription on the title page, it belonged to the library of the Roman college of the Company; and there is also a Latin inscription stating the author to be Parsons; the inscriptions appear to have been contemporaneous, and the handwriting is that of the end of the 16th, or beginning of the 17th century.

by the pope, the abjuration was incomplete; and the churchmen, who still were inclined to resist Henry IV., made this deficiency the excuse for violent agitation or underhand machination. Henry was aware of this, and was anxious to get absolution from the pope. He sent the Duke de Nevers on the mission to the papal court: but the ambassador was met in Switzerland by the Jesuit Possevin, who presented him a brief from the pope, and informed him that he could not be received as ambassador from Henry IV. to his Holiness.¹ Nevertheless, the French ambassador pressed forward to Rome, and obtained an interview; but the pope positively refused to acknowledge his diplomatic qualifications: all that passed between them must be considered mere private discourse; and yet there was much public import in what he said to the ambassador of Henry IV. "Do not tell me that your king is a Catholic. I will never believe that he is truly converted, unless an angel come from heaven to whisper it in my ears. As to the Catholics who have followed his party, I look upon them only as disobedient deserters of religion and the crown, and no more than bastards and sons of the bondswoman. Those of the League are lawful children, the real supports and true pillars of the Catholic religion."² It is therefore not at all surprising that the pulpits of the faction, which still held out, resounded with appeals

¹ Mem. de Nevers, ii. p. 405; Cayet, Chron. Noven. ii. 251.

² Cayet, livre v. p. 251, *et seq.*; Journal de Henri IV.; Browning; Ranke. It were tedious to detail the numerous conspiracies and attempts against the life of Henry IV., from the year 1584 to 1610, when he was murdered—all generated by the League, advised and sanctioned for the most part by the Court of Rome, inspired and directed by the King of Spain, and by the Jesuits with other monks. Some of Henry's escapes were curious and striking; but I must refer to other writers for the details. See Cayet, *Hist. de la Paix*, p. 144, *et seq.*; Chronol. Noven. p. 228, *et seq.*, and the *Annales des Soi-disans Jesuites*, t. ii. p. 161 to p. 289, including authentic letters and extracts from many historians of the times.

calculated to excite any violent enthusiast to undertake the deliverance of the Church from its pretended dangers. The Jesuit Commolet, in one of his sermons, enlarged upon the death of Eglon, King of Moab ; applauded, like Mariana, the assassination of the late king, and described Jacques Clement as sitting among the angels of heaven. Having thus applied the text, he exclaimed :—" We must have an Ehud—we want an Ehud—be he a monk, a soldier, or a shepherd, it is of no consequence—but we must have an Ehud—this blow is all we want to put our affairs in the situation we desire."¹ It is further stated that at the end of his sermon he exhorted his audience to look forward, saying :—" You will soon behold a miracle sent express by God—yes, you will see it—and consider it already done."² Such sermons were preached at Lyons and other towns, as well as at Paris. They were sanctioned by the Company's theologians, and certainly not discountenanced by the pope's opposition to the king. In

¹ The Jesuit of the Documents denies this apostrophe of his brother Commolet, stated by Arnaud in his pleadings against the Jesuits in 1594 ; and boastfully says that he had read 500 volumes written at the time or immediately after, without finding the fact — which, however, is given in the Journal d'Henri IV., which the Jesuit quotes for other purposes. He says, " let the magistrates anti-jesuitical tell us in what historian, in what monument, in what source Arnaud found an anecdote which no one knew before him"—but surely as Arnaud delivered his charge so early as 1594, there is no wonder that the fact had not as yet become historical : the king had only just entered Paris. The anecdote was therefore as yet a *tradition*, which Catholics venerate next to Scripture, at least. This frothy apologist takes good care not to tell his reader when Arnaud delivered his charge. Again, the alleged services of Commolet subsequently in favour of the king are brought forward by the apologist : but again he fails to state that it was when the tide was setting against the Company, that Commolet made a show of " good service"—just as all the Jesuits, when subsequently patronised by Henry, vied with each other in the same show of " good service." See *Documents, i. Jesuites Lig.* p. 25, *et seq.*

² Arnaud, *Plaidoy.* p. 50 ; *Les Jesuites Criminels*, p. 210, *et seq.* Arnaud says that more than 300 persons were able to attest the fact that this sermon was preached by the Jesuit Commolet. See also Pasquier, *livre iii. c. vi.* De Thou attests the seditious sermons of the Jesuits, *lib. cvii.*

effect, one Pierre Barrière was seized, and confessed his resolution to murder the denounced heretical king. When he had resolved to devote himself to the attempt, he applied to the vicar of the Carmelite monks for his opinion : the friar praised his courage. A Capuchin likewise pronounced such a deed meritorious : but a Dominican, who happened to be attached to the royalist party, being consulted by the assassin—an ignorant man of the lower orders—deferred giving his opinion till the following day, and notified the fact to a royalist, who seized the fanatic. Barrière confessed that he had applied to a priest at Paris, who assured him that the king was not a Catholic, though he went to mass ; and introduced him to Varade, the rector of the Jesuits. Varade, he said, assured him that to kill the king was a great action ; but it required courage, and he must previously confess himself and perform his Easter devotions. He then gave him his benediction, and intrusted him to another Jesuit for confession. Thus encouraged and fortified spiritually, he purchased a double-edged knife, which he had pointed and sharpened, and then set out to kill the heretic king, when he was arrested. According to Pasquier, the criminal confessed all these facts without being subjected to the torture, and affirmed them on the scaffold, and even on the wheel on which he was hidcously broken—“always full of sense and presence of mind,” says Pasquier, who had interviews with the wretch in prison.¹ His confession was very simple, and he mentioned the names of his advisers, who were all priests or doctors in theology : “indeed,”

¹ Cayet, lib. v. ; Thuan. lib. cvii. ; Pasquier, livre iii. c. vi. ; Id. Lettres, livres xxi. et xxii. ; Browning, p. 188.

says Browning, "there is not the least room to doubt their complicity on this occasion."¹ It was this event which hastened the mission of the Duke de Nevers to Rome for the pope's absolution, by way of a shield for the king against the regicidal preachers of France.² Meanwhile the king marched into Paris, amidst cries of *Vive le Roi*, and all manner of gratulations, as I have stated, from an immense majority of the people, monks, priests, and the universitarians. Then the gallant university put forth the oath of allegiance to Henry IV., which I have given, but which the Jesuits resolved not to swear. Doubtless, the great animosity against the Jesuits still existed in the universitarians: but, even if we give to this motive the greatest possible weight, it must be evident that the determination of the Jesuits to refuse allegiance to the acknowledged king of the realm was sufficient to hold them up as public enemies, bellows of sedition, incendiary Pharisees. To say that they could not take the oath until the king was absolved by the pope would have been reasonable enough, if they had decamped from the kingdom; but to remain at

¹ Hist. of the Huguenots, p. 188. The Jesuit Juvenci (Hist. Soc. Jesu. lib. xii.) denies the share of Varade in this affair; but the Jesuits deny everything. It does indeed seem most preposterous in the Jesuits to utter their denials in the face of all acknowledged opinions of their theologians, then so rife, in the face of the undoubted resistance of the pope to Henry's accession. How much better it would have been to admit the fact, and to lament it as an abuse of the religious sentiment. But such is the perversity of all partyism, that it pre-supposes a mental blindness in others as great as the moral obliquity which guides its own proceedings.

² Henry permitted the Cardinal de Plaisance, who had strenuously opposed him, to leave Paris without molestation; he even allowed him to take with him the Jesuit Varade and the priest Aubry, the accomplices of Barrière. *Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. An. 1594; Du Boulay*, p. 813. Henry's forbearance was, of course, purely political; it was his interest to connive at the iniquity whilst his fate seemed to depend on the *master* of the cardinal and the Jesuits, namely, the Pope of Rome.

their posts, and yet refuse allegiance to the reigning monarch, was scarcely a resolution likely to meet with toleration in any age—not excepting the present. The unreasonableness of the Jesuits is enhanced when we consider their known influence with the people—in their famous confraternities which, at that period, belted all Europe, which the Company aspired to move as she listed, by her application of the Archimedean screw to the hearts and minds of humanity. It was therefore not to be wondered at that the University of Paris passed a decree, a month after the king's triumphant entry, to summon the Jesuits to trial, with a view to their expulsion from the kingdom. The parochial clergy joined the University against the Jesuits, and the cause was tried by the parliament of Paris in 1594. The Jesuits were found to have been, one and all, so deeply interested in the Spanish party, that their expulsion from the kingdom was considered necessary. It was futile to say that the whole Company should not be punished for the active exertions of certain members. There was a bad principle, which the whole Company was sworn to defend and to promote—the deposition of heretical kings, together with Philip's grand idea: it was therefore perfectly impossible to make exceptions for the sake of the "Company," whilst all its members were under the influence of that principle, so hostile to the interests of the French government, and to every other.

This question lasted for a long time: endless machinations confused, protracted, exasperated the minds of the debaters. The decree of the University, ordering the proceedings for the banishment of the Jesuits, was signed by the Faculty without any objection. This affair has become memorable by the constant reference

made to it on every occasion which has brought the Jesuits into collision with the parliaments. The charges then advanced against the Company have been always renewed whenever the public mind has been excited by the Jesuits. Antoine Arnauld was advocate for the University ; Louis Dolé for the curés of Paris : and Claude Duret pleaded on behalf of the Jesuits. Arnauld's speech contained much violent declamation ; that of Dolé was more argumentative. The defence of the Jesuits was comprised under two heads—one, that the accusation against the Company was inadmissible—the other, an answer to the accusation, if admitted.¹ Public feeling was so much against the Jesuits, and the assertions made by Arnauld entered so deeply into the experience of the nation at large, that the proscription of the Company was fully expected. The doctors of the Sorbonne had joined in the clamour against the Jesuits, and it was principally in consequence of their demand that the trial had been instituted : but by their intrigues and cabals, the Jesuits obtained a partial document from some of the Faculties, withholding their assent to the prosecution. They also produced a "conclusion" under the name of the Faculty of Theology, against their expulsion from the kingdom : but of this pretended document no trace was ever found in the registers or other books of the Faculty. The fact is, that it was "got up," like modern petitions, for party-purposes. As the Jesuits became the sole teachers of Paris during the League—when the University was converted into an asylum for cows and their calves—they had time to form the young doctors of theology, and of

¹ Cayet, livre v. p. 379, *et seq.* ; Plaid. de M. Ant. Arnauld ; Coudrette, i. 202, *et seq.* ; Browning, p. 190.

course won them over to the interests of the Company.¹ This did not succeed : they tried other means—patronage. The nephew and *successor* of their old friend the Cardinal de Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, was their resource in their time of trouble. This cardinal was the old gentleman whom the Leaguers had raised to mock royalty under the name of Charles X., in opposition to Henry IV. The nephew took the Jesuits under his family wings, and petitioned the parliament, as a party in the litigation, opposing the expulsion of the Jesuits. And the Duke de Nevers (the late ambassador), who saw the danger of exasperating the Jesuits, and, consequently, the pope, by these severe measures, and being otherwise friendly to the Company, gave in a protest against the contemplated expulsion : he said that the Company should not be made responsible for the faults of its members,—though he admitted that the Jesuit-rector at Nevers was *less wise and less prudent than he ought to be in his office*—in other words, that he was a good Leaguer.² The vacation came on : the prosecution was deferred. There was evident machination among the members of parliament : it seemed “that the bad party prevailed,” although Henry, from the camp at Laon, had written to the parliament, requesting and commanding them “very expressly to pass on to the judgment of the process,” because he had heard that “under colour of certain considerations in these times, and because the interest and aim of our service seem to oppose it, they wished to

Henry IV.
against the
Jesuits.

¹ Juvenci (lib. xii. p. 41) states the fact of the “conclusion,” but of course omits to explain how it was “got up.” See D’Argentré, Collect. Judic. ii. p. 503; Coudrette, i. 200.

² Du Boulay, p. 819, *et seq.* ; Coudrette, i. 201.

hinder the judgment.¹ These sentiments attested that Henry was well acquainted with the machinations of the Jesuits, and that he was by no means disposed to show them favour. The result was, an attempt on his life. In the following December, whilst Henry was arriving at the Louvre, from the provinces, a young man glided through the crowd unobserved, and, with a knife, aimed a blow at the king's throat. At that moment two gentlemen had approached, making their salutation on bended knee ; and the king, having stooped to raise them up, received the blow on his mouth. The assassin threw away his knife, and, at first, protested his innocence ; but afterwards he confessed the attempt :—his name was Jean Chatel. Eight days afterwards Henry wrote to Du Plessis, saying :—“ I am quite cured of my wound. These are the fruits of the Jesuits. But they shall evacuate my kingdom.”²

At his examination, Chatel showed that his fanaticism was a sort of inspiration. He stated that he had studied

¹ See the letter in Du Boulay, p. 866. “Many of the magistrates were keenly afflicted to see that the bad party prevailed. Augustin de Thou, president of the parliament, a man of inflexible uprightness, said he saw well enough that, by leaving such a process undecided, they left the king's life in uncertainty : that this was not what he ought to expect from the parliament : that it would have been better to secure the life of the king by a memorable punishment which might be expected from them : that, as for himself, he was so old that he must expect to see the end of his life sooner than the termination of that process, —but, that he might not die without having declared his sentiments on the subject, he was of opinion that the Jesuits ought to be expelled from the kingdom.” This speech is given by the president's nephew, the celebrated historian of the same name. *Thuan. Hist. Lib.* 110. Ann. 1594.

² Mem. de Du Plessis, t. ii. p. 495. “Je suis du tout guari de ma blessure. Ce sont là des fruits des Jesuites. Mais ils vuideront mon Roiaume.”—*Lettre du 5 Janv.* 1595. When Henry was first told that Chatel was a pupil of the Jesuits, he said, “Was it then necessary that the Jesuits should be convicted by my mouth ?”

philosophy at the college of the Jesuits ; that in that house he had often been in the *Chamber of Meditations*, whither the Jesuits introduced the worst sinners. In that chamber, said he, are seen the portraits of many devils of divers frightful shapes, to terrify sinners unto repentance, as they pretended, but in reality to shake their minds, and drive them by admonitions to some mighty perpetration.¹ He affirmed that he had heard the Jesuits say it was lawful to kill the king,—as a tyrant and a heretic, as long as he was not approved by the pope ; and that the act of delivering France from his sway offered, as he thought, the best chance of preserving himself from some part of the torments to which he fancied he was doomed.² The miserable wretch suffered the dreadful punishment awarded to regicides at this period.

The Chamber of Meditations.

It was with difficulty that the populace were restrained from taking vengeance on the Jesuits. Their colleges were surrounded by soldiers : several Jesuits were taken into custody, and the rest removed to other houses. Amongst those arrested

The Jesuit Guignard hanged.

¹ In the *Praxis Exercitiorum Spiritualium*, published by the Jesuit Isquierdo, we have some idea of these monstrous pictures—devils without end of horror and absurdity. Nothing could have exceeded the horror inspired by the picture of Hell, at page 72, when enlarged and coloured for the Chamber of Meditations. But the most hideous of all is entitled the *Puteus Abyssis*, the bottomless pit. It is a naked man sitting in a chair somehow suspended over the mouth of the pit. There are seven swords stuck into him, at different parts of the body—each sword being named after one of the passions. The sword of Idleness is stuck betwixt his thighs, Gluttony in his stomach, Lust just above, Anger on a level with the last, but opposite, Envy in his back, Pride in his breast, Avarice between his shoulders, whilst the sword of Vengeance hangs over his head.—P. 43. All these bloody images must have had a strange effect on the minds of devotees in those days of political and religious excitement.

² Cayet, livre vi. p. 432, *et seq.* ; Coudrette, i. 216 ; Browning, p. 191 ; Juvenci, lib. xii.

were Guignard, the rector of the college ; Gueret, who had been Chatel's confessor and adviser ; and Hay, a Scotchman, who had been remarkable for his zeal against the king. On examining the papers found in the college, there were found, in Guignard's handwriting, some propositions to the following effect : " That if some royal blood had been shed at the St. Bartholomew, they would have been spared the evils under which they laboured ; that the act of Jacques Clement was heroic and glorious ; that the crown of France could, and must, be transferred to some other family than that of Bourbon ; that the Bearnese, although converted to the Catholic faith, would be treated more mildly than he deserved if he were confined in some severe convent, there to do penance ; that if he could not be deposed without war, let war be carried on against him ; and if that could not be done, he should be put to death. Shall we call him a Nero," said the writer, " the Sardanapalus of France, a Fox of Bearn ? " Guignard admitted the writing to be his, but the Jesuit apologist insinuates that the treasonable papers had been composed four or five years before, and that Guignard had " forgotten " to burn them!¹ Guignard was condemned to be hanged—protesting to the last moment his innocence and allegiance. It was a curious and wonderful retribution, that the judges who condemned this Jesuit were the very men who had, as Leaguers, voted the late king to destruction.² The Jesuits were now banished the kingdom—as Henry promised in his letter—banished in "perpetuity." By way of a memorable example, the house belonging to Chatel's father was razed to the

¹ Documents, De l'attentat de J. Chatel, p. 39 ; Coudrette, i. 219.

² L'Étoile, Journal, ii. 155, *et seq.*

ground, and a pillar was raised on the site. This famous pyramid had four sides, with appropriate inscriptions. On the first, it was written that "a detestable parricide (imbued with the pestilential heresy of that most pernicious Sect [of the Jesuits], which, lately covering the most abominable crimes with the veil of piety, has publicly taught men to kill kings, the Lord's anointed, the living images of his Majesty)—undertook to assassinate Henry IV."¹ It seems ridiculous to hear the Jesuits alone accused of these "abominable crimes," by these Leaguers turned royalists "for a consideration." The Jesuits were not innocent: but there were many others quite as guilty: the great difference was, however, that it was impossible to make exceptions as to particular members who might be innocent, in a Company so universally sworn to uphold a bad principle. The monks acted as individuals, or as cliques: the Jesuits machinated always as one man—united ever by unity of purpose. Hence there was no necessity for banishing the Capuchins who continued to attempt the life of the king, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Among the seven or eight wretches who sought the king's life, three were Capuchin monks. On this fact the "impartial" Linguet observes: "A Carthusian tried to kill Henry IV.: two Jacobins followed his example, and three Capuchins imitated the two sons of St. Dominic: nevertheless, neither the Carthusians, the Jacobins, nor the Capuchins were banished: why then were the Jesuits banished on account of Chatel's attempt, who was not even a Jesuit?"² "To this question," says Adolphe Boucher, "the answer seems easy enough. They hanged the Carthusians, the two Jacobins, and

¹ Coudrette, i. 220.

² Hist. Impartiale des Jesuites, ii. livre x., c. xxvi.

the three Capuchins : but they did not banish their brethren, evidently because the crime committed was that of the Carthusians, the two Jacobins, the three Capuchins, and not that of all the Carthusians, Jacobins, Capuchins : whereas, in the crime of Chatel, they beheld the work of the whole Company of Jesus united. Besides, who, at the time when Chatel struck Henry IV., flung the regicidal pages of their Bellarmines, and Marianas, at the thrones of kings ? Were they Carthusians ? No. Were they Jacobins or Capuchins ? No. They were Jesuits. Now the Jesuits were always too clever to play with knives themselves : they were generally content with forging, sharpening, and placing them into good hands.”¹ Linguet observes, however, that “they did well in banishing the Jesuits : but they would have done better in never receiving them :” still, in point of fact it was as impossible really to banish the Jesuits as it was not to receive them at first : in all manner of disguises they remained in France, steadfastly machinating as usual, and taking all the means in their power to effectuate their return.² Henry seemed to breathe freely after the expulsion, especially when numerous inquiries were made respecting the Jesuits in every part of the kingdom ; and it was found that those connected with the Company were generally in expectation of the

¹ Hist. Dramat. et Pittoresque des Jesuites, ii.

² Hist. Abrégé des Jesuites, i. 140. Millot, *ex-Jesuit*, observes very oppositely : “It is certain that most of the other bodies in Paris, ecclesiastical and monkish, might be reproached with a blind zeal for the court of Rome, a criminal attachment to the King of Spain, and to those detestable maxims which led to regicide. But it was deemed necessary to make an example with men more attached by their profession to ultramontane opinions, and more capable, by their intrigues, their talents, and their employments, by their very regularity, of spreading and upholding those opinions. The Company had too much contributed to the birth and progress of the League, for the fall of the one not to be disastrous to that of the other.”—*Elém. de l’Hist. de France*, iii. 132.

attempt upon the monarch's life. A few days before the act was committed, two Swiss were met by some Jesuit at Besançon, on his road to Rome, who told them that, very soon, the King of Navarre would be killed or wounded. The event was also looked for by the Spanish troops in Bretagne, who were sent to aid the expiring League; and from informations taken at Bourges, it appeared that one Francis Jacob, a scholar of the Jesuits in that town, boasted that he would kill the king if it were not already done by another.¹ The evident rancour displayed against the Jesuits would lead us to believe these assertions were "idle tales" invented to precipitate their downfall, were we not convinced by what we have read, that their unconcealed doctrines at the time led directly to any and every attempt against an excommunicated king. To discuss the merits of the oft-renewed dispute, not only between the Jesuits and the Parliaments, but also their quarrels with the Secular clergy, would be tedious beyond endurance. They form the staple commodity of the French histories of the Jesuits. It is, however, remarkable that the declaration published by the Jesuits, in answer to the decree for their banishment, contains an observation, which completely proves the danger and confusion that must attend their establishment in any country, where the people have made the least advances in civilization. After arguing upon the bull of Sixtus V., which deprived the king of his right to the crown, and declaring that the Court had usurped the authority of the Church, in stigmatising as impious and heretical the doctrines which Chatel had imbibed, the Jesuits added, "that lay-judges condemning ecclesiastics, and

¹ Hist. des Derniers Troubles, ii. 53.

particularly ‘religious men,’ [*i. e.*, Jesuits or monks], the *immediate subjects of the pope*, were [*ipso facto*] excommunicated.”¹ It was indeed a harsh expulsion, and, in other circumstances, would have been an unjustifiable decree: but consider the case in all its bearings—consider the conduct of the Jesuits everywhere—their forceful ejections of nuns at Rome, pagans in India, heretics in Bavaria—consider all that you have read, and if we frankly despise the universitarians and the *new* royalists, we cannot, on that account alone, exonerate the Jesuits, or regret their retributive calamity. On the other hand, surely there was infinitely more reason for the king to expel the Jesuits from Paris in those days, than the present Pope Pius IX. could possibly have for expelling them from Rome, at the present time;—and yet Pius IX. *has* expelled them—on the 1st of April, 1848—as memorable a Fool’s Day as ever was, as far as the pope is concerned—for perhaps on that offence against the machinators may hinge the ruin of his house. . . . The Jesuits have always had friends—have always found or made sympathisers in the hour of ruin. In effect, the expulsion of the Jesuits threw fresh obstacles in the way of Henry’s absolution, so necessary to prevent his assassination. When D’Ossat waited on the pope, after the news reached Rome, Clement enlarged upon the proceedings of the French Parliament; and concluded by saying: “See if this be the method of accommodating matters!”²

Meanwhile, the king was more urgent than ever for the absolution; however ridiculous it seems to the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, it was abso-

¹ Browning, p. 192; Cayet, livre vi. p. 438.

² D’Ossat, *Lettres*, part I. p. 36, Jan. 31, 1595.

lutely necessary in those times of sanguinary fanaticism, and influential monkhood, and stirring Jesuitism. The Spaniards menaced the pope if he consented : but the League was no more ; the cause was broken : the pope at length yielded—when he heard that the king was advised to establish a patriarch at the head of the Gallican Church. The idea of this schism frightened the pope : they told him that Clement VII. lost England for wishing to please Charles V. ; and Clement VIII. would lose France if he continued to seek the pleasure of Philip II. ;¹ the Cardinal Tolet, a Jesuit and a Spaniard, joined in the supplication ; Henry's messenger, D'Ossat, was urgent, and the pope gave the precious absolution, inflicting the requisite penitential blows on the backs of the king's representatives, D'Ossat and Du Perron, whilst the *Miserere* psalm was intoned by the assisting priests. Thus was the royalty of France humiliated in deference to the despicable and detestable abuse of man's religious sentiment by the Moloch of Rome.² You will smile when you hear that Henry IV. agreed to perform the following penances : he was to rehearse the chaplet (five Our Fathers, and fifty Hail Marys) every day, the litanies every Wednesday, the rosary (fifteen Our Fathers, and one hundred and fifty Hail Marys) every Saturday, to hear mass every day. He was to confess his sins, and receive communion publicly, at least four times a year ; he was to build a convent, &c.³ There

¹ Millot, iii. 134. There is another version of the anecdote in Davila, lib. xiv.

² See Browning, Huguenots, p. 103, for the affair of the absolution and the accompanying verberation.

³ Millot, *ubi supra*, 135. He says that "these penances were very little in comparison with the humiliating ceremony which Henry's ambassadors endured for him, in receiving, on their knees, strokes of a whip from the hand of the pontiff."

are strange specimens of humanity now-a-days, who yearn for all such proofs of ecclesiastical domination. Poor, flimsy, miserable sentimentalists who are even unworthy to be named with the *Jesuits* whom they publicly pretend to oppose, but whose slaves they are, and perfectly worthy to remain such for ever.

END OF VOL. II.



G. Leitz

ADAM SCHALL,

HISTORY
OF
THE JESUITS:

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR SOCIETY TO ITS SUPPRESSION
BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.;

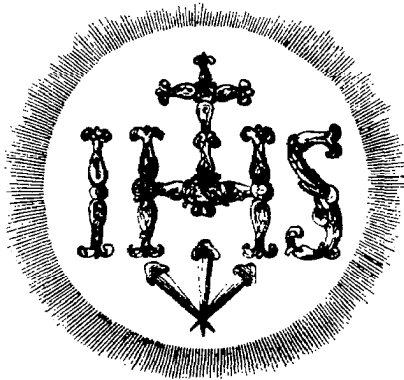
THEIR MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
THEIR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND LITERATURE; WITH THEIR REVIVAL
AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

ANDREW STEINMETZ,

AUTHOR OF "THE NOVITIATE," "THE JESUIT IN THE FAMILY."

WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY GEORGE MEASON.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON :

1848.

Reproduced in electronic form
2002

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

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

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

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom.

CONTENTS TO VOL. III.

	PAGE
Book VII. or BOBADILLA (continued)	1
Book VIII. or LE JAY	370
Book IX. or CODURIUS	537
Book X. or BROUET	574

BOOK VII. OR, BOBADILLA.

(CONTINUED.)

It is time now for us to consider the Company within herself—her internal condition, after meddling so extensively with the “foul chimneys” of the world. All was confusion—desperate contention—implacable discord. Thirteen years have been added to the reign of Aquaviva over the Company of Jesus. The strong man has wielded his power vigorously—stern, resolute, and unflinching. The discontented Spanish Jesuits conceived the design of making themselves independent of the Roman generalate. The method adopted by the malcontents to effectuate their design was actually suicidal—they began with laying bare the abuses and corruptions of the Company—their own Company—the Company of Jesus. *Mariana*, the eloquent speculator on royalty and the mysteries of king-killing, a man of vast authority in the Company, headed the malcontents against the resolute Aquaviva.¹ The general had

¹ The highest praises are awarded to Mariana in the *Bibliotheca* of the Jesuits. He is stated to have been a rigid observer of holy poverty, of rare abstinence, and of incredible fortitude in his sorrows, which his conscientious denouncement of the abuses of the Company multiplied for him exceedingly. He went to confession every day, and was highly scrupulous in the matter of chastity. “It

managed the government of the Company by three or four favoured members, in each province, to the utter neglect of the most learned and weighty men whom the Company or the Church could boast—and not without haughty demeanour.¹ In his fourth chapter, Mariana details numerous troubles and contentions amongst the members, owing to the youthful petulance and *ignorance* of the superiors. In the method of tuition he finds notable defects: in fact, he says the thing is undeniable that less Latin was then known in Spain than fifty years before; and that one of the principal causes of the calamity was the fact that the Company had the charge of education.² The want of perseverance in any given method was the source of the deficiency. There were as many methods as there were masters: all was experiment, and never a system. What was asserted by one was contradicted by another: what was announced by one as evident, another pronounced false—so that the doctrine of the Jesuits was similar to Penelope's web, woven by day, and unravelled by night.³ As might be expected, numerous abuses attended the increase of the lay-brotherhood. Mariana says that of five hundred and

might be a result of this virtue that his hands in death were as tractable as though he were alive"!! So saith the Jesuit biographer.—*Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu.* p. 258, ed. Ant. 1643.

¹ "Mírese si procede este dolor de alçarse el general, y tres o quatro, en cada provincia, con todo el gobierno, sin dar parte à los otros, aunque sean personas de la mas graves y doctas que ay en la yglesia."—*Del Governo de la Compañia de Jesus*, c. iii.

² "No ay duda, sino que oy en España se sabe menos Latin que ahora cinquenta años. Creo yo, antes lo tengo por cierto, que una de las mas principales causas deste daño es, estar la Compañia en cargada destes estudios."—*Ib.* c. vi.

³ "Lo que uno dize, otro le desdize; lo que uno tiene por claro, otro dize que no es verdad; con que la doctrina de los nuestros viene a ser semejante a la tela de Penelope, lo que se texe de dia se destexe de noche."—*Ib.*

forty Jesuits in the province, two hundred and thirty were lay-brothers ; and their cost was excessive. Two lay-brothers cost as much as three others. There were some good men among them : but in general they were men of small capacity, rough natures, such as were taken from the shops or the plough. They frequented the lowest of the people : they became easily secularised ; though they might not commit themselves, they tarnished the fair fame of the Company. The scholars of the Company grew up in idleness, and became presumptuous from their ignorance. The lay-brothers were the constant source of contentions ; and Mariana thought that they would be the beginning of the Company's depravity and destruction.¹ By the Fifth Congregation, in 1593, it was decreed that no colleges should be accepted without fixed revenues for the support of at least thirty Jesuits, if for tuition in the humanity-studies or the languages and general education :—now, allowing the very moderate cost of 30*l.* for each Jesuit *per annum*—this decree demanded 900*l.* a year for the *gratis*-education of the Company of Jesus. But if the three courses of philosophy were demanded in addition by the founders, there must be a fixed revenue for the support of sixty Jesuits at least, equal to 1800*l.* per annum : in the case of an university, or where theology and holy writ were to be taught, provision was to be made for at least one hundred Jesuits, equal to 3000*l.* *per annum*.² It must be evident that the *gratis*-education of holy

¹ *Ibid.* c. vii.

² Canon. V. Cong. 8, Inst. S. J. p. 1061, t. i. In placing the average so low as 30*l.* I have perhaps not done justice to the "charity" of princes and other founders of Jesuit houses. Mariana says that each Jesuit in the house of Toledo cost 110 ducats *per annum*, or about 50*l.*—*Del Governo*,—in the conclusion.

Father Ignatius has assumed a formidable aspect towards the purses of mankind. But, notwithstanding the previous care taken to ensure good foundations, Mariana tells us that the debts of the Spanish province were very great—exceeding 250,000 ducats. To immoderate expenditure, Mariana ascribes the startling admission. The long black robes of the Jesuits, he says, were of woollen stuff, and expensive. Paper, ink, books, travelling expenses, were allowed to all, and advantage was freely taken of the privilege. The brothers were fond of spending money, and they dissipated much: and he thinks that the novices imbibed no very economical principles whilst they beheld so much expenditure, so many luxuries, the display of mules and carriages—reaching at length a pitch of extravagance as though they were the sons of noblemen, without restraint. Then, again, some Jesuits would build, others would demolish—very expensive fancies, according to Mariana. The government of the superiors being absolute and independent, at least as far as the subjects are concerned, each has his own ideas: one plants, another pulls up: one establishes, another abolishes; and all spend or waste large sums of money. Travelling expenses and the postage of letters, he says, amounted to an incredible sum. A provincial stated that the annual expenditure of the province was more than 3000 ducats, about 1500*l*.¹

The management of the Company's farms was another source of abuse. "Opinions were conflicting on the subject, as on all others of the Company," says Mariana, "without the decree of the Second Congregation having been sufficient to regulate us,

Expensive habits of the Jesuits.

Farms and vineyards.

¹ Mariana, *ubi supra*, c. viii.

totally prohibiting the management of farms by Our men.”¹ Great danger to virtue attended this abuse among the Jesuits, “who, by these occupations, wandered alone in the fields, through the villages, frequenting women, and all sorts of people, without restraint and decorum. Repeated and gross faults, although concealed, will at length become known,” says Mariana. “In the midst of so many carriages and herdsmen, so many mules and oxen, our men acquire a spirit by no means humble and devout, because the inward man advances exactly like the outward; and strangers, seeing such display, are forced to believe that we abound in everything: this is so true, that the single house of Villarejo has filled the whole kingdom with the notion that we are very opulent. So that it is impossible to disabuse the world of this opinion by mere words, telling them that the said House

¹ “Sin que aya bastado un decreto de la Segunda Congregacion, en que totalmente se vedan a los nuestros las grangerias,” c. ix. I have given this decree in the Second Volume. This and other exclusively Jesuit-matter in the book, prove that it must have been written by a Jesuit, if not by Mariana. We may be sure that none but the Jesuits were, at that period, acquainted with the secret decrees of the Congregations. The whole book evinces a perfect knowledge of the Institute; and it is impossible to confute this title to authenticity. Of course the Jesuits affect to deny its entire authorship by Mariana: but the Jesuits deny every thing when it suits their purpose so to do. Ranke quotes the book as authentic; and no one who has read any other of Mariana’s works, will fail to note the perfect identity of style throughout—it is the same terse but crabbed conciseness, and vigorous point of Mariana throughout. It was published after his death. The MS. was taken from him by a Franciscan, whilst the Jesuit was in prison for his “rebellion.” Feller the Jesuit says, “It is nevertheless probable that the foundations of the work are Mariana’s. And why should he not think he saw, or even why should he not see, really some defects in the government of the Company? Where is the government without defects? The best is that which has fewest—*optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur*”—but Feller forgets the vain boast of all Jesuits, that the Company was necessarily in the hands of the Almighty, and those of the Virgin Mary, to whom its first century was especially dedicated by the Jesuit Pennequin, in three books of most incongruous Elegies. The book is admitted to be Mariana’s in the *Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu*—but “perhaps with not a few additions.”—P. 259. Ant. 1643.

is in extreme want, whilst so large a train of oxen, and mules, and herdsmen, attest the contrary." Abuses begat abuses. Exemption from tithes did not satisfy the Jesuits: but "too zealous for the temporalities, they passed from feet to hands, that is, they resolved to obtain by contention what they ought to have gained more gently by patience; and thereby they have forced law-suits upon us with difficulties and expense such as to neutralise whatever was gained. As for the farming of vineyards, I know not what to say, except that at Toledo they sell their wine a third dearer than other traders, and, nevertheless, we do not find that any of them are richer thereby. They complain that the greater part of what is collected is spent in the payment of labourers; . . . but would it not be more to the purpose, if Our men would hold more to our Institute, to the requirements of modesty and humility—nay, even to repose, which is so necessary for our other functions, and which is less dangerous and noisy?"¹

These are mere preliminaries to the enterprise of Mariana—mere skirmishes before the pitched battle, and the tug of war. It is the *Monarchy* of the Company which makes the hater of tyrants double his usual size and stature. *Singularis ferus depastus est eam*, he cries, "a strange wild beast hath devoured her." After some sensible remarks on the primitive notion of the Company, and on governments in general, Mariana says:—"Though our laws are excessively numerous, the general nevertheless is absolute—there are no laws for him—whether in promoting to the rank of the professed, in giving appointments, or in founding colleges, and an infinity of

The abuses
of the general
and the
superiors.

¹ Mariana, *ut antea*.

other matters. If there be laws, he has the power to dispense with them. Each provincial with two or three confidants have it all their own way in the provinces, without caring at all for others, although in every respect preferable to themselves. Rome is at a distance : the general neither knows the persons nor the facts, or, if he does, these are accompanied with circumstances to bias his judgment, which may be counted on. . . . Private affection and prejudices sway the government at Rome. . . . I conclude that it is necessary to moderate this monarchy, and to stop its course : for it is evident that 10,000 men cannot be governed like 600.¹ If the general alone applied this method of government—this monarchy, the thing would be bearable—at least, the evils would not be so great. But the evil is, that the provincials, and the immediate superiors, apply the same method—being absolute, without a curb or a check on their proceedings, although all their subjects may be of a different opinion : so that on any emergency whatever, the superior can execute his will, in spite of all opinions to the contrary in his subjects. Discontentment is the result If there be laws, they are not kept at all, and each one wrests them as he likes ; and there are not laws for all contingencies, nor are there penalties awarded for those who fail by acting on their own judgment or for changing enactments. I never saw any one amongst us punished for that misdemeanour. Underlings are appointed to office, and not the most worthy. Ready subservience to the distant policy is the motive of such appointments. Those who excel others are carefully shunned and put down. It has been well said that—*Hæc tyranni vox est,*

¹ Ibid. *ut antea*, c. x.

Quicquid excelsum in regno, cadat—Whatever is highest in the kingdom should be lowered: and another—*Tyrannis boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt*—the good are more suspicious to tyrants than the bad.” Talk of punishment for evil-doing! “I could bring forward examples of villanous cases passed over in silence; and even at the present time the method is still more in practice, because the standard of revolt is raised amongst us—*por estar la gente alborotada*. If any one shows his teeth, they let him alone; and if he goes to Rome, and particularly if he have favour, all is hushed up; but there is a gibbet for the less fortunate members—*la horca se queda para los miserables*.” To defend this monarchy, recourse was had to spies, “of whom it is said there are many amongst us, though cloaked under a more honourable name, to gain favour and credit in doing evil; also flatterers—a very common vice, and the ready way for surmounting the perplexities in the government of the Company; for those at Rome, being determined to settle all affairs by proxy, know not what to do, in the conflicting accounts transmitted. Long delays ensue—appointments are left vacant—strife and machinations follow, with complaints to the pope and other potentates.¹ These offices and appointments are distributed amongst a few persons: whilst some remain superiors for twenty or thirty years, others, who by common opinion are not less qualified, are excluded for ever under various pretences. Some are set aside on the pretence, that they are too choleric; others, that they are melancholic; others, that they are not so well united to the general as they ought to be; and as it happens that the greatest minds and endow-

¹ *Ibid, ut antea, c. xi.*

ments have always some defect, as Plato and Cicero observe, the result is, that the greater part of these great minds remain excluded from the government. Whence follows another impropriety, namely, that they raise to these appointments young and unlettered men, of little weight—not because they are properly qualified, but because, being more enterprising, they know how to wheedle opportunity. Hence all is disturbance: for those whom nature has advanced, and who, for that very reason, are already obnoxious to hatred and dislike, are left behind and discontented; and those who ought to be subjects, are advanced in every way, and cannot easily be supplanted; the latter are full of pride: the former full of irritation. A crying abuse, and which, having continued so many years, has filled hearts with bitterness and discontentment, which generate, and will ever generate, as occasion offers, revolt and mutiny, as we behold daily. I have read, in Aristotle's *Politics*, that every republic must necessarily have for enemies, all those who see themselves excluded from the dignities common to all; wherefore I do not wonder that in the Company there are so many complainers, who consider themselves aggrieved, and cause the disturbances which we behold—particularly as, in our Company, individuals have neither an active nor passive vote in the appointments . . . I will add, that, by the violence which was used in the election of Everard Mercurian to the generalate, the minds of many were very much alienated: the more, that the Spanish nation is persuaded that it remains for ever excluded from the generalate. True or false, this persuasion necessarily produces disgust and disunion, the more because this nation founded, honoured, taught, and even supported the Company for

a long period with its substance. For the sake of peace, remedies must be applied to this disease for the future, or disgust and disturbances will daily increase ; this is not suggested by ambition, but, unfortunately, by most important aggravation, well known to all.”¹

No one will be surprised to hear of abuses resulting from the secret declarations of faults, or syndications as they were called, “made to the superior in secret, without proof, without the intervention of the party in question.” Mariana makes some forcible remarks on the pernicious practice so much in vogue under the reigns of Nero, Domitian, and the rest of tyrants, and he learnedly appeals to history for the condemnation of the practice—stating that a certain Council of the Church forbade every Christian the trade, denying him the sacrament even at the hour of death, upon conviction, “Memorable severity,” he exclaims. “During the past years this sort of government has been much in use in the Company. Whilst the members were good and few in number, the practice could be endured : but since that time, great complaints have arisen against these syndications, and means have been sought to stop the evil : but I am not aware that the remedy has been sufficient” The informations or reports were contradictory, and sometimes false—the result of party-jealousies and piques. “It is the poison of union and fraternal charity for men not to confide in each other, fearing that, whoever can, *will* sell them to gain favour for himself. *I dare affirm, that if the Archives at Rome were examined, there would not be found a single good man amongst us, at least amongst us who are at a distance,*

¹ *Ibid. ut antea*, c. xii.

and unknown to the general ; for we are all spotted, some more, some less.¹ It may be said that the archives are well kept : but we can see if this be true, when we consider who are the persons to whom they are entrusted, and even what happened to Father Acosta, and what they ferreted out of the archives against him, for no other reason than because he procured the convocation of the General Congregation against the will of the general : in my opinion, ruffians could not have done worse by Acosta. And the worst is, that none were punished for this transaction : those who took these steps were the greatest *confidants*.”²

The governmental partyism of the Company withheld the rewards due to merit and acquirements, and the result was, “that, amongst the many men of intellect who entered the Company, more than any other Order, notwithstanding the leisure they had for their studies, few became men of letters—for want of opportunities to call forth their talents. Good preachers were deficient, because there was no distinction made between the good and the bad : mediocrity was, therefore, the usual standard. The same remark applies to ecclesiastical science and literature which have fallen off sadly, neglected, unvalued. It seems, also, impossible for the Latin schools to continue. Now virtue will fall off in like manner, and God grant that it be not already weakened in many. So much for rewards. As for chastisements, it is certain that there are none. Let a man only be bold, and, having done what he pleases, let him make use of some

Touching re-
wards and
punishments.

¹ “Yo osaria assegurar que si los Archivos de Roma se desembuelven, que no se hallara uno solo que sea hombre de bien, a lo menos de los que estamos lexos,” &c.—*Ibid.* c. xiii.

² *Ibid. ut antea*, c. xiii.

covering, and there the matter remains. I set aside the very great delinquencies of which I could relate a great number, which without doubt are dissimulated, under pretext that they are not sufficiently proved, or else, to avoid uproar, a “hue and cry” in the streets.¹ For it seems that *all our government has no other object but to conceal faults and throw dust upon them—a cubrir y hechar tierra*—as if fire could avoid sending forth its smoke. It is only on a few miserable wretches, without power and protectors, that they pour the measure of chastisement and rigour—of which examples are not wanting.² In other matters and cases, a man shall commit great faults and enormities without his gown being touched by way of penalty. A provincial or rector will transgress, will create confusion everywhere, infringing rules and constitutions, will build up, break down, without rhyme or reason,—will dissipate the wealth of the Company, or will even give it to his relatives—the punishment he will receive after many years of transgression will be removal from his office, and oftener still, they will better his condition. Who knows of any superior who has been punished for these transgressions? I, at least, know of none.³ Good superiors are needed—

¹ “Dexo delictos muy graves, que sin duda se dissimulan, y se podrian aqui contar muchos que no se pruevan bastantemente, o por no hazer ruydo, y que no nos oygan en la calle.”

² “Que no parece, sino que todo el gobierno se onderea a cubrir y hechar tierra, como si el fuego pudiesse dexar de hechar de si humo ; solo casi en algunos tristes, que no tienen fuerças ni valedores, emplean sus azeros y rigor. No faltan exemplos desto.”

³ “Un Provincial o Rector hará cosas muy indevidas, alborotará la gente, quebrantará reglas y Constituciones, edificará, derribará sin proposito, sin consulta, hundirá la hazienda, y aun dará a parientes : el castigo a cabo de muchos años es quitarle el officio, y aun las mas vezes, mejorarle. Ay quien sepa de algun superior, que por estas causas aya sido castigado ? Yo a lo menos no tengo noticia.”—*Ibid.*, ut antea, c. xiv.

men of courage and dignity. “It is a deplorable thing that, for our sins, the contrary takes place in every respect. The good are afflicted, either without cause or for slight offences, nay, even extinguished—*muertos*—in the expectation that they will neither speak nor resist—melancholy examples of this could I relate—whilst the wicked are promoted, because they are feared. A proof that our government is disorganised and nerveless, as I have affirmed—enough to deserve that God should utterly destroy the Company—*para que Dios hunda Compañía!*”¹

Mariana lets us into the secret of Jesuit occupations in those days. “The importunity of the world is great ; and as they assist us with their alms, they wish us, in return, to assist them in all their affairs—their marriages, to make their wills for them, to make interest for them with the great in their pretensions, in their law-suits, their accounts, in their affairs with judges ; and they even wish us to supply their enjoyments and pleasures or necessaries for their families. It is quite wonderful what work they give us—I suspect that some day they will require us to be their butlers (if it has not happened already), their cooks, their sweepers, under pretext that these are works of piety ; and thereby our men are secularised, and tramp abroad more than they ought, for the most part occupied with the affairs of friends, relatives, and persons recommended to us. The abuse has gone to

Occupations
of the Je-
suits.

¹ “Es cosa miserable que por nuestros pecados muchas vezes se haze al contrario de todo esto, que los buenos, o sin causa, o por cosas ligeras, son affligidos, y aun muertos, por pensar que no hablaran ni resistiran, de que se podrian poner lastimosos exemplos ; y los ruines son sobrellevados, porque les tienen miedo. Que es estar el gobierno mal traçado, y sin niervos, como arriba se dixo ; punto que basta para que Dios hunda la Compañía.”—*Ib. ut antea*, c. xiv.

such lengths that there are many lords, ecclesiastical and secular, who retain in their suite, whithersoever they go, some of our men, under the title of confessors, just as if they were their chaplains; and these go to their houses to confess them and their domestics, and to say mass in their oratories,—without mentioning other matters in which they are made useful. In the city of Valladolid alone, there must be more than twelve fathers embarrassed with these occupations.”¹ The result was, their infringement of the rules, with resistance to their superiors, presuming on the favour they enjoyed with the great — “as daily experience attests,” says Mariana — *come cada dia se experimenta*. “Plutarch wrote a treatise, in which he proves that philosophers ought to treat with princes, but no man of sense will approve of immoderate intercourse with them.” The Dominicans experienced these evils in their commencement, and they passed a decree that none of their body should be seen in the suite of those personages. “I believe that the Company will find itself some day in that necessity, and even forced to deprive the general of his authority to grant dispensations in the matter.”²

“I have much enlarged, and have been very bold in noticing so many diseases in our government,” says Mariana, in conclusion; — “particularly in Other abuses. matters which are generally considered well regulated, and which, as such, are practised and continued If I have touched many points, be it known that I have omitted others, and these in no small number. I might speak of the poverty of the professed, and ask if it be observed, whilst most of them live in the colleges, and five-sixths are maintained

¹ Ibid. c. xx.² Ibid. c. xx.

by the revenues of the said colleges—so that these revenues are not for the support of the colleges, but for those who inhabit them, who happen to be professed members in great numbers. I might also speak of the presents which are carried hence to Rome—with the view of paving the way to office At first they drew to Rome money enough to support themselves, especially from Spain, whereat there was great tumult, with contention. Besides, a great many of us travel, and with more luggage than beseems men professing poverty ; and not on foot—yea, they do not at all scruple to go in carriages. I might touch on our amusements, which are in great number, and in some places last several months together, producing many evils, for many reasons, and nursing our youth in the love of ease and pleasure, as daily experience attests. I should also have to speak of the renunciations of inheritances. I believe that this point has been in nowise reformed : it is nevertheless inconsistent for a religious to retain the claim to property for so many years ; for if it be said that it is not usual, we know well enough how easy it is to get a dispensation or licence. We have many idlers amongst us ; their numbers increase daily ; they are of no use but to get up small cliques for conversation and scheming, not to mention worse objects. The enjoyments of some are excessive and scandalous : so likewise are our waste and dissipation. I affirm that if the accounts be examined, in this house of Toledo, the annual expense of each member amounts to a hundred and ten ducats, (about 50*l.*.) which is frightful to think of. Our dress also might be more moderate, and more in accordance with poverty.” Mariana wishes to leave no erroneous impression respecting the purity

of his motives in dissecting these abuses of his Company ; and so he says :—“ All I have to add is, that though in this treatise I have noticed the faults of our government, yet if I wished to enlarge on the good things of that Congregation, the treatise would be very long : for doubtless it is one of the best sorts of professions in the Church ; and the individuals are the best people in the world, as far as I can see. A chosen plant of God, her enterprises and her occupations the most glorious and exalted that have ever been seen or read of—truly worthy to be assisted not only by her children, but also by princes and all the world, &c., &c.”¹

Such were the existing abuses. The spirit of discontentment or of terror was universal in the Company. The old Spanish Jesuits were resolved to play the *Bobadilla* once more. As they could expect to effect no change in the government by any inward tendency to health in the Company, they had recourse to other physicians. They resolved to rouse the dragon of the Inquisition against the Company of Jesus ! One of the malcontents, impelled, as he said, by conscientious scruples, accused his Order of concealing and even

remitting enormous crimes when committed by the members, according to the privileges of the Company, and by way of throwing dust

on what was foul and disgusting. A certain confessor was informed against for having perverted the sanctity of confession to attempt the chastity of a young female—a crime which, in Spain, was reserved for the jurisdiction of the holy Inquisitors.² Suddenly the

A Jesuit accuses a criminal brother.

¹ “ Tratado del gobierno de la Compañía de Jesus . . . por el muy docto Padre maestro Mariana de la misma Compañía.” Genev. 1630 (2nd tom. du Merc. Jesuite).

² Sacchin. P. V. lib. ii. 85 ; Ranke, p. 203. “ Yea, for some have married

Inquisition caused the provincial, who was implicated in a case of this kind, and some of his most active associates, to be arrested. Other accusations were brought forward after this beginning, and the Inquisition caused

wives!" exclaims L. O., "that hath bene an ocular witness of their Impostures and Hipocrisie," in the *Speculum Jesuiticum*, or the Jesuites' Looking-glasse, A.D. 1629. "I will name Father Mena (that famous Spanish preacher, and a Jesuite) for one; and therefore to satisfie the reader, I will recite the whole historie. There dwelt in Valladolid in Spaine a lady (her husband being dead, and she left a rich widow in the flower of her age), and therefore not like to have any more husbands; for it is a great dishonour for any lady or gentlewoman in that countrey, that is a widow (were she never so young), to marrie againe, and indeed there is no man of any fashion, that will marrie with a widow. This lady (I say) did always resort unto good Father Mena to confesse, who in the end fell in love (as it is the custome among the Jesuites) with his prettie penitent or ghostly child: but he could not by any meanes get her to yeeld unto his [passion]; for she told him that no man living [should prevail over her] but her husband. Mena seeing her constant resolution to be such, that he could not prevail, began to try another way to assault her chastity; and therefore he sued her to have her to his wife, alleaging many proofes out of the holy Scriptures, and fathers, that priests and Jesuits might have wives, as well as other men; and that God did never forbid marriage, but did allow of it, and withall recommended it, yea, that the first miracle that our Saviour did, was at a wedding in Canaa of Galely, and lastly, that the restriction or restraint of priests' marriage, was but a politick constitution sprung up of late years. With these, and many other proofes and reasons, he persuaded her in the end to become his wife; but with this proviso, that neither of them should reveale the matter to any living man. And thereupon, within a short time after, they both, disguising themselves, went to some poore priest, and were married, and lived many yeeres after. In the end this lady fell sicke of a burning fever, and being (in her owne opinion) past all hope of recoverie, began to be wonderfully perplexed in mind, that she had lead such a life with Father Mena, verily believing that if she should dye in that mortall sinne (as she imagined) without confession and absolution, that she should be damned: for she thought Father Mena could not forgive her that haynous offence, because he had a hand therein himself. And therefore out of a scrupulous and timorous conscience, she sent, secretly and unknowne to Mena, for another grave friar, of another Order, to heare her confession, and to administer some spirituall comfort unto her, in that poore estate wherein she then was. The friar being come, and perceiving how the case stood, would not absolve her of the fact, unless she would reveale all Father Mena's proceedings unto some of her owne, and her husband's nearest kindred in his presence, and desire them to forgive her fault, and revenge her wrongs; for he durst not discover the matter, because it was revealed unto him under the seale of confession, as they terme it, albeit he would have the Jesuites

the statutes of the Order to be delivered up, and proceeded to further arrests. There arose among the true-believing Spaniards an excitement the more vehement, inasmuch as its cause was so obscure, and the opinion became current, that the Jesuits had been arrested on account of some heresy. Meanwhile the Inquisition could only inflict punishment ; but could not make any change in the constitution of the Order. Here the malcontents did not stop short, but appealed to the king, whom they beset with memorials, complaining against the defects in their constitution. To Philip II. that constitution had never been satisfactory. He used to say that he could see through all other orders ; but

disgraced because he loved them not. The lady (seeing there was no other remedy) was contented, and did as he advised her. Whereupon her friends and kinsfolkes understanding how she was not onely abused in her honour and reputation by the Jesuite, but also cheated of the best part of her estate, being enraged, like men out of their wits, complayned unto the *Inquisition-house*, and caused good Father Mena to be apprehended and layd in safe custody, who very stoutly stood to his tacklings, and offered to prove the marriage lawful. The Jesuites (seeing the honour and reputation of their Order to be called in question, and mightily shaken by all the other orders, and swarmes of friers, their mortal enemies, and the ladies friends, who with tooth and naile prosecuted the matter against Father Mena) perswaded both the king and inquisitors that Father Mena was frantick, and requested that they might have him into their custody to be dealt withall, and punished as they should see cause, according to many grace, and priviledges then-tofore granted unto them by severall popes. In fine, the king and the inquisitors, at the request (or rather command) of the pope's legat or nuntius (whom the Jesuites had formerly appointed in the fist) and withall, for feare of giving scandall, if Protestants (whom they call Hereticks) should have notice thereof, gave order that Father Mena should be (in the night time) conveyed secretly unto the Jesuites' college, which is called *casa professa*. So that by this meanes the matter was hushed up, and the lady's friends, yea, all other men commanded to keepe silence. What became of him afterwards I could never know : but it is thought that they conveyed him unto some other of their colledges in some foraigne kingdome or province ; for it was then publickly reported, that the rest of the Jesuites knew of the marriage as well as Mena, and that they had all the money that he had from her, to the use of their colledge. As for the lady she recovered her health, and became a religious nunne afterwards, as I was told. This was in the year 1607, as far as I can remember."—*Speculum Jesuiticum*, p. 5, et seq.

the Jesuits alone he could not understand. He was particularly struck with the apparent truth of what was said to him respecting the abuse of absolute authority, and the monstrous system of secret accusation. Amidst the occupations of the great European struggle in which he was engaged, he bent his attention to this matter likewise. He pointedly enjoined Bishop Manrique, of Carthagena, to hold a visitation of the Order, especially with regard to those two points, on which Mariana so feelingly enlarges.

Aquaviva was not dismayed. The man concealed a profound inflexibility under an aspect of great mildness and great suavity of manners—a character like Clement VIII. and many others of that age—in the utmost degree deliberate, moderate, prudent, and practising that taciturnity whose speech is said to have been given to conceal, not to express, ideas. Never had Aquaviva ventured to pronounce a positive judgment: he would not even suffer one to be uttered in his presence, least of all upon a whole nation. His secretaries were expressly directed to avoid every offensive, every bitter word. He loved piety,—even its outward appearance. In his bearing, at the altar, he expressed a rapt enjoyment of the service; still he kept aloof from every tincture of enthusiasm. He refused permission to print an exposition of Solomon's song, because he thought it offensive—that the language fluctuated on the confines of sensual and spiritual love. Even when he chided, he had the art of winning the feelings: he manifested the superiority of calmness: he led the erring into the right path by substantial arguments: the young clung to him with ardour. "One must love him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria to his father, from Rome, "One must love

Aquaviva
described.

him, if one but looks on him." These qualities, his indefatigable activity, even his noble descent, and the constantly-increasing importance of his Order, procured him an eminent position in Rome. If his adversaries succeeded in gaining over the national authorities in Spain, he, on the other hand, had in his favour the Roman court, which he had known from his youth upwards, (he was chamberlain when he entered the Order,) and with which he knew how to deal, with the mastery of innate and practised talents.¹

Long had the source of contention in the Order subsisted. During the reigns of the former popes, Aquaviva's crafty policy. Aquaviva had managed to forfend a catastrophe. It was easy for him to excite the antipathies of Sixtus V. against the efforts of the Spanish members. The pope had conceived the notion of making Rome more than ever the metropolis of all Christendom:—Aquaviva represented to him that the object sought in Spain was no less than to make themselves independent of Rome. Nor was that all. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth: Aquaviva intimated to him that Manrique, the bishop selected to make the visitation, was a bastard. This was enough to induce the pope to recall the approval he had already given of the visitation. He likewise transferred the proceedings against the provincial to Rome. Under Gregory XIV., the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the Institutes of his order.²

Nor was the hostile party less obstinate and crafty. They saw clearly that they must assail the general

¹ Ranke, p. 204 ; Sacchin. and Juvenci, P. V. t. post. xi. 21, xxv, 33, et seq.

² Ranke, *ubi supra* ; Juvenc. lib. xi. The title of the book is *Societas domesticis motibus agitata, The Company agitated by domestic movements.*

himself at the Roman Court. King Philip had taken up their cause; and the Jesuit Acosta was sent to the pope to induce his Holiness to convoke the Congregation, and to get Aquaviva sent out of the way during the assembly at the Gesù. That of his rebels equally so.

A coincidence favoured the scheme. It happened that the Dukes of Mantua and Parma were at variance: by the advice of Cardinal Toledo, *ci-devant* Jesuit, and apparently for the rebels, the pope seized this pretext, and dispatched Aquaviva to the dukes, as papal mediator. What a paltry subterfuge! Can anything prove more effectually the superiority of the Jesuit Aquaviva over the Pope of Rome? He obeyed: but of course he did nothing with the dukes; and as soon as his secretary at Rome notified the turn of affairs and the machinations, he demanded his recall. The mean pope refused. Three months of this harassing exile threw Aquaviva into a violent fever: he could bear it no longer: he returned in spite of the pope, "recalled by his brethren," says Cretineau, which is arrant nonsense, unless the *brethren* were superior to the pope—which is likely enough, however. The pope had convoked the General Congregation in spite of Aquaviva's supreme will to the contrary: horrified, and resolved to the utmost, the general, in his burning fever, rushed to the rescue of his rights invaded.¹

General Congregations were as irksome to the general of the Jesuits, as a convocation of the Church to the pope. If they were sedulously avoided by every other general, how much more were they to be deprecated by Aquaviva, against whom there prevailed such violent hatred. But soon, observing that the arrangement was

¹ Cretineau, iii. 4, 5; Ranke, 204.

irrevocable, he composed himself, and said: "We are obedient sons, the will of the Holy Father be done." He then set about his measures.¹

Aquaviva contrived to possess himself of great influence in the elections which deputed the members to the approaching Congregation. It was his good fortune to see many of his most formidable opponents—Mariana for example—rejected even by the Spanish Province.³ On the one hand, petitions flocked in to the pope from the discontented, praying for papal intervention against the domination and favouritism of General Aquaviva. "The father general domineered with supreme authority—swaying everything to his will—afraid of nothing—

¹ In a Consulta del Padre Cl. Aquaviva coi suoi padri assistenti, MS. in the Bibl. Corsini, n. 1055, which sets forth the facts of the internal dissensions of the Order, on the whole correctly and in accordance with Mariana's account, Aquaviva is made to give the following statement of a conversation he had with the pope: "S. Stà. disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo." His Holiness said that, "I was not in possession of sufficient information respecting the members of the Order—that I was deceived by false accusers—that I manifested too much credulity." Again, in the list of causes rendering a congregation necessary, it is said: "Perche molti soggetti di valore, che per non esser conosciuti piu che tanto da' generali, non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congregazioni sarehbero meglio conosciuti e per conseguenza verrebbero piu facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi—Because many able men, being but slightly known to the generals, never have any share in the government of the Order, but on coming to Rome to attend the congregations, they would be better known, and consequently could more easily acquire a share in the said government, so that it should no longer be almost invariably confined to a few." These facts attest Mariana's book. They are also given in a memorial presented to Clement VIII., called the *Salutaris admonitio*. The above note is from *Ranke*, p. 204.

² The Jesuit Toledo, or Tolet, was made a cardinal at the very time, apparently for the purpose of giving Aquaviva a rival—at all events, the rebels requested the pope to appoint a cardinal to preside at the Congregation, aiming, of course, at Toledo; and they begged to have Acosta and other malcontents appointed to sit in the Congregation, by papal authority, in spite of the party by which they were excluded.—*Cretineau*, iii. 6.

terrifying all with his frown—putting down the great and most deserving men of the Company, almost killing them—the public good was sacrificed to private favour.” It was a frightful thing to see “mere boys and dunces—utterly strangers to our Institute preferred to the ancients—the ignorant and incapacitated set before the learned and wise—in short, the bad exalted above the good.” Look at the superiors—“they did what they liked and with impunity—and their office was a perpetuity.” Look at the Company—“all good arts were languishing unto death!”¹

On the other hand, Aquaviva’s party bestirred themselves most vigorously. Counter-petitions swarmed round about the papal throne from the provincial Congregations of the Company in Sicily, Germany, Naples, (with numerous signatures), Venice, Belgium, France, Poland, and Austria—all dated in the memorable year 1593—and deprecating the mighty convulsion in the bowels of the Company, stirred to the uttermost by the rebels.² Aquaviva had a party—but he also had a head and a will capable of whelming achievement.

The Congregation assembled: he stood in the midst of his party—his venerable creatures. The battle was

¹ “Patrem Generalem summâ potestate pollere, omnia suo arbitrio administrare, nihil formidare, cunctos nutu terrere, magnos viros et de Societate optimè meritis deprimere, propeque exanimare, bonum publicum sæpè privatâ gratiâ vinci.

“Rudes et tyrones, in nostrisque Institutis peregrinos, antiquis—prudenteribus et doctioribus ignaros et imperitos—melioribus deteriores præfuisse.

“Iisque, qui imperant, omnia collibuisse, atque impunè licere: Imperia diuturna ac penè perpetua esse, nec certa parendi et imperandi spatia constituta esse.

“Ita nobis etiam omnes bonæ artes jam consenescent.”—*Pro Societate Jesu ad Clementem VIII. P. M. Salutaris Admonitio* in Merc. Jesuite, 2nd tome, p. 195, et seq.

² All these supplications are given in the 2nd tome du *Mercure Jesuite*, pp. 203—230.

won : but he flung a halo round about his victorious head by demanding an inquiry into his conduct. Admirable tactic! Should you be ever doubtful of the result, boldly demand investigation into your conduct—if there be little chance of your black not being declared white by a party-majority. By this step all the world, not in the secret, will sigh forth sympathy towards you in your “wrongs,” and denounce your opponents as unreasonable, unscrupulous, impious rebels—against ecclesiastical and “religious” authority. In the very first sitting Aquaviva declared that since he had the misfortune to labour under the displeasure of some of his brethren, he begged for an inquiry into his conduct before any other business was discussed. A committee was named—the grievances were specified—and he was triumphantly acquitted.¹

The propositions of the General Congregation—the Fifth General Congregation—were then brought forward. Philip II. had objected to several infringements of the laws of the Inquisition by the Jesuits in accordance with their privileges : Aquaviva yielded to the king : they were prohibited by decree. There was another crying abuse, that the Jesuits received the first-born of families, with all their rights to succession, into the Company, without compelling or permitting them to fulfil their vows of poverty by resigning their rights completely : a decree was passed on the subject : the abuse was *not* prohibited—only the consent of the general was necessary for the admission of such subjects : the matter was virtually left in *statu quo*.² The king

¹ When the result was notified to Pope Clement, he bitterly said : “ They were to find a criminal, and they exhibit a saint ! ”—*Cretineau*, iii. 7.

² Dec. v. ; Congreg. xviii.

had recommended other points for consideration. Foremost among them were the questions whether the authority of superiors should be limited to a definite period, and whether a renewal of the General Congregation, after a fixed interval, should not be appointed. These questions aimed at once against the very essence of the Institute—the right of absolute command. Aquaviva stood out. The congregation unanimously—*communi omnium consensu, ac nemine prorsus discrepante*—sided with Aquaviva, and rejected the king's suggestions. But the pope now commanded what had been refused to the king; in his apostolic plenitude of power, he determined that the superiors and rectors of the Order should be changed every three years, and that every six years the General Congregation should be assembled."¹ Vain command to the proud, unflinching general of the Jesuits! At first he may have made a show of certain changes in the officials—but look to the mighty fact, that a General Congregation was not assembled again until fifteen years had rolled away with endless “domestic commotions,” and until it was necessary to promulgate stringent decrees against rebels once more—*contra perturbantes*.²

¹ Dec. Cong. V. xxxv. et xxx. By these decrees the contrary was enacted, though the general was vehemently requested not to permit the superiors to remain in office “too long.” But before the Congregation separated, the pope sent Cardinal Toledo, quondam Jesuit, to enjoin the triennial termination of the offices.—D. lxiv. Soon after came the command respecting the meeting of the Congregation at the end of every six years—with an injunction that the three assistants for Italy, Spain, and Portugal, should be changed, as they had been in office long enough. They consented to the sexennial Congregation, formally, but resolved to make representations on the subject to the pope—respecting the assistants, they resolved to demur, and seriously to deprecate the execution. Two Jesuits were sent to expostulate—but the pope persisted. “The Congregation acquiesced and nodded (annuit) obedience;” which, however, was never fulfilled. The three assistants were, of course, elected. Dec. lxxiii. lxxiv. lxxvii.

² In 1608. Dec. Cong. VI. ii.

Other decrees, of curious import, were passed in the Fifth Congregation. The Jesuits were forbidden to hold office in the Inquisition ; but they were “seriously and gravely exhorted” to do whatever they could in the service of the “Holy Office and its ministers, “with humility and alacrity.”¹ It was in this Congregation that the high terms of the Jesuit *gratis*-tuition were tariffed, as I have stated in a preceding page ; but the multiplication of colleges was again objected to, like many other abuses—and in like manner, all to no purpose. And it was in this memorable Congregation, that the proposal was made to procure from the Holy See the canonisation of “Ignatius, of holy memory, the founder of our Company : and not only of Father Ignatius, but also of Father Francis Xavier ; and the Congregation charged the general, that should there be solid grounds in the opinion of competent judges for the demand, he might make the request at a convenient time, in the name of the Congregation.”² This is a curious fact. It informs us that, in the year 1593, *the Jesuits themselves formed the design to get Ignatius canonised, and resolved to prosecute the scheme unto achievement.* Well, in the face of this printed decree, the Jesuit biographers tell us that “Pope Paul V., struck with all he heard of Father Ignatius, felt himself impelled to honour him with a special worship, and to cause him to be honoured by all the faithful. . . . He was of opinion they should begin with instituting a juridical inquiry into the life and actions of the servant of God. They, therefore, applied to the work in 1605”—just 12 years after the Jesuits had resolved to machinate the affair unto fulfilment.³

¹ Dec. Cong. V. xxii.

² Dec. lxxi.

³ The method of machination was, besides their universal conversations and

Vain was the proposition against the syndications or spy-system—nothing whatever was to be decreed on *this* subject—*nihil omnino hâc de re statuendum esse*. It was most necessary to good government—*gubernationi bonæ pernecessariam*.¹ In vain a solitary father proposed that the provincials should be required to give an account of their offices every three years—*nihil addendum esse*—the decree must stand as it was.²

In the same congregation it was admitted, that some of the Jesuits undertook worldly affairs, with permission of the superiors: these infringements of the Constitutions were again forbidden, but with the usual and roguish exception, as to when, “in the judgment of the superiors, *charity* should suggest acquiescence.”³ Blessed CHARITY! How many abuses are brooded beneath thy wings!

suggestions, an annual sermon at the tomb of Ignatius, in laudation of “the saint’s principal actions.” They even got Cardinal Bellarmine to deliver one of these clap-traps in 1599. Baronius was present. And Cardinal Bellarmine “proved that the illustrious deceased, whose eulogium he was delivering, had all that was necessary to give him a place among the saints.” In Bouhours you will find the remainder of this trick as played off on that occasion, ending in a clamour of the Jesuited devotees of Rome, and their immediate worship of Ignatius as a saint “as soon as they knew what *Baronius and Bellarmine had done*” at the tomb of Ignatius! Oh, ’tis a disgusting thing, this Jesuitism—the soul sickens and the heart grows sad. See *Bouhours, Ignace*, ii. 247—249. It is only justice to Aquaviva to state that he ordered the removal of seven lamps placed by “a devout person” over Loyola’s tomb.—Ib. ¹ Dec. xxxiii. xxxiv.

² Dec. xxxiv. Before the Congregation closed, the pope enjoined this suggestion. Dec. lxiv.

³ Dec. xlviii. State affairs and politics were again most stringently interdicted to the Jesuits, “since amongst various princes our Company is in ill-repute, *perhaps* by the fault, or ambition, or indiscreet zeal of certain members.”—Dec. xlvii. The difficulty was how the Jesuits were to distinguish state affairs or politics in those days from the affairs of “religion,” or the *res Societatis*—the affairs of the Company. But as these learned Jesuits found it excessively difficult in this assembly to define what were the “*essentials*” or “*substantials* of the Institute,” as they called them, we may rest assured that “state affairs” and “politics” were equally undefinable—when the impossibility was expedient.—See Dec. xlv. xlv. lviii.

You may have heard of “*reserved cases* of conscience.” The term means certain crimes not to be absolved by ordinary confessors—but by the bishop, or the pope, or those to whom he afflates the divine authority. Amongst the Jesuits there were many “cases reserved” to the superiors of houses and colleges, for absolution. The object in general is manifold: but amongst the Jesuits it was that the superior should know his men—even by *confession*. A list of the *reserved crimes* of the Jesuits, at this period of their history, will surprise you. We can scarcely believe our eyes when we find that such crimes as the following were amongst the contingencies of a Jesuit’s conscience. They are *perjury* and bearing *false witness*—*theft*, and the purloining of anything against the vow of poverty, “in that quantity which suffices to make a mortal sin”—voluntary sins of the flesh “issuing into the act external,” or *the sin* in its usual acceptation.¹ What a strange catalogue for the consideration of the children of perfection—Christian perfection—the Companions of —— but the sacred name must not be written: it must be forgotten in such a contemplation.²

¹ Dec. Cong. V. xli.

² Pope Sixtus V. forbade the Jesuits to call themselves the “Company of Jesus.” “Company of Jesus!” he exclaimed, stroking his huge white beard, “What sort of men are these fathers that we must not name them without uncovering our heads? It is an injury to the other Orders,” he said—“a piece of arrogance which reflects something injurious on the Christ: it is not proper that a name so holy should be pronounced and repeated in discussions by the judges and others at the tribunals.” He permitted them to call themselves Jesuits, but no petitions and intercessions could induce him to revoke the former prohibition. He insisted that Aquaviva himself should draw up the decree, and even to present a formal petition to the Holy See demanding the abolition of the Company’s name! Aquaviva obeyed: the pope died immediately after; and Pope Gregory XIV. abrogated the decree, which had no time to be published. “The decease of Sixtus V. happened so opportunely for the Jesuits,” says the historian of the Order, “that in spite of his advanced age, his past fatigues, and

Stern and relentless were now the decrees against the admission of converted Jews and Moors into the Company. It was a scandal to the prejudiced Spaniards; and although Christ said, Come to me, *all*—and though God excepts to no man existing on account of his race—yet said the Jesuits: “Though we may be satisfied with a man as to himself, still he may be disagreeable to us on account of what he has inherited from his fathers.”¹ Not even the general was now to “dispense” with the decree against the tainted Christian: the law was now to be inviolable—until some rich Jew-Christian or Morisco pricked them with a hard temptation.²

Jews and Moors excluded by the Jesuits.

What an awful time is the time of suspense 'twixt the victory of a party or a partisan-sovereign, and the

the mortal malady which he had endured so long, people saw in his death a human intervention” [that is, he was supposed to be poisoned]. “The origin of the report is as follows,” continues Cretineau: “When Aquaviva left the Quirinal he went to the noviciate of St. Andrew, and ordered the novices to begin a nine days’ prayer to forfend the storm which menaced the Company of Jesus. The novena began, and on the ninth day, at the instant when the bell of St. Andrew summoned the novices to the litanies, Sixtus V. expired. To the present day, when a pope is dangerously ill, and the bell of a Jesuit-church sounds to prayers for the dying, the Romans say: ‘The holy father is going to die—the bell of the Jesuits is sounding the litanies.’”—ii. 350, *et seq.* Leti says the pope was credibly supposed to be poisoned; but by the Spaniards.—iii. 466. Ranke says nothing of the poison, but mentions the storm which burst over the Quirinal when the pope breathed his last. “The stupid multitude persuaded themselves that Fra Felice [the pope] had made a compact with the devil, by whose help he had climbed from step to step, and that now, on the expiry of the stipulated time, his soul was fetched away in the midst of the tempest. In this way they symbolised their dissatisfaction at the many new taxes he had imposed, and the doubts as to his perfect *orthodoxy*, which had been so often agitated of late years.” All his statues were pulled down in a fit of tumultuous rage, as at the death of Paul IV.—*Ranke*, 185.

¹ Tellez, p. 439. “Bem pôde acontecer a contentarnos hum homem pelo que tem de sy, e desagradarnos pelo que herdou do seus Pays.” He is referring to *Polancus*, if you remember, who was debarred the generalate by his *taint*.

² Dec. Cong. V. lii. Members were even to be expelled if found thus to be tainted.—*Ib.*

punishment of the vanquished ! *Væ victis*—woe to the vanquished fell shattering on the rebel-Jesuits. The commands of the pope in their favour—however futile—sharpened the edge of resentment. The times in which Lainez found himself similarly situated, were past :—there was now no need of expedient forbearance. After enforcing every item that the reforming Jesuits denounced—in the fifty-fourth decree of the Congregation a solemn thunderbolt was hurled at the rebels—the “prevaricators,” the “disturbers,” the “architects of novelties,” the “*degenerate* sons of our Order,” who had dared to write memorials to the pontiff, signed with these words—*Ita petit tota Societas—thus demands the whole Company*.¹ “Wherefore, the Congregation declares that such men, the authors of such great evils, the seducers of others, and their accomplices, have incurred all the censures and penalties contained in the Apostolic bulls. Further, it decrees that all of them, as the authors of the most serious division in the Company, shall be forthwith expelled from the whole Company as a pestilence—leaving it to the *general* to decide whether they should be castigated with peculiar penances before they are dismissed !” What a gnashing of teeth were these bitter words calculated to produce in the fallen Luthers of the Ignatians ! If with their own they did thus, what might not be expected from them when externs, when heretics were obnoxious to their high displeasure ? Nor was that all. “But if, through any necessary impediments, they cannot be forthwith expelled from the Company, the Congregation has resolved that they shall be deprived of all office and dignity whatever, neither having a vote nor capable of receiving one—as

¹ Dec. liv.

long as it shall be necessary to retain them in the Company." It must be remembered that most of the general's opponents were enjoying high favour in Spain with Philip II., and the nobility:—this fact made the general and his party somewhat considerate in their ferocious vengeance. The decree proceeds to declare that those who have been "vehemently suspected of having a share in the said machinations," must swear an oath that they will humbly accept the bulls confirmatory of the Institute, and will never infringe them again, nor attempt innovation for the future: "should they refuse to take this oath, or should not keep it when taken, they must be utterly expelled, although they be professed and ancient members of the Company." A general order was by the same decree issued "in virtue of holy obedience," enjoining every member to denounce the perturbators, for the future, to the general,—who was to inflict the merited chastisement, and expel them from the Company—"convinced that unless he did so effectually, he would not consult the good of the Company—for which he ought to be ready to pour out his blood—nor satisfy his conscience." Lastly, "that this enactment may have issue without impediment, the Congregation decrees that a request be made to our most holy Lord Clement, in the name of the whole Order, that, following the example of his predecessors, he may vouchsafe to ratify in our Institute what they confirmed and ratified, and assist the same with his authority and power, so that the penalties which have been sanctioned in this decree against those perverse men may be ordered into execution without impediment."¹ But they were sadly disappointed. Clement VIII.—to his

¹ Dec. liv.

honour be it recorded — refused to pipe to their vengeance.¹ Neither confirmation nor ratification did these *abusivè* aristocrats get for their intended “execution.” They might imprison and otherwise plague and punish the rebels—but it was in accordance with their “privileges”—thus suffered the unquenchable Mariana, —but they durst not expel that mighty Spaniard from his country’s Company. One of the black sheep, Henriquez, was summoned before the council of the loyal professi. He had composed a work which he was forbidden to publish. During the rebellion, in which he took an active part in Portugal, he boldly published the book in spite of Aquaviva’s prohibition—and continued to write his “Sum of Moral Theology”—a bank of “probable opinions” tending to do away with conscience, and to supply its place with “a phantom and a lie.” Unquestionably the Jesuit deserved punishment: but the royal council of Spain and the Inquisition upheld him in his disobedience. Still he appeared before the loyal council of the professi. They tried to soften the proud and headstrong Jesuit into submission. Like a true Jesuit, he clutched his opinions—refused to submit—and claimed the privilege of leaving the Company to enter the Order of St. Dominic.² Aquaviva consented, and the Congregation ended its sessions in January, 1594—leaving the fermentation of discontentment in tenfold energy throughout the Company. In truth, there was no wonder that the Jesuits tempested the

¹ Clement VIII. gave the Jesuits only a breve and an “extension”—the former in 1595, which prohibited our men from using an obsolete privilege by which they carried their “reserved cases” to any confessor they pleased. The “extension” was in 1602, and had reference to the confraternities of the Jesuits, which “faculty” he enlarged to the Jesuit “residences,” at the request of the general.

² Cretineau, iii. 9, *et seq.*

world, since they were restless furies amongst themselves—united only when enemies were to be crushed, or presumptuous mortals dared to shoot arrows against the solar orb of the Company, culminating though she was amid clouds, thunder, and lightning.

Men wonder at Jesuit-pertinacity in the Company's machinations against a resisting world. We find it difficult to conceive the force of motive which impelled the Jesuits in their efforts. There are even critics who find in this element of Jesuitism, something like a proof of its sterling merit; but the devil himself claims, and must be allowed the same "bad eminence." Indifferent to the object, agitation was all they cared for; antagonism was the result of their very existence. Any motive was sufficient to arouse the desperate efforts of the Jesuits. And they still pursued Aquaviva—implacable—resolved to vanquish their general in his triumph.

Finding that they were backed at Rome and in the Escorial, by Pope Clement and King Philip, the agitators held to their design of removing Aquaviva from Rome and the generalate of the Company. A coincidence, as usual, was made subservient to their purpose. The Archbishop of Naples died—and the agitators "circumvented Pope Clement VIII. They morally compelled him to nominate Aquaviva to the vacant see."¹ The Jesuits themselves announce this astonishing fact, or it might be considered an "idle tale." And yet, did not Father *Ignatius* bequeath them the example? Did *he* not get Melchior Cano made bishop of the Canaries to "get rid of" the troublesome enemy?² The Duke of Sussa,

Jesuit pertinacity.

The agitators renew the attack.

¹ Cretineau, iii. 10.

² See vol. i. 380, of the present work.

Philip's ambassador at Rome, made the same demand in behalf of his master, the patron of all rebels but his own, and, therefore, of the Jesuit-agitators, who, however just were their denouncements against the corrupt government of the general, and abuses of the company, forfeited all claim to support by the grovelling method they adopted to promote their enterprise. This is enough to stamp the enterprise with the disgusting seal of selfishness. Aquaviva was deaf to the soft impeachment. He saw through the flimsy veil at once. Was it likely that *he* should not say *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*? Perhaps they fancied that his ambition or self-love would be resistlessly tempted—and so it was, but its object was the generalate of the Company of Jesus—and ten thousand annoyances and vile tricks now made him more resolved than ever to *vanquish—to beat down* all opposition from pope, king, and their fostered rebels. In this fine moment of his career, I bend in admiration of this renowned Jesuit infinitely superior to all his little, grovelling opponents, whom he must have inwardly spurned with that unspeakable scorn which every feeling of the heart—every nerve and muscle of the frame vibrate at the cowardly meanness of those who, without the courage to assassinate, resort to poison. Aquaviva would not be made an archbishop :—the attempt was a failure.¹

What was now to be done by these pertinacious Jesuits? Resign the field? Bite their nails and keep their vow of obedience? Think of *Ad majorem* and preach salvation to the wicked world around? Not the least in the world: they actually resolved to seize Aquaviva—to lay violent hands on their general

Another
attempt.

¹ Cretineau, iii. 10.

and deliver him up to the fatuous King of Spain, Philip III., who had just succeeded to his *unfortunate* father! Again I say, this is no "idle tale,"—but a *true* Jesuit-fact, and no invention.¹ And here an explanation—a *dénouement* is necessary. Aquaviva was never favourable to the League or Spanish faction in France. His politics tended to the contrary direction. I have stated facts which attest at least his neutrality in that disgusting affair. By this conduct Aquaviva was an indirect enemy of Spain. The Court of Spain believed him opposed to its policy; and the Duke of Lerma, the royal minister and favourite, advised the young king to join the conspiracy against Aquaviva. Philip complied. The Jesuit-scheme of seizure was concocted, and Philip gave the initiative. He wrote to the pope, stating that in order to remedy the abuses signalled by the Jesuits in their Company, and to restore concord amongst the various religious communities in Spain, it was necessary that Aquaviva should undertake a visitation over the Peninsula. Such was the villanous representation to the pope—and the Jesuit Ferdinand Mendoza was the Judas appointed, or rather, who formed the project, to betray his master.²

Clement VIII. co-operated in the design. To cloak the villany, he made Bellarmine a cardinal with a most flattering compliment—"as a man of learning unequalled in the Church." In vain both Bellarmine and Aquaviva protested against the dignity, which the Jesuits swore not to receive. The pope persisted—"hoping, by this exaltation of a

The pope promotes the baseness.

¹ Cretineau, iii. 10.

² "Le Jesuite Ferdinand de Mendoza forma le projet de le livrer à Philippe III. d'Espagne."—Cretineau, iii. 10.

member, to present the voyage of the general under a more favourable aspect.”¹ Whilst villany was thus patronised by the head of the Church, can we wonder that the members everywhere wandered in quest of “probable opinions” to construct new consciences for mankind, to make straight the diabolically crooked ways of the human heart? It may be asked what proof is there that Clement knew the object of the king’s request? And we may ask, is it at all likely that he was ignorant of it—considering all that we have read—the whole bearing of the vile affair? Besides, it is admitted that Clement “hoped to present the voyage of Aquaviva under a more favourable aspect.” “No one,” says Cretineau, “made slight of the serious requisition. The general of the Jesuits seemed to be abandoned by the pope. Henry IV. of France, Sigismund, King of Poland, and the majority of the Catholic princes, did not desert the general. Spanish policy triumphed already in the expected captivity of Aquaviva.”

The other potentates opposed it, induced by a sentiment of justice, or by policy. It required nothing less than the death of Clement VIII., which happened in 1605, to reduce all these projects to nothing.² What a strange extrication from a dread dilemma! ’Tixt disobedience to the pope, and destruction or worse captivity by his enemies! Would Aquaviva have submitted to the pope and his enemies?

¹ “Esperant par cette élévation présenter le voyage du Père Aquaviva sous un jour plus favorable.”—*Cretineau*, iii. 12.

² *Soprapreso da una gagliarda convulsione di humori*—he lingered three weeks, “reciting psalms and going through all his other devotions with the greatest piety and religion,” and died on the 3rd of March, 1605.—*Vite de’ Pontef.* p. 691, *et seq.* Another account says, “*Soprapreso d’una concussione d’humori.*”—*Conclavi de’ Pontefici*, p. 444. According to D’Ossat, Clement was subject to the gout.—*Lettres*, ii. 521, ad Ann. 1597, 10 Mars.

Would he have yielded to the fate so vilely concocted? I believe not. He would have found an outlet from the hideous Caudine forks of his worse than Samnite enemies. I lament the death of this pope, because it has denied to history one more example of villany defeated. It would have been glorious to see this elastic Jesuit bursting his bonds like a new Samson, in the toils of the skulking Spanish Philistines, to whom he was basely betrayed. On the other hand, what are we to think of these most opportune papal departures? Was it another *novena* that rang Clement VIII., like Sixtus V., out of life, at the very moment when his death was a blessing to Aquaviva and his party in the Company of Jesus? And the thing is still more mysterious when we read that Clement "was surprised by a strong convulsion, or concussion, of humours"—a malady not to be found catalogued in the nosologies, although worthy of a place in the martyrologies—assuming the pope to have been killed by a Jesuit-*novena*.

Simultaneously with these disgraceful proceedings on the part of the agitators and their political abettors, the Jesuit theologians were waging desperate war with the Dominicans. I have before declared and proved, that among the Jesuits there was no fixed and defined system of scholastic theology. St. Thomas was the watchword as far as he was *expedient*: but they answered to every other precisely with the same intention. Even in this Fifth Congregation this is virtually asserted. "They were not to think that they were so bound to the opinions of St. Thomas, as not at all to be allowed to depart from them: even the Thomists themselves—yea, the greatest Thomists—avow that they do so; therefore, it is but fair that Our Men should not be

bound to St. Thomas, any more than the Thomists themselves.”¹ At first the Jesuits adhered to the doctrinal system of the Thomists, generally prevalent in the schools of that day. Ignatius, or the Constitutions, had expressly imposed upon the disciples, the doctrines of the angelic doctor. Soon, however, as the field of operation enlarged, as events opened an interminable world of discussion before them, they began to think that this angelic doctor, though he might suit the wicked, but unenlightened, paradise of which he was the oracle, was little better than the Ass of Balaam in the equally wicked, but enlightened, fallen world of controversy. Intellect had advanced, although morality, or, rather, *immorality*, was a fixture. It was incumbent on the interesting novelties—the Jesuits—to soar above the beggarly beaten track of the sainted doctor, however angelical. The Jesuits were independent in life: they would be independent in doctrine. St. Thomas was a production of the Dominicans: let the Dominicans expound his opinions. The Jesuits would respect his oracles as far as the said oracles sang the same tune as they themselves so beautifully hummed or whistled; but they claimed the right and the capacity to invent and expatiate in a few delightful variations. But, in point of fact, the angelic doctor had no right to complain any more than all the blessed fathers of the Roman Church. At least, so it was thought at the end of the sixteenth century; and I believe no belief could possibly be better founded. In a work, entitled *The Chief Heads of the Doctrines of the Jesuits*, published in 1580—only forty years after their establishment—you will find, as I have before stated, that the Jesuits ran counter to

¹ Dec. v. Congr. lvi.

Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustin, Jerome, Athanasius, Lactantius, Basil, Cyril, Irenæus, and Origen—in point of fact, to everything in the shape of the “Fathers,” and, by way of a *coup de grâce*, to the Bible itself. This last objection is the least surprising, because the Bible is such an open book, that the many hundred sects calling themselves Christian—however conflicting among themselves—boldly appeal to the Bible for their doctrines. Amongst whom would the Redeemer dwell at the present day? Amongst those whose sincere uprightness is *not* the result of *human theology*. We have also seen, in a preceding page, that the Jesuits objected to swear to teach the exact Catholic doctrine of the Council of Trent, which is, perhaps, the most startling feature of Jesuit independence.¹ The Jesuits had already given many tokens of this independence: Lainez himself was regarded with suspicion by the cast-iron Spanish Inquisition; ² and the free turn of thought prominently evident in the Jesuits had been often a subject of remark to the same detestable Argus. Now, in 1584, General Aquaviva openly advanced these sentiments in the famous *Ratio Studiorum*, or Rule of Studies in the Company of Jesus, published with his sanction, permission, and authority—precisely as they were repeated and enforced in the Fifth Congregation, in 1593-4, as I

¹ Lest it be forgotten, I shall quote the “designation” once more, from amongst the passages selected from the Council of Trent, by the Third Congregation, “as appearing clearly repugnant to our constitutions, privileges, and our usual mode of action.” Here is the passage:—“Ad normam Decretorum Synodi, Magistri, Doctores, et alii in Universitatibus ea quæ Catholicæ fidei sunt doceant; seque ad hoc institutum initio cujuslibet anni solenni juramento abstringant.”—*Sess. xxv. c. 2.* “These are passages of the Council of Trent manifestly repugnant to our laws and the customs of our Company.” Such is the declaration immediately following the passages, of which the above is the last of the most repugnant.—*Corpus. Instit. Soc. Jesu*, i. 815.

² Llorente, iii. 83.

have quoted—a proud repetition of a decree which gave the initiative to a terrible battle among the venerable heads, fairly overcharged with the remnants from the “dens and shades of death—a universe of death.” At the apparent depreciation of their oracular and angelical doctor, up stood the mighty Dominicans, “with shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast.” It was “a lamentable lot.” They “found no rest.” A “fiery alp” emerged in the midst of that astonishing Christendom, which was the Catholicism of the sixteenth century. The Dominicans pronounced the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits to be the most audacious, presumptuous, dangerous book of its kind, and if its suggestions were put in practice, they would cause infinite damage and disturbance in the Christian republic. Both the king and the pope were assailed with remonstrances on the subject.¹ In the very midst of this strong feeling against the independent notions of the Jesuits, *Unus è Societate*—one of the Company threw St. Thomas overboard whilst sailing on the vast, interminable ocean of “fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute:”—the Jesuit Molina published a work—*De Concordiâ Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii*—*On the Agreement of Grace and Free Will*. It became at once the source of the most grating discord amongst the children of grace, and the whole contest for very many years proved beyond contradiction, that if the free will of controversial churchmen once finds an audience, it will arouse a war as graceless as

¹ “Y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario, y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si se metia en pratica lo que contenta, causaria infinitos daños y alboratos en la republica christiana.”—*Pegna in Serry; et apud Ranke*, 205. Pope Sixtus V prohibited the use of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which was published in 1584. Aquaviva published another edition in 1590 and 1594.—*Artes Jesuit.* p. 3, et seq.

that described by Milton, which ended in the loss of Paradise.

“ O shame to men ! devil with devil damn'd
 Firm *concord* holds—men only disagree,
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heavenly *grace*.”

“Throughout the whole range of theology,” says Ranke, “Catholic, as well as Protestant, the questions respecting grace and merits, free will and predestination, were still the most exciting:—they still continually occupied the minds, the erudition, and the speculative powers of clergy and laity. On the Protestant side, the majority were at this period in favour of Calvin’s rigid doctrine of God’s special decrees, according to which some were foredoomed to everlasting blessedness, and others to damnation. The Lutherans, with their milder notions, were at a disadvantage, and sustained losses in sundry quarters. On the Catholic side, an opposite course of opinion took place. Whenever any leaning towards the notions of even the mildest Protestant, or even a more rigid construction of St. Augustin’s expositions, was apparent, it was combated and put down. The Jesuits evinced especial zeal in this matter. They defended, against every bias towards the abjured and abandoned system, that body of doctrine which had been set up in the Council of Trent on the subject, and which, moreover, had been established in part through the influence of their brethren Lainez and Salmeron. And even this system was not always enough to content their polemical zeal.” Ranke gives a clear and candid exposition of Molina’s views, whose object is to explain the difficulties of the subject in a novel manner. “His principal design was to vindicate for man’s free will a

still wider sphere of action than was admitted by the doctrines of St. Thomas or of Trent. At Trent the work of salvation had been declared to be based chiefly on the inherent righteousness of Christ, which, being infused into us, excites love, leads to all virtues and good works, and finally produces justification. Molina goes an important step further. He maintains that free will can, without the help of grace, produce morally good works; that it can resist temptation; that it can elevate itself to various acts of hope, faith, charity, and repentance.¹ When a man has advanced thus far, then, as he asserts, God, for the sake of Christ's merits, accords him grace:² by this grace he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but even in the reception of this grace, and with regard to its growth, free will continues, as before, incessantly active. Everything, in fact, depends on it: it rests with ourselves to make God's grace effectual or the reverse. Justification rests upon the union of the will and of grace—they are bound together like two men rowing in the same boat. It is manifest that Molina could not admit the notion of predestination, as entertained by Augustine or Thomas Aquinas. He considers it too stern and cruel. He will

¹ "The *concurfus generalis Dei*, or general co-operation of God is always pre-supposed; but by that is meant no more than the natural condition of free will, which certainly is not what it is without God. 'Deus semper præsto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit.' 'Pretty nearly in the same way Bellarmine identifies natural and divine law, because God is the author of nature.'"

² "This grace he also explains very naturally," says Ranko: 'Dum homo expendit res credendas . . . per notitias concionatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit Deus in easdem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illam adjuvat.'—*Disput.* 54. 'Whilst a man weighs matters of belief . . . collected from the discourses of a preacher, or from other sources, God's influence enters in some special manner into those means of information whereby the perception in question is assisted.'"

own no other predestination than such as is, properly, foreknowledge. God, from his omniscient insight into the nature of each man's will, knows beforehand what each will do in any contingency, even though it be in his power to do the contrary. But a thing does not occur by reason of the fact that God foresees it : on the contrary, God foresees it because it will occur. This was a doctrine assuredly most directly opposed to that of Calvin : it was, at the same time, the first that undertook to rationalise this mystery, if we may so speak. It is intelligible, acute, and superficial, and therefore it could not fail of a certain success. It may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits produced about the same period."¹

This doctrine of the Jesuit Molina was opposed to that of St. Thomas and his Dominicans : consequently the monks set upon Molina and his party with all the zeal that should be displayed against confirmed and condemned heretics by the hounds of orthodoxy. But the fact is, that politics were at the bottom of the agitation, as far as the patrons of the contest were concerned. The Jesuits were hated in Spain at the present time, on account of Aquaviva's manifest leaning towards Henry IV. of France. As Aquaviva's party was now the great majority of the Company, the Spaniards denounced the order as heretical, in punishment for its present political inclination. In fact, so purely political was the real substance of the affair, that the discontented Jesuits sided with the Dominicans : Henriquez and Mariana openly censured the doctrines of Molina. We have thus exhibited a curious feature in the Company of Jesus at this period. Within half a dozen years expelled

from France for leaning towards Spain — and now denounced in Spain for leaning towards France. This last effect was the result of Aquaviva's management. For Spain he had no sympathy : to France he looked, and not erroneously, with hopes the most ardent. Lastly, there was another faction in the Company, which was sworn to promote the interests of Spain, namely, the English Jesuits, headed by Parsons.¹ Meanwhile, however, the religious rancour of the contest lost nothing *in intensity by its political bearing*. Aquaviva and his assistants were for Molina : this was enough to stir up the opposition of the Company's agitators. The vast majority of the Jesuits ranged in like manner with their general : this was sufficient to rouse the Dominicans against the Company, whose prospects at that time, in spite of domestic commotion, were the most glorious imaginable. A public disputation between the Dominicans and the Jesuits on Molina's views ended bitterly, as might be expected ;—nothing more was wanted to effectuate an implacable enmity between the two parties : henceforward *Molinism*, or the doctrine of Molina, was to be the excuse for the most suicidal machinations that have ever exhibited to the world the ghastliness of Rome. The quarrel set the whole Catholic world in agitation—both on account of the doctrines in question,

¹ “ With regard to the dispute between the Dominicans and Jesuits,” says Du Perron, writing to Henry IV. in 1606, “ I will apprise your Majesty as soon as the pope has come to a decision. The Spaniards openly protect the Dominicans, in hatred, as I believe, of the affection evinced towards your Majesty by the Father General of the Jesuits, and almost all his Company, excepting those dependant on Fathers Mendocça and Parsons, particularly the English Jesuits ; and it seems that they wish to make a state-quarrel out of a religious dispute : but his holiness will know how to discern one interest from the other, and to adjudge the truth to those to whom it belongs.”—*Ambassades et Negociations du Card. du Perron*, 430, ed. Paris, 1623.

and the respective champions with their partisans. If it was really a *misfortune* for the Jesuits to be violently opposed (and I am decidedly of the contrary opinion) it is curious to note its origin in their time-serving, place-serving expediency. With party-purposes they debited specious arguments for the "sovereignty of the people" and in defence of "regicide"—with the intention of promoting the interests of Spain and of the popedom. When Henry IV.'s victories and bribes captivated the French parliamentarians, universitarians, and other churchmen, these doctrines became the legitimate excuse for denouncing the Company, especially as the Jesuits of the Spanish faction bestirred themselves in accordance with their doctrines, directly or indirectly. The political Aquaviva saw the disadvantage of his own game with that system of tactics, and resolved to side effectually with the triumphant reaction in France; and there cannot be a doubt that it was merely policy which prevented the Jesuits from at once siding with Henry IV. At first it would have been to yield a great certainty for a very small uncertainty—Spain and her world-encircling colonies, Rome and papal omnipotence, for France and a very uncertain monarchy—obnoxious at any moment, as the Jesuits knew full well, to the knife of the assassin. But now, when the crafty and valiant Huguenot had secured his throne—when it was evident that the French monarchy must rapidly advance as an European dynasty, whilst Spain was retrograding—when it was manifest that the pope himself was being frightened into alliance with Henry IV.—then the astute general knew that he could freely worship the rising sun, so as to get warmed by some of those rays which had so deeply penetrated the parliamentarians, universitarians,

and other churchmen of France. Of course there was still enough of the Spanish faction in the Company, to deprecate royal Spanish vengeance against the *Order*. Considering all these points, you will at once perceive the drift of those vile machinations of Spain against Aquaviva. We shall soon see the perfect success of Aquaviva's policy with Henry IV., combined, however, with the Huguenot's own craft and finesse.

The pope's grant of absolution to Henry was a motive for concession on the part of the king, thus secured from the hand of the assassin, and secret machination. The expulsion of the Jesuits was borne by Aquaviva most admirably; and whilst the Jesuits were still inveterately and excusably hostile to the party which promoted their expulsion, they abstained from displaying any irritation or aversion towards the king. Even the Jesuit Commolet, who had exclaimed from the pulpit that an Ehud was needed to rid France of the tyrant, had changed his mind when he came to Rome, and declared himself in favour of the king's absolution. Amongst all the cardinals none contributed so much to the grant of absolution as did the Jesuit Toledo—"he performed wonders in the matter, and showed himself a good Frenchman," says the diplomatist Du Perron. It must be admitted that nothing could surpass the wisdom of this policy. And the persevering Jesuits—with Aquaviva at their head—pursued the policy in spite of the fresh resolutions passed against them by the French parliament. True, the general remonstrated, but he betrayed no violence, no intemperate zeal. Nay, the Jesuits who remained in France now declared for the king, exhorted the people to be faithful and to love him. Doubtless this was Aquaviva's command:

but not even the exhibition of loyalty would he intemperately press:—some of the Jesuits were beginning to make their way back to the places they had left: Aquaviva did not approve of this impatience: he enjoined them to wait for the king's permission. He took good care that both facts should be made known to Henry,—whereat the king was, of course, highly delighted, and actually thanked the general in special letters.¹ Then the Jesuit Richeome, styled the French Cicero, composed a popular apology for the order, which he published. It is said to have appeared particularly convincing to the king, but his approbation was probably intended merely to give the thing *vogue*, as a preparation for the transaction he was cunningly meditating. The publisher of the book was arrested by a decree of the parliament, as the contents were, by that party, considered hostile to the royal authority and the parliament. The Jesuits had first given it circulation in the south of France. Full well was Henry aware that France could not be effectually “evacuated” of the Jesuits. His southern provinces, at least—those nearest the hated Spaniards—were constantly under the influence of the Jesuits. All over France they had partisans.² Would it not be

¹ “But they soon forgot this lesson,” writes Henry himself to D'Ossat in 1601. “They have gone to Cahors, where they have begun a college—without my permission—a fact which has renewed the remembrance of my old wounds. I have ordered them to be put out of the said town.”—*Lettres du Card. D'Ossat*, t. ii. 21, 22, ed. 1698; *Coudrette*, i.

² Writing to Beaumont, ambassador in England in 1603, Henry says: “What has hindered me from treating the Jesuits with severity, is chiefly that they are a body and an order at present powerful in Christendom, being composed of many persons of intellect and learning who have obtained great credit and power amongst the Catholics. In persecuting and driving them to despair of preservation in my kingdom, I should have directly leagued against myself many superstitious discontented minds, a great number of Catholics, and have given them some pretext for rallying together, and for executing new projects

better to try and make friends of those who were determined to haunt his kingdom, either as acknowledged friends or proscribed enemies? If it was bad enough as it was, or seemed to be, should he not at least try to improve the prospect? He had granted the Edict of Nantes to the Huguenots, investing them with all the privileges, or rather the rights, which they certainly merited at the hands of their king, to whom they exhibited so much devotedness that they permitted him to conform to the papal ceremonies to secure his crown. But clamours arose on all sides against the "insolence" of these favoured Huguenots. Petitions and representations were not wanting. Read the immense *Remonstrance Chrétienne*, addressed to Henry IV., "by Matthieu de Lannoy, priest of Jesus Christ in his Church, and Doctor in Theology"—in the year 1601. Every possible argument that the blackest bigotry can invent is therein forced on the king, to induce him to undertake the Catholic cause with vigour and effect. If the Huguenots permitted the king to conform to Romanism, in the hope that it was only a temporary expedient,—how could he count on their fidelity now that it was so manifest that he could not possibly retrograde from that compromise? Was it not expedient to strengthen the party to which he was irrevocably bound? In the apparent prostration of the Catholic

of rebellion in my kingdom, &c. . . . I have also considered, that in giving the Jesuits some hope of being recalled and reunited in my kingdom, I would divert and hinder them from yielding themselves to the ambitious desires of the King of Spain. In this I was not wrong, for many of them have sought my goodwill, favour, and protection, with declarations and protestations of all affection, obedience, &c. . . . so that I found I could make them useful and satisfactory on many occasions, as well on my own account as for my neighbours and friends, against whom the Spaniards have often employed the men of the said Company, &c., 15 Aug. 1603." *Apud Coudrette*, i. 328.

cause (for his accession was the triumph of Protestantism) was not the Protestant party rising to a dangerous preponderance—which might give him trouble hereafter? And in the midst of such reflections, the croaking fanatics of the land filled his ears with lamentations on the ruin of the Catholic cause, which he had sworn to uphold, to defend, and to promote. And many were the voices calling for the Jesuits. Their congregations, confraternities, sodalities, were made to send forth a piteous chorus of dolorous intonations whose burthen was: *Bring back the Jesuits*. Amongst the endless complaints in the Christian Remonstrance alluded to, their mouthpiece said to Henry IV., “But what can we say of the continued exile of the very pious and very learned fathers of the Company of the name of Jesus, and their very Christian schools, wherein literature and piety are united, are associated, and constitute an excellent arsenal well fortified with all virtues and all sorts of spiritual arms, to fight the monster of Huguenotry—to strike him down—to cut off and to crush all other similar infernal armies of impiety? Satan could not endure in France those powerful warriors, the instruments, the organs of the Holy Ghost—for he felt their blows too vigorous and too heavy to bear: he saw they were armed with the corslet of justice, proof against his fiery darts, and had in hand the sword of the Spirit to pierce him through, to break and mollify the sharpest, the strongest points of the arguments of his ministers, and render them as dumb as fishes—*muets comme des poissons*. In fact, they tremble, not only in the presence of these good priests of the Church of Jesus Christ, but even at the sound of their name.”¹ The

¹ Remonstrance Chrétienne, p. 378, ed. Bruxelles, 1601. Amidst a heap of
VOL. III. E

pope was "in continual fear" of the concessions made to the heretics: Henry was anxious "to overturn the designs of the ambitious and the factious, who were striving to irritate the Huguenots against the Catholics."¹ Father Lorenzo Maggio was sent by Aquaviva, to assure the king with solemn oaths, of the fidelity of the Company:—"Should it turn out otherwise, let himself and his brethren be held the blackest of traitors;"² and the king resolved to make friends of the Jesuits.³ There were Jesuits around him—among the rest, the famous Father Cotton, whom Henry appointed his confessor, in the place of his usual "director;"⁴ the dismissal is very bunglingly accounted for by the royal courtier, Philippe Herault, who, nevertheless, tells us that Henry's queen was forced to connive at her husband's *liaison* with the Marquise de Verneuil, at the very time in question—and the Jesuit did the same, for he shrived the king in his "devotions at the jubilee of Orleans," immediately after his appointment in 1601; and the self-

the most rancorous abuse and denunciation of the Huguenots, take the following cool observation: "They have made and still make a great noise about the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. I have always had great horror of the violent effusion of blood without reason and justice: but of that massacre we may say that it was an execution of justice, although its form was somewhat extraordinary, not however without a precedent in similar cases" (!) p. 234. There is very little probability that Henry IV. bothered himself with reading such rubbish, but his subjects read it, and he could not fail to see the effects. Having prevaricated in conforming to Romanism with the motives he had, nothing remained for him to do but to make the most of his new party, which he resolved accordingly.

¹ Lettres du Card. D'Ossat, iii. 509, 524, 525.

² Sully, livre xvii. 307.

³ When Father Maggio saw that Henry was slower than was expected in the matter of his Company's recall in spite of the promise, he said to the king jocosely, "Your Majesty is slower than women who produce their fruit in nine months." "Kings are not brought to bed so easily as women," retorted Henry to the Jesuit, whose wit and good humour were Aquaviva's motive for sending him to the humorous monarch.—*De Thou*.

⁴ René Benoit. According to Grégoire, he abdicated the appointment by reason of old age and fatigue.—*Confesseurs des Rois*, 315.

same Jesuit continued to absolve the king as long as he lived, notwithstanding his most disgusting, scandalous, and *unmanly* profligacy.¹ Perhaps the Jesuit's predecessor in the wretched appointment began to get scrupulous at the inveterate profligacy of the royal "penitent." It was Henry's belief that "power and domestic example permitted him to love both a wife and a mistress at the same time"—*qu'il estait fondé en pouvoir et exemple domestique d'aymer et une femme et une maistresse tout ensemble*,—says the courtier Philippe Herault. If this appointment of the Jesuit Cotton over the king's conscience was meant as a preliminary, nothing could be more significant of the very purely political motives, which induced Henry IV. to recall the Jesuits into France. He wrote a comely letter (one of his accomplishments), to Aquaviva, intimating his "hearty anxiety to consummate the re-establishment." His resolution was signified to the parliament: they resolved to remonstrate: Henry threatened to affront the bearer of the remonstrance, should it be presented. They took the hint: but Achille de Harlay, at the head of the magistrates, delivered a very feeling remonstrance

¹ "Ne voulant cependant obmettre ce que je sçay que les historiens du temps n'auront conneu ou n'auront remarqué, qui est qu'*un des principaux soins* qu'enst le roy quand la reyne fust arrivée à Paris, *fust de luy presenter et faire veoir la marquise de Verneuil et luy faire agréer sa compaignée ordinaire*; et ce fust lors que la reyne eust beaucoup de peyne de s'accommoder à cela; neantmoins estant parfaitement bonne et desireuse de complaire au roy en tout, elle vescu très courtoisement et favorisa de bon visage, et de tous autres tesmoignages d'amityé, laditte marquise plus que autre dame de la cour, et mesme se contraignist jusques-là de ne tesmoigner aucuns mescontentemens de *l'amour très apparent que le roi tesmoignait à laditte marquise, ny de la veoir logée comme elle et avec elle dans le Louvre, disant qu'elle estoit prou satisfaite et assurée de l'affection du roy en son endroit, et que pour rien du mond elle ne vouloit traverser ses plaisirs, &c. &c.*; car le roi croyoit qu'il estoit fondé en *pouvoir et exemple domestique d'aymer et une femme et une maistresse tout ensemble.*"—*Mem. de Phil. Herault, Ann. 1601; (Pamtheon. Litt. 384.)*

to the king against the admission of the Jesuits. His speech was a summary of all the objections against the Jesuits—their haughty independence—their rigid ultramontane principles respecting papal power, stirring the people to revolt against those kings whom they chose to name tyrants—whilst they pretended to be never obnoxious to a prosecution for high treason, because they were subjects of no king whatever. Of course the orator did not forget Barriere, nor Varade, and he trembled as he spoke. He also brought home his argument by instancing the usurpation of Portugal by Philip II., whilst, of all the religious orders, the Jesuits were the only traitors who promoted the usurpation, and caused the death of 2,000 men, both monks and churchmen, for the slaughter of whom a bull of absolution was obtained. It was inconsistent to say that the whole Company should not be punished for the crimes of three or four members—because for the assassination of Cardinal Borromeus thirty years before, by one of the monks called the Humiliates, Pope Pius V. abolished the whole order, with the advice of the Cardinals, and in spite of the intercession of the King of Spain in their favour. It was evident that the Jesuit Order was more guilty than the Humiliates. The king should have compassion on the *University*. The multitude of colleges he was permitting in the provinces would be her ruin, by drawing off her supplies of students. Then the orator proffered a prayer for the safety of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, and concluded with “your very humble, very obedient, and very faithful subjects and servants.”¹ Nothing could

¹ There was something formidable in the stubborn machinations of the Jesuits, and enough to excuse these partisan declarations of their enemies. They established their sodalities, as during the League; and at their college of

be more to the purpose than these arguments at the time when Henry resolved to "evacuate his kingdom of the Jesuits:" but times were changed; and had the parliamentarians been as deep in the king's politics as were his secretaries and Roman ambassadors, it is probable that they would have held their tongues, made a virtue of necessity, and acquiesced in the return of the Jesuits, as gracefully as they had saluted the king himself—when they changed sides for a consideration. According to the Jesuits and others, the king delivered a splendid speech, in reply to this remonstrance. It was nothing less than a triumphant apology for the Jesuits—such as Father Cotton or Richeome, "the French Cicero," might have elaborately penned for the royal lips on that occasion. Step by step he met all the standard charges against the Jesuits: these charges were so constantly, so universally repeated, that the defence or apology was the easiest piece of sophistry in the world to be prepared for delivery: besides, if you compare the speeches, you will find that the king is made to answer objections not raised by

Dole, they roused an agitation by seditious declamations. The king was apprised of this and was requested to interfere, but without effect apparently. Cardinal D'Ossat was informed of the fact. This ambassador had urged the recall of the Jesuits at the pope's request, in his letter of March 5, 1598, to Villeroy. It was nothing less than what Bacon calls a hail-storm of arguments—all political, of course—in favour of the expedient patronage of the Jesuits: but in 1603, the year in question, he wrote as follows: "As to the declamations said to have taken place at the Jesuits' college at Dole, I am very much astonished, and know not what to think of the matter. At the very time when I wrote to you with more earnestness for the recall of the Jesuits into France, I protested to you, that I was never enamoured of them, and that what I did in the matter was with the thought that besides the good they might do to the Catholic religion, to science and literature, their recall would please the pope, and add to the good name and reputation of the king. Now, however, after having considered many things which I have read and heard of them, I declare to you that I will meddle no more in their affair; and I resign it once for all to what his Majesty and Council will judge for the best."—*Lettres du Card. D'Ossat*, v. 230, ed. Amst. 1714. Ed. in 4to, ii. 82, 1698.

Achille de Harlay. It would be tedious to give the speech entire—and no condensation of it can convey more than this, namely, that the speech was a complete justification of the Jesuit order—a perfect exoneration of the Jesuits in the late attempts against his life—a disbelief in their regicidal inculcations—in fact, a sweeping apology for the Company of Jesus. Can anything be more satisfactory for the Jesuits? Proudly, therefore, they quote the glorious speech in all their histories. Their opponents deny its authenticity. In my opinion, Henry did not compose the arguments: but I believe he delivered the substance, after a drilling or a study. What a testimonial to boast of! From any private individual leading the life of Henry IV., these Jesuits would have been ashamed to allege their justification: but from the lips of a king, all was glorious. The testimony of an angel from Heaven would not have gratified them more. It was conclusive—and yet—O venerable secret-telling Time—thou most unfeeling dissector, hast thou not proved, beyond contradiction, that the royal lips which uttered that apology of the Jesuits, prevaricated unscrupulously—deceiving all who heard him—himself into the bargain—for no self-deceit can equal the utterance of falsehood. Here is the proof. *Four days* after the king delivered that speech, namely, on the 28th of December, 1603, he wrote as follows to Maurice the Wise, Landgrave of Hesse:—“I have also the greatest confidence in you, and desire to keep up a complete correspondence with you, on the events of these times, begging you to believe that I entertain the same intentions towards the ancient friends and allies of this crown, and touching the preservation of public peace in my kingdom being very much annoyed that cer-

tain persons are not so disposed towards myself, and that there are certain souls so perverse as to try to sow and infuse other opinions respecting the integrity and sincerity of my fidelity and word towards my subjects of the Protestant religion, under pretext that I have re-established the Jesuits in certain parts of my kingdom. My cousin, you have seen me: I am persuaded that you did not think me an Austrian—nor so bereft of sense and judgment: I beg you to believe that *in recalling the Jesuits, I am so far from wishing to unite myself to those who have made use of them, who now disturb Christendom, as publish* [here there are four or five words undeciphered], *that I propose to avail myself of them, and use their services for results quite the contrary, and even to traverse the designs of the Spaniards, whose avarice is insatiable.*"¹ In reply, the Landgrave doubted not that the king "would be able, by his judgment, so well to manage and lead the Jesuits, (who, as every one knew, studied to stir and disturb the common tranquillity), that they would not dare to undertake *again* anything similar in his kingdom :"² and a fortnight after

¹ "J'ai aussi toute confiance en vous et désire entretenir avec vous une entiere correspondance, &c. . . . vous priant croire que j'ay les mesmes intentions, tant envers les anciens amis et allicz de ceste couronne, que à l'entretènement et conservation de la paix publique de mon royaume, que je vous ay declarées et protestées lorsque vous estiez par deçà ; estant bien marry que quelques uns n'en usent de mesme en mon endroict, et qu'il y ait des âmes si perverses de s'efforcer de semer et imprimer d'autres opinions, de l'integrité et sincerité de ma foy et parole envers mes subjects de la religion prétendue reformée, sous pretexte de ce que j'ay restabli en aucuns lieux de mon royaume les Jesuistes. Mon cousin, vous m'avez veu, je me persuade que vous ne m'avez trouvé Austriaque ni sy hors de sens et jugement ; je vous prie de croire que tant s'en fault que j'ay volunté, rapellant les Jesuistes, de m'unir avec ceux qui se sont servis d'eux, qui à present troublent la Chretienité, comme publient que je pretends m'en prévaloir et aider à des effects tous contraires et mesmes à traverser les desseins des Espagnols, desquels la convoitise est insatiable."—*De Rommel, Correspond. inédite de Henri IV.* 148, Paris, 1840.

² "Et sçaura par son jugement si bien conduire et manier les Jesuistes, lesquels

his last letter, the king says:—"I will tell you, in one word, that I am always just as you left me, and that it will not be in the power of the Jesuits, nor any other, to make me change my opinion nor my resolution."¹ These disclosures disgrace Henry IV., whilst they enlighten the judgment of history. But such was that diabolically astute spirit of the age, that the lowest villany was its highest virtue. So, all these fine encomiums on the Jesuits amount simply to the fact, that the king proposed to use them as instruments against their former masters—calling them the authors of the troubles in Christendom—and thus in one sentence falsifying the long windy speech which he thought it expedient to declaim to the parliamentarians, so as to give the Jesuits one motive more for virtuous reformation—because, to declare a man innocent in spite of his evident guilt, has sometimes the effect of strengthening him against future temptation.² On the

chacun sçait s'estre estudiez jusques à present de remuer et troubler le commun repos, qu'ils n'oseront rien plus entreprendre de semblable en votre royaume."—*Ibid. ut antea*, 156.

¹ "Par ainsy ja vous diray en un mot, que je suis tousjours tel que vous m'avez laissé, et qu'il ne sera en la puissance des Jesuistes, ny à autres, de me faire changer d'opinion ny de resolution."—*Ibid. ut antea*, 162.

² There seems to be little doubt that a Jesuit was made instrumental by the king of Spain in the conspiracy of the *Maréchal de Biron* against Henry IV. in 1602. "A Father Alexander, Spanish Jesuit, was sent by the king of Spain to the Duke de Biron, to inform him that the Council of Conscience in Spain had declared that they might accept the services of the Duke de Bouillon in so holy a cause, against a king of whom they said the worst things that an enemy can say; it was vengeance on enemies by the means of enemies themselves."—*Extrait des Procès Crimin. de Biron et de Bouillon, Coudrette*, i. 316. To Beaumont Henry said: "I now wish to provide a good regulation, which, if well observed, the Jesuits will not be able, if they wish, to serve the king of Spain, nor even the pope to my detriment. To this regulation I will subject all who have remained within the reach of the parliaments of Toulouse and Bordeaux, as well as the others whom I shall re-establish in the places whence they have been expelled."—*Apud Coudrette*, i. 328. The letter was written just before the Edict of Recall, namely, Aug. 15, 1603.

other hand, the king stipulated that all the Jesuits in France must be Frenchmen born, without a single foreigner being admitted.¹ Still it was a desperate experiment for the king, and, with such motives, it must prove disastrous in the end. He plunged into the scheme from selfish motives, and thought he had cleverly taken every precaution, to prevent his French Jesuits from acting in France, the same tragi-comedies which the English Jesuits, with Parsons who kept *afar* from the *danger*, were exhibiting in England—for Beaumont, the French ambassador in England, wrote to Henry, only the year before, as follows :—“It is not necessary to be a bad subject in order to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have brought that sect in England to destruction. They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall. Thus, instead of earning from her indulgence, protection, and support, they have provoked the queen in such fashion, that she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty.”²

Beating down scornfully all the opposition of his parliament, Henry received the Jesuits : the famous pyramid erected to commemorate Chatel's attempt, and their expulsion, was, subsequently, at their urgent request and under favour, razed to the ground : but it was curious that the first part taken down by the workmen was the *statue of Justice*.³

By the Edict of Restoration the Jesuits were to

¹ See the Edict in Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* v. part ii. 31.

² Raumer, xvi. and xvii. cent. ii. ; Report of July 14, 1602, p. 183.

³ L'Etoile, iii. p. 273, note. Henry proposed to have it demolished during

deposit at the royal Court one of their body, as a hostage, and guarantee of their good conduct. Of course the king's indulgent confessor was the man selected, for whom Aquaviva composed instructions to teach him the duties of a royal confessor—instructions at which, in the present instance, Henry must have smiled, and said, Here are fine cobwebs for big flies, as we are, to break through. But in truth, Father Cotton possessed seductive qualities. L'Etoile says that he was a great theologian, and a still greater *courtier*. He cites one of the Jesuit's sermons, at *Nôtre Dame*, in the presence of the king and the whole royal family—when the oily courtier exclaimed that “it was better and more holy to pay taxes than to give alms to the poor: that one was a counsel, but the other was a commandment.” According to L'Etoile this maxim was often repeated by the Jesuit.¹ In Father Cotton the Jesuits found a powerful means for consolidating their establishment, and a safeguard against the assaults of their enemies: and in Henry IV. Father Cotton found an exhaustless treasury for the Jesuits. Refusing to be made an archbishop by his royal penitent, he obtained, in compensation, numerous establishments for his Company. At Moulins, Nevers, Rheims, Poitiers, Chartres, Sisteron, and other towns, colleges arose; and a house for the professed was built at Arles. Henry IV. gave them the celebrated college of *La Flèche*, or rather, “the very house of his fathers,” to be converted into a college for Jesuits. He let them loose into Bearn, to wage war against Calvinism: He gratified their desire for work and expansion, and gave them his patronage by way of pass-port, to

the night, but Father Cotton objected, saying that *Henry IV. was not a king of darkness*. So the demolition took place by day. *Ib.*

¹ L'Etoile, iii. 101 and 174. Grégoire, p. 317.

Constantinople: the Sultan permitted the invasion in deference to the royal request, presented by Henry's ambassador at the Porte: a troop of missionaries advanced against the children of the prophet.¹ The Jesuits would spread their Company to the North of America, whilst it was figuring in the South, and Henry permitted them to join the French adventurers under Champlain, Dugas, and Potrin-court, who were starting to colonise Canada, hungry for lucrative settlements amongst the savages. The Jesuits loved settlements as well as any adventurers: but Potrin-court refused them a passage: they were compelled to wait for better auspices, which succeeded in time, after the murder of Henry by Ravailac, when the evangelists went forth under the immediate patronage of the deceived, the neglected mistress of Henry, the famous *Marquise de Verneuil*.² What honour can the Jesuits claim from posterity for their favour with Henry IV.? Was not their connection with a king who set all laws human and divine at defiance, when the insatiate lusts of his heart yearned for an object—was not that connection one of the most disgraceful compromises they ever made, for the sake of the

¹ Cretineau, iii. 72.

² Basely deceived by the king (Henry IV. had given her a written promise of marriage in case of an event which might follow her dishonour), this woman was discarded by the inconstant royal profligate. Then she listened to proposals from the Spanish embassy: for the Spaniards still pursued the king in spite of his supposed talisman, the Company of Jesuits. Henry condemned her father to perpetual imprisonment in the Bastille. He seemed to deserve his fate, having actually consented to the degradation of his daughter. Her confessor—for even mistresses had confessors in those days—was the natural son of Henry's divorced wife, Marguerite de Valois, sister to Henry III. He was a Capuchin monk, and was implicated in the conspiracy of the *Marquise de Verneuil*, his penitent. What a strange coincidence! The bastard son of a queen of France conspires with the king's mistress to overturn his throne! See *L'Etoile*, iii. 453, note. *Mem. Hist. par Amelot de la Houssaye*, p. 69—71. *Dreux-Duradier*, *Anecd. des Reines*, v. 583, and others; also *Grégoire*, p. 325.

res Societatis—the welfare of the Company? It is impossible to give, in English, an adequate idea of that profligate Court to which Father Cotton, Jesuit, might be seen wending his way to shrive an impenitent king, ere he sacrilegiously conformed to the ceremonials of Rome, when he received his “quarterly” sacraments. Henry IV., the king so incessantly haunted by the Jesuits, had not his equal, or, rather, was not surpassed by any monarch of the times, in the perpetration of those sins which the Jesuit and other Catholic *theorists*, most awfully denounce in their books of piety. They winked at the king’s enormities, because he befriended them, gave them colleges and flattery, and gold. They saw, without seeing, how the “man, all blood and flesh, burst forth into lusty libertinage,” running from woman to woman, from the Duchess de Beaufort to Mademoiselle d’Antragues; from this woman to Jacqueline de Beuil; then to Charlotte des Essarts; then to the married Countess de Condé, perhaps the cause of his final doom, or one of the causes, at least. “Henry IV.,” says Capefigue, “gave the example of adultery, public and avowed. In the palaces of the queen, in the presence even of his new queen, he entertained his titled mistresses. And, by an outrage still more disastrous to public and private morals, he used to transfer these women, thus polluted, to complacent poor ‘gentlemen,’ who covered with their blushing fortunes the miserable debauches of an old king, inveterate in lust.” Capefigue relates a hideous fact in illustration—too infamous to be quoted. And yet the Jesuit Cotton, one day preaching to the king, apostrophised the hoary libertine, and told him that “he rejoiced to see in him so many marks of the eternal predestination of

God.”¹ All the world believed, and rightly too, that the father confessor treated the king with excessive indulgence. Not that a king or the lowest mortal is to be made a mark by outraging churchmen in such circumstances : but it is, and was then, of the utmost importance to religion, if it existed anywhere, that the apparent sanction of the worst profligacy imaginable should not be given by a minister of religion. The Jesuit gave him absolution, and the king gave the Company fine colleges and freedom of action :—so that the same letter which described his munificence to the Jesuits, gave, as the seasoning of that royal liberality, the details of “his freshest game” in the chace of debauchery.² Still the Jesuits represented the king as most “attentive to the affairs of religion,”—just like Alexander VI., in similar circumstances ; and throughout that reign they

¹ Quesnel, i. 41. See Capefigue, c. iv. and v.

² “The Jesuites have not only maintayned but increased dayly their credit and greatness. La Flesche in Anjou, the chief seat of the college and schooles, is grown from a small village to a well peopled town. The kyng is said to have given an hundred crownes towards their church and other buyldings (besides a graunt of his own heart and his queenes to be there interred hereafter) : he intendeth and promiseth also, as they saye, to intertayne there an hundred young gentlemen at his charge, which being enabled in their studies, shall be in time called thence to serve in offices of the crowne and of the highest dignities. These are projects and proceedyngs different from what he hath formerly professed, and protested against that Order : but he workes every day wonders, so these seem the less admirable. The Marques of Verneuil is heald and utterly cast off : the king never sees her, and his queene cannot be wrought (though by himself perswaded) to induce her—only the Countess of Moret preserves both their favours—his in fact, hers in appearance. Madame D’Essarts, otherwise La Hayne, is with chyld and without countenance. La Nory, Queen Margaret’s mayd his freshest game, is styll pursued by him, but like a wearye huntsman ; yet are his looks freshe, and his appetite to his meat as strong as ever. To tell your lordship of the playes, masks, and revels almost every night at the court (where his majesty sticks not sometimes to play the master of ceremonies in ordering the unruly multitudes) might be matter of variety, but not answering your lordship’s grave expectation, &c. &c., John Finet.”—*MS. Bib. Cotton Calig. E. xi. 310.* A letter from John Finet to the Earl of Northampton.

scrupled not to receive from the women of the royal seraglio contributions for their foreign apostolates. They distinctly name *La Marquise de Verneuil* among their many patronesses, by way of showing, it would seem, how charity covers a multitude of sins.¹ And it was by the patronage of the king of France that the Jesuits were enabled to cope with their foes, the Dominicans, in the great dispute respecting Molinism, then raging in Catholic Christendom. "Spain" sided with the Dominicans, and "France" was for the Jesuits: Pope Clement pronounced no decision: both might teach their respective doctrines, because he durst not offend either the Dominican King of Spain or the Jesuit ruler of France.²

Death carried off Clement VIII., leaving Molinism still a bone of contention among the Catholics,—freeing Aquaviva, as I have stated, from the clutches of

¹ D'Orleans, *Vie du Père Cotton*, p. 155, *et seq.* It would be scarcely fair not to quote some Jesuit-anecdotes put forth in illustration of Henry IV. They quote one from *L'Etoile* respecting Father Gonthier, a preacher to the king. During a sermon, the king's mistress, *De Verneuil*, tried to make him laugh; the Jesuit seeing this, and that the other women were noisy, exclaimed: "Sire, will you never be tired of coming with a seraglio into this holy place?" Henry bore the rebuke, and refused to punish the Jesuit, though urged to do so by the insulted "ladies." However, when he thanked Gonthier for this correction, he begged him not to apply another in public. *Cretineau* quotes another anecdote to the effect that Henry was a desperate swearer, and his commonest oath was nothing less than a denial of God's existence—viz. *Jarni Dieu!* Father Cotton advised him to say *Jarni Cotton*, instead; and the king repeated the comical Jesuit-oath as frequently as his other oath, *Ventre St. Gris*, and *Jarni Cotton* became a standard French blasphemy.

Cretineau gives a third, still more characteristic of Jesuit influence. It appears that the Huguenots attributed their disgrace with the king to the influence of the Jesuit—and used to say, as he would not hear them, that his "ears were filled with cotton." On one occasion, when Sully begged permission for his fellow-Protestants to hold their religious meetings in the suburbs of Paris, Henry said: "My ears are filled with cotton."—*Cretineau*, iii. 70. I know not what inference, the least favourable to them, can be drawn from these anecdotes by the Jesuits. They had better forget them, if they can.

² Ranke, p. 208; *Cretineau*, iii. p. 21.

Spain and his rebellious subjects, in the peninsula, whilst the Jesuits were enjoying the fruits of their multifarious labours in France. Let us thence look across the Channel, and behold the results of Jesuitism in England.

As a direct result of the Jesuit-expedition into England, the persecution of the Catholics by the English government is not excused—though few will affirm that the perils of the monarchy, as evinced by insurrections and the rumours of “stirs,” did not extenuate the guilt which history must record against Protestant England and her queen. If but half of the numerous “stirs” alleged against the Jesuits or the Spanish faction, be true, it is as difficult to exonerate their “religious” agents, as it is not to sympathise with the wretched, fooled, misguided Catholics, driven like blinded sheep to their destruction, or rewarded for their fidelity to their “renovated” creed by continual sufferings, owing to their real or supposed connection with the ever-plotting Jesuits and their Spanish faction.¹ Parsons was the

¹ In Sept., 1594 (when Parsons published his stirring book of Succession), the Jesuit Garnet, provincial in England, writes as follows to Parsons, according to Mr. Tierney: “The Friday night before Passion Sunday was such a hurley-burley in London, as never was seen in man’s memory; no, not when Wyatt was at the gates: a general search in all London, the justices and chief citizens going in person: all unknown persons taken, and put in churches, till the next day: no Catholics found, but one poor tailor’s house, at Golden Lane End, which was esteemed such a booty, as never was yet, since this queen’s days. The tailor and divers others there taken lie yet in prison; and some of them have been tortured. That mischance touched us near: They were our friends and chiefest instruments . . . That very night had been there Long John-with-the-Little-Beard (John Gerard), once your pupil, if I had not more importunately stayed him than ever before: but, soon after, he was apprehended, being betrayed, we know not how. He will be stout, I doubt not . . . Edward, John’s companion, was once taken in a garden in the country; but he showed himself nimble, leaped into the house, shut the door, and escaped away. Two months ago were taken eleven youths, going from Chester towards Spain—all in Bridewell, hardly used . . . Before that tumult of Golden Lane—they had laid a plot of these

mainspring of that ceaseless machination. Afar from the horrible scene of danger, he kept the flame of persecution roaring—ever reckless of the torments he thus eventuated—by his remorseless pen—his obedient instrument of that destruction, which he concocted for his enemies, but which eventually recoiled on the very cause which he undertook to establish. Perhaps this Jesuit was the greatest enemy that the miserable English Catholics, priests as well as laity, ever had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—for his spirit died not with the awful man—he bequeathed it to his Company in England. In 1591 his answer to Elizabeth's edict against the Catholics was given to the world—for *he would arouse all Christendom to crush his country, in order to gratify that thing within him which some call zeal for the Catholic religion, but which was nothing else but the fierceness of his hard nature against opposition—as I shall prove in the sequel, convicting the man from his own lips, or his terrible pen.* All that is scurrilous—all that is abusive, Parsons strung together in that answer to Queen Elizabeth—not forgetting to include Henry IV. of France—then aspiring to the throne—in his terrible denunciation and regicidal manifesto to the fanatics of orthodoxy. In various parts of the Continent the book was multiplied, and in 1593 a new edition was published at Rome, under the eyes of General Aquaviva. During that year, “the public mind,” says Dr. Lingard, “was agitated by rumours of plots against the life of the

great stir, and prepared the people's minds by a proclamation, wherein they commanded strait watches to be made, certain days in a week, everywhere for priests and Irishmen, whose late attempts to kill the queen had been discovered; and all Irishmen, not inhabitants in towns, and citizens, banished England; and all persons, not belonging to some nobleman or courtier, banished the court,” &c. &c.—*MS. in Tierney*, iii. 115, note.

queen. The death of Mary Stuart had not, as she anticipated, secured her from danger ; it made her appear to foreign nations as an usurper, who, to secure herself on the throne, had shed the blood of the true heir ; their prejudice against her was augmented by the continued execution of the Catholic missionaries, the narratives of their sufferings, and the prints representing the manner of their punishment ; and there were not wanting men of heated imaginations, who persuaded themselves that they should render a service to mankind by the removal of a woman, who appeared to them in the light of a sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant.”¹ And who was the man who had most recklessly in England, contributed to the production of these sentiments, as well as among the *foreign* nations abroad, against Elizabeth ? Robert Parsons, Jesuit—and his own words shall supply the proof. He says, in his edition of 1593 : “The queen has filled all neighbouring nations with wars, seditions, and furies, has afflicted France, destroyed Scotland, ruined Belgium, everywhere armed subjects against their princes, and has everywhere robbed what she could for her own benefit, and what she could not rob she has wasted with fire and sword, she has infested every land, every sea with robbers, she has spoiled the innocent of their goods, she has caused most flagrantly the shedding of blood in very many cases, and at the present time she disturbs and agitates almost every country of the North, by factions, hatred, and discord, divided against itself, and shattered by war. This is evident to every eye : it is the increasing burthen of every lip. And yet she, without shame, without a blush, says frequently, like Pilate, that she is innocent

¹ Hist. viii. 316.

of the blood of all : that she is free from blame : that she has done no evil. What shall I say to this ? Why, that I believe that her subjects are the greatest wretches and the greatest fools to believe this woman, who coins and forces into circulation, new dogmas in matters of religion, and relating to the salvation of souls,—since, in obvious matters, and such as are known to every one, they see that she pours forth lies so basely.”¹ Thus did *Parsons* denounce the queen as “a sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant ;” and Dr. *Lingard* should have said as much in his “impartial” *History of England*. And further he affirms :—“The universal school of theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers announce—and it is certain and an article of faith—that any Christian sovereign whatever, if he has manifestly fallen off from the Catholic religion, and has wished to lead away others from it, falls at once from all power and dignity, by the very force of rights, human and divine—and this, too, before the supreme pastor and judge has pronounced sentence against him ; and that all his subjects are free from all obligation of oath of allegiance which they may have sworn to him as their lawful prince ;

¹ “ Nam regina omnia vicina bellis, seditionibus et furoribus implevit, Galliam afflixit, Scotiam destruxit, Belgium perdidit, subditos in principes ubique armavit, et undiquè ad suum commodum, quæ potuit rapuit, quæ non potuit, flammis ferroque delevit, terrâ marique itinera omnia latrocinii infestavit, innocentium bona diripuit, cruori effundendo causas notissimas locis plurimis dedit, universum ferè septentrionem sectis, odiis, ac discordiis in se divisum, bellisque conquassatum, turbat hodie atque exagitat, resque hæc omnium oculis tenetur, vocibusque cunctorum percrebescit ; et tamen illa sine fronte, sine rubore, hoc tantum scilicet ingeminat cum Pilato, se innocentem esse à sanguine omnium, se liberam à culpâ, se nihil mali fecisse. Quid hic dicendum ? Certe illud, opinor, miserrimos esse stultissimosque, qui huic femine in rebus religionis et ad animarum salutem pertinentibus, nova dogmata eudenti et obtrudenti credunt, cum in rebus obviis et cuique notissimis, tam projectè mendacia fundentem cernant.”—*Responsio*, p. 178, n. 142.

and that they may, and must, if they have the power, drive such a man from the sovereignty of Christian men, as an apostate, heretic, a deserter of Christ the Lord, and an enemy to the state, lest he corrupt others, or turn them from the faith by his example or command."¹ Thus did *Parsons* "persuade men of heated imaginations that they should render a service to mankind by the removal of the woman:" and Dr. Lingard should have said as much in his "impartial" History of England. Add to all this the violent declamation, in which he compares Elizabeth to the pagan persecutors, to *Nero*, to *Antiochus*—heaping upon the queen the foulest imputations—and insinuating that she was a bastard—leaving to the "men of heated imaginations" to draw the necessary conclusion that she had no right to the crown of England.² Unquestionably, Dr. Lingard had read these declarations of Parsons, and yet, in a note to the passage I have quoted, he quotes without comment one of those unblushing assertions which Parsons never scrupled to put forth on any occasion. He says: "Parsons himself informs us that he himself had dissuaded some individuals, and particularly one, who 'for delivering of Catholique people from persecution, had resolved to luse his own life, or to take away that of her

¹ "Hinc etiam infert universa Theologorum, ac jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum schola (et est certum et de fide) quemcunque principem Christianum, si à religione Catholica manifestò deflexerit, et alios advocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsâ vi juris tum humani, tum divini, hocque ante omnem sententiam supremi Pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam, et subditos quoscunque liberos esse ab omni juramenti obligatione, quod ei de obedientiâ tamquam principi legitimo præstitissent, posseque et debere (si vires habeant), istiusmodi hominem, tanquam Apostatam, hæreticum, ac Christi Domini desertorem et reipublicæ inimicum hostemque ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere, ne alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo aut imperio à fide avertat."—*Ibid.* ut antea, n. 157, p. 196.

² *Ibid.* ut antea, pp. 65, 69, 101, 102, 260, 257, 397, 371.

majestie.’” He had already,” continues Dr. Lingard, “proceeded more than one hundred miles on his journey, when Persons met him, and, after much reasoning, prevailed on him to lay aside the project, *chiefly* on the ground that ‘the English Catholiques themselves desired not to be delivered from their miseries by any such attempt’”¹ True, indeed, of the vast majority of Catholics,—but, if Parsons really dissuaded the attempt, he had his political motive at the time for his forbearance; and no man can reasonably think otherwise after reading what the furious denouncer of Elizabeth poured forth as fact, and affirmed as an article of faith—“this true, determined, and undoubted opinion of very learned men, is perfectly conformed and agreeable to the apostolic doctrine.”² Now, whilst the queen and her councils, and the Protestants generally, were aware that such a man as Parsons existed, and that this book of his, and innumerable letters from the same pen, were circulating far and wide, surely there was ample cause for apprehension; and if the party concerned deemed violent, cruel persecution the only means of forfending its own destruction, the other party, or the Catholics had to thank that execrable Spanish faction of the Jesuits for their piteous calamities.³ The Jesuits were now

¹ Lingard, viii. 317, note; Parsons, *Ward-Word*, 70.

² *Ibid.* *ut antea*, n. 158. I have quoted these passages before, in connection with others, from other regicidal Jesuits of the day.

³ “I have censured,” says Mr. Tierney, the candid Catholic historian, “the ungrateful cruelty of the government towards the loyal and unoffending Catholics at home: it is impossible to avoid condemning the conduct of those fugitives abroad, who, by their treasonable writings, and not less treasonable practices, were thus seeking to overturn the government, and alter the succession to the throne. Of the *encouragement extended*, as the reader has seen in the *Appendix*, to the trade of the assassin, I say nothing; the beings who could resort to such means of accomplishing their purposes, belong not to society. But there were other and better spirits among them, men of bloodless, though mistaken, zeal,

the lords of the English mission—ruling or influencing most effectually all the foreign seminaries that supplied the creatures of faction, under the name of missionaries of the faith. Incessantly at variance among themselves, they injured their cause, and disgraced their religion : but the Jesuits availed themselves of these dissensions, which they mainly caused, to organise their faction in the service of Spain. No opponents could cope with the Jesuits : their superior address, or superior influence, triumphed over every obstacle, and fortified them in their bad eminence.¹ During the life of the Scottish Queen, the conspiracies formed among the Catholic exiles, having for their primary object the invasion of the realm, were all directed to the ulterior purpose of placing that princess on the throne of England. “ But, after her death,” says Mr. Tierney, “ the jealousies which had already existed for some time, manifested themselves in open division. With different interests, different views presented themselves, and two parties, each with separate objects, were formed. The first, with Morgan and Paget at its head, looked to the King of Scots as the representative of his mother, and the nearest heir to the English crown. To him, its members turned as to their future and rightful sovereign ; from him, and from his gratitude, they looked for toleration, if not for

who would have gloried in wresting the crown from the enemy of their religion, but would have shrunk from the idea of becoming her murderers. To the minds of such men the importance of the object for which they struggled, the restoration of their religion, may have offered a sufficient justification for the violence of their proceedings. Yet they should have remembered the example of the apostles and the early Christians : they should have recollected that their ministry was the ministry of peace—their duty, that of preaching, sacrifice, and prayer : in a word, they should have called to mind the suffering state of their persecuted brethren at home ; and, *placed in security themselves*, should have hesitated to exasperate the government against those who were still within the reach of its resentment.”—*Dodd*, iii. 30, n. 5.

¹ See *Ling*. viii. 331.

encouragement ; and, in the meantime, they sought to propitiate the existing government, by protestations of allegiance, by offers of personal service, and by communications, betraying the plans and proceedings of their opponents.¹ These opponents were denominated the Spanish Party. They acted under the direction of Allen and Parsons ; and their principal members were, the Fathers Holt and Cresswell, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir William Stanley, Fitzherbert, and Owen. Their object was, the restoration of the Catholic religion, and, as a means of effecting this, the establishment of a Catholic sovereign on the throne. At first, their views centered in the daughter of the Spanish king ; and to recommend her to the English nation, Parsons, in 1594, published his "*Conference about the next succession*," maintaining the right of the people to regulate the descent of the crown, asserting that the profession of a false religion was sufficient to justify the exclusion of the heir apparent, and then, having enumerated the several persons connected by their ancestry with the royal family, concluding, at least by implication, that the infanta, as a Catholic, and the lineal descendant of John of Ghent, the son of Edward III., was the individual to whom the country ought to look, as the successor of Elizabeth."² "This tract," says Dr. Lingard,

¹ Neville to Cecil, apud Winwood, i. p. 51.

² Dodd, iii. 29, n. 4. Parsons signed this book with the name of *Doleman*. There was a priest in England at the time by that name, who happened to be under the Jesuit's displeasure. It was generally thought that Parsons wished to punish him by fixing the authorship, or its suspicion, and consequent annoyance, on the reverend clergyman. Nothing is certainly more probable—at all events, the actual existence of such a name amongst the Catholic clergy ought to have induced him to avoid the name in such a case. He affected to derive it etymologically from the Latin, to mean "a man of sorrow!"—the better derivation would have been "a man of craft," from *dolus*. Parsons and the Jesuits staunchly denied, as usual, that Parsons was the author, and Dr. Lingard seems

“excited an extraordinary sensation, both in England and on the Continent. It alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers. It flattered the pride of Philip, who, at the persuasion of Parsons, had consented to renounce his own pretensions, with the vain hope of seeing his daughter seated on the English throne. For eight years Philip, though he might threaten, had literally done nothing against England. He appeared to sleep over the war, till the blow received at Cadiz, inflicted by the English fleet, in 1596, awakened him from his apathy. Now he publicly vowed revenge ; the fleet from the Indies had replenished his treasury ; his people offered him an abundant supply of money ; and he ordered the *adelantado* of Castile to prepare a second armada for the invasion of England. An emissary hastened to England to sound the disposition of the Earl of Essex ; and the exiles, in their secret councils, formed different plans to promote the success of the projected invasion, and to facilitate the accession of their imaginary queen.”¹ At the same time,

to side with them ; but nothing can be more conclusive than Mr. Tierney’s arguments to prove that Parsons was the author of that Spanish instrument. Mr. Tierney’s remarks bear heavily on the utter faithlessness of the Jesuit, and the highly interesting argumentation is well worth perusal. After an appeal to undeniable documents, Mr. Tierney triumphantly concludes thus : “The authorship of the work is distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged ; and the question of ‘Who wrote the book of Succession?’ may now, I think, be considered as satisfactorily decided.”—*Ib. ut antea*, p. 31—35, n. 6.

¹ Hist. viii. 333, and 330. Amongst Bishop Kennett’s coll. of MSS. in the Bib. Lansd. vol. xlix. f. 165, I found “A paper of Intelligence out of Spain, to a minister of the English Court in 1597, advising that Father Parsons had received above 300 letters out of England in applause and approbation of his booke of Succession. That they design to create an English cardinal, which, if their plot succeed, will be Father Parsons, who designs to publish two books, the one entitled the Declaration of the King of Spain’s intentions ; the second, A Reformation of Imperfections, as well of matters of Estate as of Religion, in England.”

Sir Francis Englefield wrote a letter to the King of Spain in favour of the project as being, of all, "undoubtedly the most feasible." He urges the necessity for "removing, or putting under restraint, a few of the leading agitators belonging to the opposite faction—Englishmen residing in Flanders and Rome, and employing themselves in *corrupting* others (!), and that their places be supplied by others, whose zeal in your Majesty's cause is deserving of this encouragement. It is on this, in fact, that the success of any negotiation with the English must depend (!). With regard to the journey of Father Parsons to Rome, although, on the one hand, I see the good likely to result from it, yet, on the other, knowing the hatred and aversion with which he is regarded by the Scottish and French factions, (who, in consequence of his reply to the queen's edict, of the book written on the succession, and discovering the hitherto unknown pretensions of Portugal and Castile to the English crown, and of other things which the said father has written and done, and daily continues to do, on that side of the question, consider him as the leader of the party attached to your Majesty's interests) knowing this, I say, it always has appeared, as it still appears, to me, that his journey will involve him in the greatest danger, unless he goes strongly supported by your Majesty, with an express order to the ambassador at Rome to prevent his detention there, through any contrivance of the opposite party, to provide for his safety during his residence in Italy, and to have assistance at hand in case of any emergency;—and, even with all these precautions, I fear for the consequences. The project, which Father Parsons told me he had discussed with your Majesty's ministers, a few months

since, at Toledo, of a special conference on the affairs of England, to be held in Flanders, under the presidency of the cardinal-archduke, and to be joined by some confidential persons of the English nation, is of so much importance, that until it is effected, and until the nation shall possess some head securely attached to your Majesty's interests,¹ I look for no favourable issue to the affairs of England, deranged as they constantly will be by the arts of the factious."² The Duke of Fera, at the beginning of the following year, wrote to Philip a stringent letter against the proceedings of the opposite faction. "I have received positive information that his Holiness told Dr. Barrett, the president of Douay College, that the same parties had written to solicit the removal from Flanders of Father Holt, a member of the Society of Jesus, and *the most efficient of your Majesty's servants in that country.*"³ Nay, in this most accommodating Company—open to all the world, to every party, at one and the same time, the opposite faction found supporters, abroad, in the General Aquaviva and his party, and at home, in the Jesuit Creighton, a Scotchman, with whom the reader is acquainted. "It is a matter of no less importance," continues the Duke of Fera to the king, "that your Majesty should command the general of the Society of Jesus to avail himself of some favourable opportunity for removing Father Creighton, a member of that Society, who is not only an avowed advocate of the King of Scots, but who has also frequently spoken to me, with the most passionate feeling, on the subject of that monarch's

¹ Mr. Tierney very shrewdly asks: "Does he not here allude to the project of *making Parsons a cardinal?*" The MS. I have quoted at p. 71, *note*, makes the fact almost evident, if not completely so, for both documents were written in 1597.

² MS. apud Tierney, iii. Append. xiii.

³ MS. *ibid.*

affairs. As a man, in fact, of vehement temperament, religious, however, in his principles, and esteemed by many for his exemplary demeanour, his influence is capable of producing the most injurious consequences in Flanders ; and his place, therefore, would be advantageously supplied by Father Gordon, a Scotchman, and uncle to the Earl of Huntley—a quiet and dispassionate person, *divested of his prepossessions in favour of his own sovereign*, and agreeing with those among the English who are proceeding in the right road.” The duke concludes with denouncing another member of the opposite faction, who, he says, “to increase his importance by accomplishing his purposes, will never hesitate to effect any mischief.”¹ About three months after, a letter of Parsons to Holt was intercepted by the government, and its contents were blazed to the world, as a proof triumphant that he was the accredited agent of Spain, employed expressly to support the pretensions of the Infanta, as evidenced to us by the preceding memorial of Englefield. By his own words in this intercepted letter, it appears that his plan was, in the first instance, to propose the matter generally to the pope, to allow him time to reflect on it for awhile, and then, in case of doubt or difference, to urge his own opinion in favour of the Infanta, to be married to the Cardinal Farnese—this wild, worse than Quixotic scheme, he thought “the most useful, probable, and feasible !”²

¹ MS. *ibid. ut antea.*

² MS. *ib.*, in Parsons’s own handwriting. “Benche, a parer mio, nissun accordo sarebbe più utile, probabile, ò fattibile, che nella persona della signora infanta, maritata al principe cardinale.” These words are scored by Parsons himself, says Mr. Tierney. But in his “Manifestation,” subsequently published, when he found himself hard pressed by the opposite faction, he only gave the substance of the letter “with tolerable fidelity,” as Mr. Tierney observes, down to the general proposition to the pope ; the rest, which I have

Working for the king assiduously, the Jesuit denounced the opposite faction in a letter to Don Juan d'Idiaquez, three months after. "The faction of Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan" he stated to be "the source of much past and present injury to the cause of his Majesty in England." Then he proceeds to trace the beginning of their hostility to the King of Spain:—the disclosures are most curious and important, as follows: "The origin of their estrangement may be traced to the year 1582, when, at a meeting in Paris, attended by the Nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, John Baptist de Taxis, the Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, as ambassador from the Queen of Scots, and others,¹ it was determined that the conversion of England and Scotland should rest solely on the support of the King of Spain; and, in pursuance of this resolution, the Fathers Parsons and Creighton were ordered to proceed, the former to Lisbon, the latter to Rome, in order to obtain some assistance for Scotland. From this meeting Paget and Morgan, who were residing in France as the agents of the Scottish queen, were excluded. Irritated at this affront, they applied to two of the queen's secretaries, with whom they corresponded, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a native of Scotland, who both resided with her in England, who possessed her cipher, and held considerable sway in her councils;

given above, "he compresses into the small compass of an *&c.*"—and then, speaking of himself in the third person, gravely adds,—“Thus he writeth, as you see, in great confidence and secrecy, to his dearest friend,” f. 49. a. Bishop Dicconson, remarking on the words, “as you see,” shrewdly asks, “But who sees whether or not he has given an entire copy thereof?” Marginal annotation, written by the bishop, in the copy of the Manifestation, belonging to Ushaw College.—*Tierney*, iii. *Append.* xiii.

¹ There were three Jesuits in the consultation, Creighton, Matthieu, and Parsons himself, as I have stated before.

and they so far influenced the views of these men, that the four, in conjunction, speedily contrived to alienate the mind of the unhappy queen, and destroy the confidence in the scheme thus set on foot for her employment of Spain. In proof of this, we have the still living testimony of Father Henry Samerie, a French Jesuit, who now resides in Flanders, and who, at the period in question, living with the Queen in England, in the character of her physician, was privy to all that passed. The fact was also attested by the Duke of Guise, in his lifetime, who said, with much concern, to several persons, and particularly to his Confessor, Father Claude Matthieu Loranes, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Parsons, and to some others, that, through the instrumentality of Paget and Morgan, who had represented him as the sworn creature of Spain and of the Jesuits, he himself, in a certain transaction, had been wholly deprived of the queen's confidence." He then asserts the fact that "these men endeavoured to persuade the Duke of Guise to liberate the queen and place her on the throne of England and Scotland, by means of French troops and French friends, to the exclusion of the Spaniards." "Another instance of their treasonable conduct was, that, at the very time they were treating with the Duke of Guise, Allen, and Parsons, to procure a supply of troops from Spain, of the speedy arrival of which there was every probability, they secretly sent to England a certain spy, named *William Parry*, who had been many years employed by the Queen of England in Italy and elsewhere. This man, as we learn from his published confessions, immediately disclosed to the queen whatever had passed, and moreover told her that he was commissioned, when

the proper time should arrive, to murder her, to place the Scottish Queen on the throne, and thus to prevent the Spanish invasion, which was promoted by the Jesuits. The queen, though, at the time, she expressed her gratitude, and bestowed rewards on him, subsequently ordered him to be executed. Such was the end of Doctor Parry." This affair is generally laid to the charge of the Jesuits ; but Parry stated that a Jesuit dissuaded him from the attempt ; and it is now suggested by this disclosure of Parsons, that the only motive for dissuading him was simply on account of the forthcoming "*Spanish invasion, which was promoted by the Jesuits,*" who were now in opposition to the Queen of Scots, for the benefit of the King of Spain! What a strange and diabolical affair! The Scottish faction actually contrive the murder of Elizabeth so as to defeat the contrivance of the Spanish faction—and when the murderer proposes the scheme—doubtless by way of a trap to the Spanish faction—they dissuade it because the queen's murder would defeat *their* "idea," to promote the greater glory of God!¹ Paget and Morgan, says Parsons, published a declaration "that the Queen of Scots was herself equally opposed to the invasion and its abettors ; and that she would avail herself of any species of relief, in preference to the intervention of Spanish troops, as proposed by the Jesuits." Then the Jesuit discloses a critical fact in the history of the unfortunate

¹ See Lingard, viii. p. 176, for an account of Parry, his conviction, and its dreadful consequences to the poor Catholics, in consequence of the supposed approval of his design by the pope. In vain they petitioned and protested their loyalty and detestation of the atrocious machinations against the queen and country. The person who volunteered to present the petition in behalf of the Catholics was imprisoned for his "presumption ;" and the Protestant party, made desperate by fear, pursued their cruel and crushing measures.

Queen of Scots—a fact always suspected, but never before attested by so competent a witness as the well-informed, universal spy, Father Parsons, of the Company of Jesus. Mary then opposed the Spanish faction. “To this effect, in reality,” says Parsons, “the queen herself wrote to the Duke of Guise, in 1585, directing him to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings of the Jesuits, as connected with any plan of Spanish interposition; and taking an opportunity, at the same time, to *reprehend the duke and the Archbishop of Glasgow for having omitted to supply a certain sum of money, on the petition of Morgan and Paget, to a certain young gentleman in England, who, in consideration of the reward, had promised them, so they persuaded her majesty, to murder the Queen of England. The fact was, that the duke and the archbishop understood that the party in question (his name is here omitted, because he is still living)*¹ *was a worthless fellow, and would do nothing, as it eventually turned out; and, on this account, refused to provide the money. Yet for this it was that Paget and Morgan induced the queen to reprehend them.*” “Can this passage,” indignantly asks the Catholic historian, the Rev. Mr. Tierney, “can this passage admit of any other interpretation than that the writer himself, and, if we may believe his statement, all the parties here mentioned approved of the design to murder Elizabeth—that Mary was actively engaged in the scheme—and that the duke and the archbishop refused to supply the reward, *only* because they were not assured that the deed would be performed?”² This fact must surely diminish the romance of Mary’s career

¹ Here, in the margin of the MS., the initials J. G. are written, says Mr. Tierney.

² MS. apud Tierney, iii. Append. xiii.

and its termination : it must also extenuate the blame attached to Elizabeth and the Protestant party : it must likewise prove, by the writer's way of stating it, that I was justified in doubting the other statement of Parsons before given, to the effect that he stopped an intended murder of the queen ; or if he did so, his motive was political :—the deed would be either unseasonable, or was not likely to be effectually achieved by the “worthless fellow.” Nevertheless, after urging that the king should remove from Flanders the leaders of the opposite faction, or deprive them of their pensions as exiles for the faith, this regicidal Jesuit is brazen-hearted enough to conclude his memorial with a prayer to the Almighty : “May our Lord ordain what is most expedient”—but perhaps by “our Lord” he meant the King of Spain, who was sure to say Amen. Philip appears to have consulted the leading exiles as to the practicability of his second invasion. Various answers were returned to his inquiries. Some approved of the invasion : others suggested the possibility of the secret negotiation with Cecil : but all agreed in representing any attempt to annex England to the Spanish crown as utterly hopeless. Mr. Tierney makes this statement from documents in his possession, one of which he has published ; and “it is,” as he remarks, “evidently the production of one of the most clear-sighted of the party ; and is valuable for the statement, which it contains, of the views and feelings of the Catholic body in England.” This bold truth-teller told the Spanish king that the King of Scotland had by far the best chance of succeeding. “In England, he hath for him the greatest part of the nobility and people, as they may be named, if without their prejudice it might be done. He hath in like manner, in

England, the greatest part of the Catholics; for his Catholic majesty hath for him in England no heretic; and for the Catholics, he hath only those who *depend upon the direction of the Jesuits*, who are few—nor all those, because the Jesuits are very few, and dare not labour openly, as the secular priests do, to gain a great number. And of *four hundred secular priests which are in the kingdom, there are not thirty which follow the fathers' direction, to draw the Catholics to embrace the designment of the Catholic king*: and so the greater part are for the King of Scotland his succession into that kingdom; as the Catholics, in their religion, are guided by their function. And to be short, speaking as it were generally, those that shall seek the succour of Spain, to drive out heresy, would not willingly submit themselves under the dominion of the Spaniards, but rather to the King of Scotland, if he were Catholic, as they hope he will be, to get the kingdom *It is holden for certain that the people of England, in whom consisteth the force of the kingdom, (as in Scotland it doth in the nobility) will not agree to give themselves to any whose right is doubtful and they knowing generally the manifest right of the King of Scotland, being descended of the eldest sister of Henry VIII. ; probably they will all follow him: and this is already the common voice of the people.*"¹ In addition to this most important objection to the Spanish scheme, it was evident that James would be strenuously supported on the Continent—among the rest by Henry IV. of France, in hatred of the Spaniard. Yet did Parsons and his faction "stir" the fatuous bigot of Spain to the undertaking, which was as treasonable to the people who, by

¹ MS. apud Tierney, iii. Append. xiii.

a vast majority, refused to be his subjects, as it was to their queen and the established monarchy. Parsons knew this well enough : to that heart of iron it was an additional motive to press the invasion—as it were in punishment of the “greatest wretches and the greatest fools” who relied on the “woman,” as he termed the people of England and their queen. You will soon read ample proof that such a motive is quite in accordance with that Jesuit’s character. The English Catholics, then, finally disappointed the original scheme of the Jesuits—disappointed it in spite of every machination on the part of the faction, and in spite of all their sufferings by the persecutions which that faction eventuated so recklessly—in one word, Jesuitism in England was a complete failure, as far as the scheme in hand was concerned—and that was a consolation : but bitter was its result to the Catholics and ever to be lamented. This calamity is, however, compensated by the fact, that by urging the Spanish king to these Quixotic experiments, the Jesuits accelerated the downfall of that most hideous Moloch of earth’s monarchies, and unconsciously expedited the providential retribution so necessarily foredoomed against that universal tyrant amongst the nations of the earth. Need I state the result of this second invincible Armada ? Again did the elements fight for Elizabeth and her people. God would not have the Spaniard in this kingdom. Call it a casualty if you like : but, for my part, I can see nothing in these most extraordinary manifestations, but an immediate interposition of that Arm which will sometimes suddenly arrest the meditated iniquity of kings and factions. We can scarcely compute the disastrous consequences to this nation that would have ensued to the

present day, from the usurpation of the English crown by the Spaniard. Heaven foresaw them: heaven defended them. Look to the Americas—a mere “casualty”—a mere *turn of the helm*—carried Columbus to the south rather than to the north of the Great Continent—and behold the result—compare Spanish America with British America—and bless God for the “casualty” which thus saved you from moral, physical, and intellectual degradation. Against the Spaniards and their Rome and Jesuits, the elements of heaven were the defenders of your country—

“ Together with
The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
As Neptune’s park, ribbed and paled in
With rocks unscaleable, and roaring waters—
With sands that will not bear your enemies’ boats,
But suck them up to the top-mast.”¹

It was in the following year, 1598, that occurred the attempt or design of Squires and the Jesuit Walpole, to

¹ Catholics claim Shakspeare for a member of the Roman Church. It is a tribute to the man’s genius. Had he remained a poacher, they would have left him exclusively to the Protestants. That he was one of Elizabeth’s men is certain—and there is ample evidence to prove that she never objected to a man on account of the form of his religion. Shakspeare’s was not the mind to belong to any set of religionists—even to please his royal mistress, had she insisted. On the other hand, it speaks immensely for the courtly and Protestant audience of Shakspeare’s plays, that he did not find it necessary to lash Romanism in his *plays*, at a time when partyism ran so high. If the thing proves his good sense, it also proves the moderation, if not total indifference to the mere religionism of her subjects, in the mind of Elizabeth. And there is a curious inconsistency in the polemics on this subject: some represent the queen as totally indifferent in *matters of religion*, others make her *greatly inclined* to many practices and doctrines of Rome—and yet they all “show her up” as a persecutor of the Catholics, &c., solely on account of their religion. Unquestionably, Romanism, was, at least, in those days, closely allied to treason in every Protestant kingdom—as I have plainly proved—and, therefore, if Elizabeth’s persecution was cruel, unchristian, and therefore useless—the Catholic “martyrs” could only be martyrs to two pardonable errors, that of the Elizabethan council, and their *own*.

poison Elizabeth, as I have related in connection with Mariana's suggestions, *at the very time*, as to the various methods of cutting off a "tyrant" or heretic-ruler. If we appeal to the opinion of *Parsons* on regicide, as just insinuated by him, the attempt amounts at least to a probability. It is only by taking a wide and comprehensive view of Jesuitism, and by grouping various facts together, that we can snatch the truth from the clutching grasp of the all-denying Jesuits.

Ireland was still, as it is at present, the vulnerable heel of England. Since the year 1593, the Earl of Tyrone had proclaimed himself the O'Neil, and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. The queen's bountiful favours had exalted him to wealth and dignity. The Spaniard and the pope enabled him to stand forth a rebel to his royal mistress. In 1599, the O'Neil received from Spain a recruit of money and ammunition for his insurgents, with assurances that a number of troops, in aid of their successful exertions, would immediately follow. The pope sent him a consecrated plume, and a Bull, by which he granted to him and his adherents the same indulgences as to those who fought against the Turks, for the recovery of the Holy Land. Civil rights were to be achieved—the Catholic religion was to be restored—with the help of these Spanish aids, papal blessings, and two thousand five hundred horse. Lord Mountjoy dissipated all these hopes, with terrible inflictions. The insurgents saw their detachments cut off, their provisions wasted, the English everywhere triumphant: their cultivated fields and everything that afforded them the means of subsistence destroyed by the enemy. The heart sickens at the thought of these horrid devastations—rendered

more deplorable by their origin—vain infatuation, foreign deception, and “religious” instigation. A famine completed the miseries of the Irish. Elizabeth, in order to neutralise the large pecuniary aids sent to the rebels from abroad, ordered base money to be coined, and permitted no other to be exported to Ireland. The English, as well as the Irish, suffered from this iniquitous and short-sighted policy:—a rebellion amongst her own troops had nearly chanced to teach the queen the simple axiom, that honesty is the best policy. The O’Neil was ruined. Craft and dexterity utterly defeated infatuation and rebellion. A Spanish fleet came to the aid of the rebels: but the rashness of the Spanish general, Don Juan d’Aguilar, was the utter ruin of the cause, which might otherwise, thus enforced, have proved something like a liberation for Ireland. But thus it was not destined to be. The effort had no honest beginning: it could have no satisfactory ending:—it failed by itself. The Spaniard would rush to battle, when he ought to have remained entrenched: the Irish rushed, as usual: they were utterly defeated, with 1200 slain and 800 wounded. The Spaniard sailed off to his master to concoct another scheme, if possible, against the invulnerable Queen of England. Meanwhile, of course, the misguided Irish remnants suffered for their betrayers: they were hunted down and butchered like wild beasts, and the province of Munster was one continued scene of havoc and devastation. Inflamed by resentment, and driven to despair, the rebels in return slaughtered without mercy all the English they could seize, in their pitiable madness.¹

¹ Camden; Rapin; Lingard; Crawford, i. Here is a contrast. “Last night, (March 26, 1647) another kindly effort was made to aid the life-struggle

Neither repeated failure, nor the severities of the government, could “check *the unwise and criminal activity* of those who favoured the Spanish pretension.”¹ Allen was dead : but Parsons, who had always taken the lead, bent all his energies to the prosecution of his Spanish idea—*now* in the expectation of the *natural* termination of that royal life against which so many bad hearts prayed desperately to heaven, appealed fiercely to earth—and could find none but “worthless fellows” to barter for its bloody destruction. If the English character naturally partakes somewhat of the bull-dog, how shall we symbolise it when it has been licked into shape by the mother-bear of Loyola ? God’s elements had taught Parsons a lesson : counter-intrigue he knew was constantly springing a mine beneath him : the crushing power, and the triumphant vigilance or craft, of the

in Ireland, and produced a thousand dollars. Adelaide Kemble (Sartoris) in unison with a number of amateurs, German, Russian, and Italian, got up an extemporaneous concert ; and the Spanish Envoy at this court (Rome) flung open the long deserted halls of the once gorgeous palace of his national embassy, for their reception . . . Nearly three hundred years ago, in these identical saloons, Olivarez, and the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, organised the rebellion of Hugh O’Neil, in Ulster ; and here the ‘blessing’ of the Spanish Armada was concocted. The same roof looked down last night on somewhat more creditable proceedings.”—*Facts and Figures from Italy*, p. 241.

Strange vicissitude of mortal things, and all the glorious majesties that bubble and burst, ere a single generation is converted into gas !

“ In might though wondrous, and in acts of war,
Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
Cancell’d from heaven and sacred memory,
Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For strength from truth divided, and from just,—
Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
And ignominy ; yet to glory aspires
Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame ;
Therefore eternal silence be their doom.”

¹ Butler, Mem. ii. 47.

Elizabethan government foiled him incessantly :—yet did he unflinchingly persevere—perhaps the very success of the antagonist-craft arrayed against him, redoubled his resolution—stimulated his invention to the concoction of some scheme at last, which might eventuate for him a glorious, a self-complacent sabbath. His ministers in England were not less active, if they were more courageous, than their leader. In 1601, another invasion was advocated by the Spanish faction. Garnet, the English provincial of the Jesuits, gave the conspirators a letter of introduction to the Jesuit Cresswell, then residing in Spain, in order “to give more credit to the undertaking.” Subsequently, Garnet endeavoured to explain away the part he took in the enterprise : but it does not appear, when, on the return of one of the envoys, Thomas Winter, he was told that the scheme was adopted by Philip III., that he resorted to any means of disconcerting the project : nor was it to be expected that he should do otherwise than approve of what Parsons, the pope, and the entire faction so earnestly desired. Spain was to pay over a sum of one hundred thousand crowns, to be employed in securing a sufficient party among the natives : an army was to land in the spring of 1603 ; if numerous, on the coast of Essex and Kent ;—if deficient in numbers,—at Milford Haven ; while the Catholics, in the meantime, were to be ready to join the invading force, and to provide horses for the service of the Spanish cavalry. The Jesuit Tesmond, *alias* Greenwell, was one of the negotiators, together with Catesby, of gun-powder-plot notoriety. Garnet treasured the scheme carefully in his breast ; and the time for its execution was rapidly approaching, when it was suddenly frustrated by the death

of Elizabeth, and the unanimous acknowledgment of her successor.¹ The immediate result, however, was a royal "Proclamation against Jesuits and others," on the 5th of November, 1602. The queen spoke sensibly enough on the subject, though she assumed what no experience ever attested, namely, that opposition to priestly and Jesuit-will, however backed with vigorous measures, ever succeeded in bringing them to their senses. "We truly confess," she said, "that our hope was, that those Romish priests, who were sent into this realm by foreign authority, to seduce our people from their affection to religion, and so, by consequence, from the constancy of their obedience to us, having felt for some time the severity of our laws formerly inflicted, would either by our clemency have been moved, or out of their own judgment have learned, to forbear to provoke us to any sharper course of proceeding, and not have so notoriously abused our mercy as they have done : for, whilst we, in our princely commiseration, and pity of their seduced blindness, held this so mild and merciful hand over them, they, in the meantime, greatly forgetting our patience and lenity, have sought, like unfaithful subjects, the utter ruin both of us and our kingdom, to the uttermost of their abilities. It is apparent to the world with how great malice of late our kingdom of Ireland hath been invaded by the King of Spain, and how Don Giovan [Don Juan D'Aguilar], his chief commander, published a warrant from the See of Rome, to deprive us of our crown, and to proclaim his master lord of the same : the Spaniards themselves having not only declared, but afterwards bitterly complained, in their

¹ Tierney, iv. p. 8, note Gunpowder Treason ; Jardine ; Eudæmon Ioann. ; Coudrette, i. 243.

miseries and distresses, that the secular priests and Jesuits have, both of them, invited the king, their master, to that unfortunate enterprise, by abusing him grossly by reporting our forces to be so contemptible, and their own party so powerful, as the conquest of that realm was most assured. And that we might not conceive any better hopes of them hereafter, it is in like sort made manifest to the greatest part of Europe, as we suppose, by their own books, lately published, that they have already very maliciously and wickedly combined themselves together, in this our realm, for the advancement of our enemies, the perverting our subjects, and, as much as in them lies, the subversion of our estate Besides, such is their pride and presumption, as that they thrust themselves into all the affairs of our estate, adventuring, in their writings and speeches, to dispose of our kingdoms and crown at their pleasures. If any of their own sort, being of a milder temper, as moved in conscience, do but seem to acknowledge the lenity of our proceedings and government, it is a sufficient cause of their hatred and revenge, to pursue and prosecute them as their enemies : and lest the generation of those wickedly disposed persons should, in time, be rooted out and decay, they make a usual market of transporting the youth of our realm unto foreign seminaries, thereby to corrupt the best families, and to hatch up a succeeding brood like to themselves, that by libelling, treachery, and all kinds of traitorous practices, they may still seek and endeavour to perturb and molest us.¹

¹ In a letter to Parsons, in 1605, Garnet says : "The party that promised a hundred marks per annum is in such want, that I may not urge it. For the new house of prentices [the noviciate at Louvain] I had provided some several persons, who were come up to London : but I have sent them back to the spring. Sicklemore is a great suitor, and Holtby entreateth for him. He is of

And whereas, of late, much contention and controversy hath arisen between the Jesuits and secular priests dissenting from them in divers points, on the other part, thereby a great difference of offence against us and our state, betwixt one and the other sect, hath manifestly appeared; the Jesuits and the secular priests, their adherents, seeking and practising by their continual plots and designs, not only to stir up foreign princes against us, to the invasion and conquest of our kingdom, but also even to murder our person; the other secular priests not only protesting against the same, as a thing most wicked, detestable, and damnable, but also offering themselves, in their writings and speeches, to be the first that shall discover such traitorous intentions against us and our state, and to be the foremost by arms and all other means to suppress it,—so as it is plain that the treason, which is locked in the hearts of the Jesuits and their adherents, is fraughted with much more violent malice, perils, and poison, both against us and our state, than that disloyalty and disobedience which is found in the other secular priests, that are opposite therein unto them Furthermore, we cannot conjecture, but do wonder, upon what grounds they proceed, except it be our sufferance and benignity which is greatly neglected by them.¹ And to the further aggravating of this

good talents and strength of body, and now qualified, as they say, in his choler. I pray you send word if you will have him.”—*MS. in Tierney, iv. Append. xvi. p. 102.*

¹ Garnet, speaking of James's persecution, says: “The courses taken are more severe than in Bess's time.”—*Ibid. ut antea.* According to the proclamation, it would even appear that the Jesuits believed that the queen was about to grant toleration—whereat she wonders, and which she indignantly denies: still it shows “that the courses taken in Bess's time” were only severe on emergencies of “stirs”—a proof that it rested with the teachers whether the disciples were to be tormented or not. In truth, the blood of the slaughtered Catholics

their audacious boldness, we find that their said conceit of a toleration is accompanied with very great liberty and intolerable presumption, in that they dare adventure to walk in the streets at noon-days, to resort to prisons publicly, and execute their functions in contempt of our laws, never ceasing, the one side as well as the other, by these and many more their intolerable proceedings, to waken our justice, which, for the respect before-mentioned, hath lain in a slumber; where in all good policy, it had been their parts, if ever, by a far contrary course, to have prescribed to themselves the strictest rules and cautions of giving any such notorious scandals to so notable clemency, never moved but by constraint to think upon any severity:—from the which our said mild and merciful connivancy toward such unthankful and inconsiderate persons, we find this further mischief proceeding, that some other natures, apt to innovation and affected much to their own opinions, have broken forth, on the other side, into factious invectives in print against our present government, whereunto they repute such remissness, as if no care were had by any but a few of themselves, to preserve religion; of which pamphlets, or any other to come forth in like kind, we would quickly make the authors (if they were laid open) to feel the weight of our indignation, in presuming to take upon them to censure our government, according to their vain conceits, whereby they both

is on the heads of Allen, his Seminarists, the pope, and the Jesuits—as well as on the hands that shed it on the “principle” of expedience. In May, 1601, Henry IV. wrote to D'Ossat as follows: “The Queen of England having caused the execution of the parties guilty of the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex, begins to evince clemency and mildness towards the rest, as much on account of the rank and great number of the accomplices, as by her natural disposition, which is averse to bloodshed and severity.”—*Lettres*, v.; *Additional Letters*, p. 46.

injure our innocence, and scandalise many good and zealous persons, which are free from their unquiet humours, though opposite to the adverse party." Thus it appears that the queen's connivance at the practices of the Jesuits and others in England, had made her obnoxious to the vituperations of the Protestant fanatics. In fact, it is certain that the "audacious boldness" of the Jesuits carried them to extraordinary lengths indeed. Their sovereign will made all things lawful to their "right intention"—*recta intentio*; and the details of their "probable" deeds would be highly interesting, could we come at the facts indicated by the following words of the Jesuit Garnet to Parsons, in 1605—and not even in the winking days of "Bess's time:"—

"I pray you send word how many coadjutors you will have. I have one, a citizen of London, of very good experience, which may benefit us, in *buying and selling without taxes*. But he is fifty years old:—and I think it not amiss to have, at the first, some ancient men for such. Send your will herein."¹ The proclamation concluded with banishing the Jesuits, so as to "avoid, in some sort, all these inconveniences, mischiefs, murmurings, and heart-burnings in this realm." The queen "required and charged all Jesuits and secular priests, combined together as is before expressed, who were at liberty within the realm (by whose sole act of

¹ "A short but separate paragraph of three lines is here carefully obliterated," says Mr. Tierney. Garnet thus concludes his letter: "I am in wonderful distress, for want of the ordinary allowance from Joseph [Creswell, the Jesuit-superior in Spain, as Mr. Tierney suspects]. I pray you write for all the arrearages, which if it may all be gotten, I can spare you some. Thus, with humble remembrance to Claud [thus he styles General Aquaviva], yourself, Fabio, Perez, Duras, and the rest—I cease, 4^o Octobris. My hostesses both and their children salute you. Sir Thomas Tresham is dead."—*MS. apud Tierney*, iv. *Append.* xvii. p. 106. Of the *obliterated paragraph* more anon.

their very coming into this kingdom they were within the danger of the laws), that they should forthwith depart out of the queen's dominions and territories, and not by their abode any longer provoke her majesty to extend the rigour of the laws upon them." The secular priests, though "in some things opposite unto the Jesuits," were also banished "except such of them as shall, in the meantime, present themselves to some of the lords or others of our privy council, to our president of Wales and York, or to the bishops of the diocese, and, before them acknowledging sincerely their duty and allegiance unto us, shall submit themselves to our mercy ; with whom we will then (upon certificate from the president and bishop, which we require to be sent up to our council, within twenty days after such submission) take such further order, as shall be thought by us to be most meet and convenient."¹ Thirteen secular priests hastened to avail themselves of this privilege. In an admirable address, drawn up by Dr. William Bishop, they thanked the queen for her merciful consideration, and signified their readiness to give her the satisfaction which she required. They acknowledged her for their queen, holding her power from the word of God, and possessing a claim to their allegiance, which "no authority, cause, or pretence," could set aside :

¹ Rymer, xvi. 473 ; Dodd, iii. Append. xxxv. It was on the 24th July of the same year, 1602, that Beaumont, the French ambassador, said in his report : "It is not necessary to be a bad subject in order to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have brought that sect [the Jesuits] in England to destruction. They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall. Thus, instead of earning from her indulgence, protection, and support, they have provoked the queen in such fashion, that she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty."—*Raumer*, ii. 183, 184.

they declared their abhorrence of the many forcible attempts already made to restore the Catholic religion, and their determination not only to stand by their sovereign against her future opponents, but also to reveal to her whatever conspiracies or treasons might come to their knowledge ; they protested that, if, for the discharge of this sacred duty, the pope should even venture to excommunicate them, they should feel themselves bound, in the sight of God, to disregard the sentence ; and they concluded by expressing a hope that, whilst they thus rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, they should not be condemned, if they declared their resolution to fulfil the other portion of the precept—to yield to the successor of Peter that obedience which Peter himself might have claimed under the commission of Christ, and so to distinguish between their several duties and obligations, as to be ready, on the one hand, “to spend their blood in the defence of her majesty,” but, on the other, “rather to lose their lives than infringe the lawful authority of Christ's Catholic Church.”¹ If these sentiments of patriotic loyalty were sincere—and we are glad to believe them such—we have only to regret that it required forty-five years of failure and suffering to inspire them. Had such a demonstration taken place at the accession of Elizabeth, and had been honestly followed up with the conduct it promised, incalculable calamities and iniquities on both sides of the “religious” contest would have been defended from humanity. Elizabeth lived not to see the result : on the very day on which this loyal instrument was signed, she was seized with that illness which in less than three months terminated her existence. On the

¹ Tierney, iii. 55. He gives the whole document, Append. xxxvi.

24th of March, 1603, “the queen very gently resigned her spirit.” Forty-five long years she had reigned—in defiance of eight popes who took a *deadly* interest in her fate—in spite of Philip II., who hated her most intensely and vowed her to destruction—saved from the hands of innumerable traitors and assassins—protected from the Jesuits—to whom her name has ever been wormwood and a curse. It is an interesting character, and deserves a momentary reflection.

Pope Sixtus V. said that “if Elizabeth were not a heretic she would be worth a world”—but the point of papal admiration was Elizabeth’s determined policy in crushing all opposition, even as evidenced by her conduct towards the Catholic factions and their dupes.¹ For our part, deep as must be our admiration of Queen Elizabeth, it would be infinitely enhanced in our minds had she contrived to dislodge the spirit of Rome without persecution. It was, however, too much to be expected—at a time when the elements of superstition were so universal, and ready to be made destructive by any pope, priest, or Jesuit—against any king, queen, or heretic. And yet, incongruous as it may seem, Elizabeth was the pattern of a most liberal toleration in the matter of religious opinions, as long as they were not interpreted into opposition to her political power—which was just a degree below despotism—nor improperly so, at a time when the utmost promptitude and vigour were indispensable in the executive. Nevertheless, Catholic lords enjoyed her favours and privileges—when she thought she could trust them:—the very mansion now possessed and enjoyed by the Jesuits in England, was built by a Catholic courtier with Elizabeth’s

¹ See Raumer, *Hist. of 16th and 17th Cent.*, i. 294.

express permission,—nay, she permitted him to retain a priest in his retinue. In the hands of Elizabeth, persecution was a political expedience: its “martyrs” were traitors, actual or contingent. This assertion detracts from the glory of the martyrologies—but is it not attested by all the facts and sentiments which I have quoted from Catholic writers themselves? Has it not been evident that under the cloak of religion a ceaseless machination was carried on by the Jesuits and their Spanish faction to dethrone, to murder Elizabeth, and give her kingdom to the Spaniard? I question whether any king or queen, even of the present day, would be less severe than Elizabeth under the circumstances on all sides admitted. I believe that she had too much sense to be a bigot in religion. The castigation she administers in her last proclamation, on those overzealous Protestants who, “according to their vain conceits,” taxed her with “remissness” in the cause of religion, plainly shows that Elizabeth mastered the Protestant party as well as the Catholic faction. The bigotry of Protestantism found no encouragement in Queen Elizabeth. In truth, she saw too well the effects of Catholic bigotry around her, to nourish an equally fierce hydra when permitted to roam at large, “seeking whom it may devour.” To Elizabeth be awarded the honour and glory of having reduced ecclesiastical power and influence to the small dimensions, which they should ever have in a free constitution.¹ Indulging her peculiar

¹ On the other hand, she strenuously opposed all attempts at meddling with the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts. It were absurd to suppose that she approved of those abuses: but the fact was, it was not the time to make herself more “religious” enemies than she had in hand. It would indeed have been a piece of infatuation to exasperate her “Church” against herself. Was she not aware that this was exactly what the Pope of Rome did, by empowering Wolsey to

fancies and judgment—which bowed to no human authority—she seemed inclined to countenance many Romish practices and opinions—such as the use of images—fasting—the real presence—the celibacy of the clergy ;—but a moment’s consideration will enable us to conclude, that her aim was to superinduce more strictness and regularity in the Protestant clergy, could she succeed in effecting the adoption of these practices and opinions. Something, it appeared, was wanting to keep the Protestant clergy and laity within the bounds of religious and moral decorum—and the adoption of these opinions and practices seemed conducive to that end so desirable. It was an error, of course, as experience in the very heart of Catholicism too plainly attested—but something was to be done—and that was what Elizabeth aimed at, in seeming to favour Catholic practices and opinions in the *concrete*—for in the *abstract*, it may be safely said that she was totally indifferent to the human interpretations of revelation. Practical good was her aim perpetually : political even in her pleasures, was it to be expected that she should be otherwise in the restraints of “ religion ” ? She enforced abstinence from flesh-meat at certain times. That was a “ popish ” practice :—but this practical queen took good care to undeceive the archbishops and clergy as to any ulterior notions that might be entertained thereanent. “ And

torment the monks in their abuses ! The consequences of that false step of expedient concession, by the infatuated Clement VII., was one of the most powerful promoters of Henry VIII.’s convulsive “ Reformation.” Elizabeth was wise : abuses are bad things—but Elizabeth had quite enough to do in keeping out the abuses of Rome—for the present. She would have reformed the Church had she found the kingdom in the state in which she left it : to have exasperated the churchmen, would have given her enemies new accomplices. The popes of Rome never could honestly allege this excuse for winking at the very peculiar abuses which disgraced Catholicism.

further declare unto them," she said by an order of council, "that the same is not required for any liking of popish ceremonies heretofore used, which *utterly are detested*; but only to maintain the *mariners, and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing.*"¹

The kingdom was never so depressed in reputation, or in so dangerous a condition both at home and abroad, as when Elizabeth came to the throne. It was incumbered with the debts of her father, her brother, her sister. The royal navy was neglected and out of repair. The nation was embroiled in intestine heats of religion. Philip of Spain was aspiring to unlimited dominion in and out of Europe. Elizabeth paid all those debts of her predecessors: regulated her finances. "Never was there a prince," says Castelnau, five times ambassador at the English Court, "never was there a prince who amassed so much wealth, so justly acquired, as she has done—without imposing any new tax or subsidy, which is a sufficient reason for showing that avarice was not her dominant passion, as people have wished to lay to her charge; and for eight years she has not demanded the dues and bounties which England is wont to make to its king every three years; and what is more, in the year 1570, her subjects having offered to pay them, she not only thanked them without consenting to receive anything, but also assured them that she would never raise five shillings on them, except for the maintenance of the state, or when necessity should require the demand. This act alone," says Castelnau, "deserves much praise, and may deserve for her the title of liberal." Nevertheless, there are those who talk incessantly of Elizabeth's "parsimony"—her reluctance to maintain a

¹ Collier ii. ; apud Dodd, iii. 64.

standing army, so dreadfully voracious and otherwise objectionable. For my part, I believe that the highest praise is due to Queen Elizabeth for the fact, that she maintained her kingdom in vast prosperity, defeated all the schemes of her enemies, and yet spent very little money on armies in actual service, or in readiness for service, in the kingdom. How she learnt that policy we know not, except that it was the result of her solid good sense, which was never afterwards copied by her immediate successors, who retained the same degree of despotism, without a single ray of that good sense which made Elizabeth so essentially a Queen of England. Willingly should we consent to the same amount of royal power at the present day, if wielded by the intellect and heart of an Elizabeth. Perhaps, never since then have the true interests of all—nobility, people, and clergy, been so ably and justly managed. We gained by utterly neutralising royal authority, because there was at the time great danger of its being abused : but we certainly gained nothing by throwing it so exclusively into the brains or the hands of hundreds, over whom we have not the check which might be exerted over one sovereign—powerful, but still responsible to the people. How admirable the thought, when a sovereign is towards the people, an executive, a council-ruling mind ! How soon would all abuses, of which thousands, if not millions, complain, vanish at such an advent of a saviour in the present alarms of the nation ! Such would become the nation's enthusiasm at the glorious fact, that all the beggarly motives of party, would be merged and sunk for ever in the beautiful Pacific of national affection to a national queen. It is as senseless and cruel as it is absurd, to condemn admirable natural

abilities to perform the functions of a mere automaton, pulled by strings. Let the sovereign *be* a sovereign—and this nation will be a nation—instead of a medley of parties, whose councils are confusion worse confounded, more swayed by the organs of party than by the law itself, and certainly not by the best and noblest sentiments which constitute the birthright of Englishmen, such as those on whom Elizabeth could depend. Many talk of their affection to the queen : but it is only a set form of speech : it cannot be felt, plainly because the queen is too far removed from her loyal people. What *can* she do to deserve her nation's applause, whilst her functions are confined to the mere signing of bills or subscriptions for charitable purposes ? Let the queen *be* a queen in the fullest sense of the term, and the nation will be at rest. There is now-a-days no fear of abuse in the royal prerogative in a sovereign of England. It will increase her Majesty's duties : but the noble motive which will thus be held forth, both to herself and a grateful nation, will eventuate results that must compensate for all anxiety or toil in the head that governs a great people, prosperous and free.

Constituted the representative of the Protestant movement or resistance, Queen Elizabeth amply repaid the pope and Philip for all their evil attempts and intentions. Doubtless self-defence was a strong motive in the queen ; but in her it was no selfishness, since the glorious welfare of a great nation depended on the life and power of their queen.¹ Whilst Elizabeth and God's

¹ In his report of April, 1603, Beaumont, Henry IV.'s ambassador, says : " Elizabeth might, beyond doubt, have concluded a peace with Spain, had she chosen it. But this spirit is that which we cannot sufficiently admire in her, that (contrary to the wont of all aged sovereigns, who look only to their enjoyments, and seek on such alone to raise their monuments), she only aspired to

elements kept war from the plains of England, her men and her fleets on every land and every sea battled with the fierce invader of the world's rights : their practical watchword was, down with papal and Spanish domination : it was only fair that these sailors and these troops should be paid for their work : they *were* paid—but at the expense of the enemy. After a reign of five and forty years, during which time she subsidised the Huguenots and the Hollanders, and kept afloat a powerful fleet roaming every sea, yet did the queen leave the kingdom in peace within, and in a martial condition—full of honour and reputation abroad—the royal navy not only superior to any in the world in strength, but in admirable repair ; few debts left charged on the crown, and large contingencies from a wealthy people, forthcoming for service done, and rebellion crushed, or the invader baffled and beaten. There were above two millions four hundred thousand pounds due from the States of Holland, for enabling them to achieve their righteous independence against the execrable tyrant of Spain.¹ What a contrast to our modern method of subsidising ! England's people have been made to fight and lavish millions for the interests of foreigners, with only a very questionable glory, by way of a *per contra*, for solid gold by the million, and generous lives by the same computation. Napoleon undertook to make a war of aggression sup-

found hers on toil, and honour, and victory, and to bury herself under trophies. Ungrateful as her successor and her subjects show themselves at this moment towards her, every one must yet acknowledge that the former owes his elevation, the latter their welfare and preservation, to the queen.”—*Raumer*, ii. 194, 195.

¹ Coke, *Detection*, i. p. 1, *et seq.* As has ever been the usual return for England's subsidies, the Dutch, induced by a faction, attempted to be ungrateful to Elizabeth and her country ; but, by her promptitude, she effectually brought them to their senses, and they “begged pardon ” most humbly as in duty bound. Then she required them to pay for her services.

port itself, and the trick was considered a mighty fine "idea." Elizabeth ruined her enemies at their own expense, and built up the paltry nation of Holland into a pyramid of power, to complete the destruction of that enemy, on whom she thus inflicted a providential retribution.¹ Possessed of absolute power, endowed with all the great qualities which constitute the natural right to command, still she would never pronounce a decision, nor uphold an opinion, without the concurrence of her council. This is the testimony of Castelnau, and it is well worth quotation against the very questionable and interested authorities whereby Dr. Lingard misrepresents this quality of Elizabeth's mind, under the name of "irresolution." In truth, the doctor seems to have steeped his mind in the peculiar juices of the Jesuit Parsons, in delivering his "character" of Queen Elizabeth. Castelnau, five times ambassador at the court, contradicts the "impartial" doctor, in every blasting element of the character which he has fulminated against the nation's queen.

"Never has a prince loved his subjects more than I

¹ Elizabeth refused to accept the sovereignty of the United Provinces when she took them into her protection, after the expulsion of the Duke d'Anjou, and the death of the Prince of Orange; but she justly entered into a treaty with the States in 1585, wherein it was agreed that the Dutch should repay her all the moneys which she should expend for their preservation, with interest at ten *per cent.*, when the war was ended with Spain, and that two Englishmen, to be named by the queen, should be admitted into their council of state. Flushing, Rammekens, and Brielle, were delivered up to the queen by way of security: these towns were the keys of the country. Elizabeth, enhancing her energetic assistance, gave the Hollanders the privilege of fishing on the coast of England—removed the staple of the English woollen manufactures from Antwerp, in the power of Spain, to Delft, in the power of the Dutch; "and 'tis scarce credible how, in so short a time, viz. scarce thirteen years, the Dutch, entertaining all sorts of people who were persecuted upon the account of not submitting to the papal usurpations (call'd religion), swelled their trade and navigation, not only in Europe, but in the East and West Indies."—*Coke, Detection*, i. 1—5.

do, and no jewel, no treasure, no happiness of any kind, can counterbalance the value of this affection!" exclaimed Elizabeth, when, in 1601, representations were made to her respecting the abuses of the monopolies which she had granted. "It is my intention to remedy all abuses, and to punish those who have illegally perverted my gifts, and oppressed their fellow citizens. But Heaven, I hope, will not impute their faults to me, who am innocent. For, remembering the supreme Judge, to whom I must give an account, I have always endeavoured to promote the good of my people. Nor do I wish to live any longer than while my government is for the advantage of all; and, though there have been in England more powerful and wiser princes, there never was, nor will be in future, one who had more care and affection for his people." The loudest joy and universal expressions of gratitude followed this declaration of Elizabeth, and she took care that her promise should be carried into effect.¹ "The highest praise is due to Elizabeth," says the Frenchman Mezerai, "for the ardent affection with which she cherished her people—a virtue which may cover all the other vices of a sovereign."² The French ambassador, Beaumont, exclaimed:—"the queen is not merely loved, but adored!"³

Unquestionably the courts of High Commission for the cognizance of religious offences;—the Star Chamber, for the punishment of what Dr. Lingard calls "that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of royal authority;"—and other expedient contrivances, after the manner of Rome and Spain,—unquestionably

¹ Raumer, *Polit. Hist.* i. 376, *et seq.* Hallam, following Dr. Ewes, gives a somewhat different account, i. 261.

² Mezerai, vi. p. 233.

³ Raumer, *ubi supra.*

these contrivances are lamentable blots on the reign of Elizabeth—but so are all the pontifical and Spanish and Jesuitical contrivances which suggested them—blots on humanity all of them ; and whilst Protestants may denounce them, Catholics have no right to do so, seeing that they were not original contrivances by the royal council of England, but vile transplantations from the hot-beds of Rome and of Spain. No one can deny that the queen and government were in a constant state of alarm from “religious” traitors ; and whilst we denounce the cruelties which attended the measures of self-defence, we must be permitted still more to denounce the atrociously unchristian schemes and attempts, which directly suggested such contrivances. What shall we say of the captivity and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, after seeing the attestation of the intended murder of Elizabeth, for which she agreed to pay a sum of money ? Only this, that the queen and her council were selfish and provident of the country’s welfare—whilst Mary and her faction were equally selfish—but also recklessly infatuated, cowardly, base, and, therefore, as unworthy of sympathy as Elizabeth and her council may be obnoxious to blame.

The results of Protestantism were gloriously promoted and expanded by Elizabeth—in the vast improvement of agriculture—internal trade—and foreign commerce. Philip’s tyranny ruined the Netherlands : Elizabeth received and tolerated the fugitives. New manufactures, of various kinds, energetically advanced the nation’s onward march to supremacy amongst the most industrious, the wealthiest of earth. The Royal Exchange of London—built by one of her subjects—became the centre of commerce extending over Europe,

and to Barbary, Morocco, Guinea, and Turkey. Her sailor, Willoughby, actually discovered Archangel—and a Russian trading company was established. Frobisher, Davis, Raleigh, Drake, and Cavendish, are names of high renown :—these men were Elizabeth's discoverers for the world, which they circumnavigated at no expence to the nation, because they had to fight their way on the papal seas of the Spanish despot—and brought home solid equivalents as well as contributions to “the diffusion of knowledge.” Some call them pirates—but, if they were, they robbed from a thief—the King of Spain—that wholesale pirate among the Indians.

Elizabeth defrayed all annual expenses with five hundred thousand pounds. The great she rewarded with words : but she made ample provision for the widows and orphans of those who fell in war. During her reign of five-and-forty years, the Parliament granted her only three millions of pounds as subsidies—subsidies, be it remembered, imperatively necessary to defend the nation from the Spaniards, fooled into their rash attempts by the pope and the Jesuits and their faction of Catholic exiles.¹

Need I enlarge on that laurelled band of mentalists—poetic philosophers and philosophical poets who wrote and sang for the admiration of the Virgin Queen and all posterity ? A Bacon was the offspring of that expansive reign—destined to achieve for the whole circle of the sciences what his queen so nobly began and strove to consolidate for her country and for universal Protestantism—since in every realm that movement felt the genial touch of her hearty hand—or heard a cheer from the imperial Virgin of the Isle. And Shakspeare, too, sang joyously then—a universe of mentality, whom,

¹ Raumer, *ut antea*, p. 381.

as the Gospel, we never read without fresh thoughts of delight and comfort.¹

“Some gentler passions steal into my mind,
 (For I am soft and made of melting snow)
 Or be more cruel, Love, or be more kind,
 Let me or float or sink, be high or low :
 Or let me live with some more sweet content,
 Or die, and so forget what love e'er meant.”

These verses were composed by Elizabeth. The object of their introduction is evident—a few remarks are necessary on the foul aspersions recorded against Elizabeth. Lingard, on the strength of two very questionable authorities, talks of Elizabeth's “feelings blunted by passion,”—states that she was “regardless of her character and callous to every sense of shame,”—he mentions one “indecent act,”—numbers her paramours—and sums up the horrible account by saying : “and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age :”—these be “prave words” for a virgin priest. Castelnau, a distinguished, a disinterested Frenchman, a personal witness of long-standing at the English Court, is, at least equal to Lingard's *Spanish* ambassador and *partisan* authorities. “And if they have wished to tax her falsely with love or lust (amour) I will say with truth that these are the forged inventions of her evil-wishers and her enemies

¹ “But with whom shall we compare the unrivalled Shakspeare,” says Raumer, “or whom shall we place above him? From the tenderest emotions to the most sublime energy, from the most playful humour to prophetic dignity, he commands the whole scale of feeling and of thought; and while so many renowned poets erect their throne on a small section of the magic circle of poetry, beyond which they are unable to pass, he lavishes his inexhaustible treasures in all directions, and commands the admiration of the most simple, as well as the most cultivated minds.”

in the *cabinets of the ambassadors*, in order to disgust those to whom her alliance would have been useful” Touching her unwillingness to marry, he says : “ She has told me numberless times, and long before I was resident at her Court, that even to save her life she would not consent to marry any one but a prince of a great and illustrious house, and not inferior to her own—more for the benefit of her country than any particular inclination of her own ; and if she thought that any of her subjects was presumptuous enough to desire her for a wife, she would never see him, but, contrary to her nature which had no cruelty in it, she would punish him. So that there is no reason to disbelieve that she was as chaste as she was prudent, as effects demonstrate.” His reasoning on the subject is interesting. “ A good proof of this is the curiosity which she had to learn so many sciences and foreign languages ; and her being so constantly employed in affairs of state, that she could not have had time to yield to amorous passions, which have nothing in common with literature—as the ancients have wisely shown when they made Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, a virgin and without a mother, and the muses chaste and maidens.¹ Never-

¹ “ She was very learned,” says Hénault. “ One day when she was visited by Calignon, who was Chancellor of Navarre, she showed him a Latin translation which she had made of certain tragedies of Sophocles ; also two orations of Demosthenes. She also permitted him to take a copy of a Greek epigram which she had composed ; and she asked his opinion on certain passages of Lycophron, which she then had in her hand, and some passages of which she was desirous to translate :—but her greatest science was that of reigning, and England numbers her amongst her greatest kings.”—*Abrégé*, ii. p. 614. These acquirements were not incompatible with the pursuits suggested by licentious appetite, but they were certainly a powerful beacon-light, a stimulus to the intellect of the nation. The queen’s example roused the minds of her people to intellectual effort. Hence the unrivalled power of thought which was established in English science and literature during that truly glorious reign—a power of thought which still

theless, adds the moralist, "courtiers say that honour, especially that of women, consists in its reputation only, which makes those fortunate who have a good one. And if I have permitted myself to enlarge in the praise of this queen, the particular knowledge I have had of her merits will be my lawful excuse; the recital has seemed necessary to me, in order that the queens who shall succeed her may have as a mirror the example of her virtues, should these Memoirs, against my intention, ever see the light."¹

But, on the other hand, even assuming that those men whom Lingard names, were the "mistresses," as it were, of Queen Elizabeth, what a wonderful contrast stands before us! Whilst popes and kings have burthened their kingdom with the support of *their* mistresses, those of Elizabeth will appear before us as energetic servants of the country—*exhausting their wealth* in the service of their queen—ever eager at her bidding to risk fortune and life to please that wonderful queen, whom we may truly call the mistress of all her loyal people—for she truly loved them all intensely. This, then, is the mighty gist of the argument:—assuming the fact, in a political point of view, Elizabeth stands forth rather an object of admiration than blame:—but I doubt the fact altogether. That the queen was well-beloved, is beyond all doubt: that her gentle heart loved equally well:—that the country—that all her people derived benefit from that affection which she turned to their account so nobly—all this is beyond all doubt—but Queen Elizabeth was *not* the infamous thing of Lingard's imagining. The

attracts us to the minds of that age, and well it might, from the meaningless, shallow platitudes of the present.

¹ Castelnau, Mem. (Pantheon Litt. p. 127—8.) He was the negotiator of the projected marriage between the queen and the Duke d'Anjou. Ib.

political consequences entailed upon a nation so disastrously by kings, through their royal mistresses—especially Henry IV. and Louis XIV.—render this feature in their character of *historical moment* : but this excuse cannot be alleged by Lingard for soiling his pages with the foe-concocted infamy he flings on an admirable queen. In lashing *Anne Boleyn*, he was right—for the consequences of her guilt were *political*, as well as injurious to the happiness of another woman—and a virtuous queen : but not a shadow of such impeachment can be alleged against Elizabeth—except from the murky brains of the Jesuit Parsons and his Spanish faction. Nay, Elizabeth, far from being compromised to any of these “favoured” ones, actually consigned one of them to execution when he presumed to be a traitor to his country. If he was base enough to commit that crime, he would not have shrunk from threatening the queen with a public exposure in self-defence, had she been, by guilt, in his power. He did nothing of the sort—and this is another argument in favour of Elizabeth respecting one of the *most* “favoured” ones ;—nor would Elizabeth, I think, have ventured to put the fellow to the extremity, had she yielded to the infamy so plainly suggested by Lingard. Further, nothing but the most prurient and vindictive “religious” feeling could have induced the doctor to repeat the silly tale of a “son” of Elizabeth, whose generation he found in the *Archives of Simancas*, with other documents of the rancorous and baffled and beaten Spaniards.¹

¹ See Lingard, viii. 406, and Append. note x. Nay, the very dread of becoming a mother under the apprehension of dying in childbed, as her physicians were induced to predict, was one of the motives advanced by Elizabeth against her consenting to marry. I need not apply the argument : “*Et alioqui tota vita cœlebs à nuptiis abhorruit, ab iis, qui circa eam erant, quò magis ipsam in*

The queen's influence over the nation at large was felt benignly. All was advancement,—all was improvement,—and nowhere the bleak stagnation of the olden time. Rapidly, uninterruptedly, the nation sped forward to wealth, glory, and renown. The palaces displayed equal magnificence and taste, and paintings or fine tapestry adorned the rooms and beautified the halls. The usual mode of life was simple and moderate, but on festive occasions, on the visits of foreign ambassadors, and the like *national* calls for display, Elizabeth was fond of showing forth her royal splendour. Then it was that magnificent processions, elegant ballets, comedies, and tragedies, alternated with serious conversations. "As wisdom and secrecy appeared in her council, so hospitality, charity, and splendour were diluted over the whole court"—never were heart and mind more admirably attuned to unison, or rather, in beautiful concord. It cannot be denied that Elizabeth, fully conscious of the superiority of her understanding, aimed too much, perhaps, at making an impression by her beauty; and too unmindful of the chilling hand of time, wished to retain externally the youthful vigour of her mind—but there are those amongst women, whose minds and whose hearts time furrows not—and if their features have lost the smile so bewitching, their minds and their

potestate habent, injecto per medicorum suggestionem metu, si conciperet fore, ut in puerperio moreretur."—*Thucydus*, lib. cxxix. Surely Dr. Lingard must have read the note at p. 435, of D'Ossat's Letters, vol. ii., where the subject is alluded to physiologically, and in the plainest possible terms is affirmed the impossibility of what the doctor is pleased to throw out. Every one knows that when the Duke d'Alençon urged his suit with importunity, the queen exclaimed that she did not think she was so little beloved by her subjects as that they should wish to bury her before her time. D'Ossat's annotator, Amelot de la Houissaie, says "that the same physical cause which prevented her marrying, must have precluded licentiousness."—*Lettre du 1 Fev. 1597*, note 11.

hearts smile on for ever : they know it—and are loath to resign the prerogative of exalted natures. But in spite of these little vanities and weaknesses, to which many persons have attached far too much importance, no court had yet been so polished, and so *moral*, so intelligent, and so romantic.¹ How far inferior, in every respect, was the otherwise so highly extolled court of France under Catherine de'Medici and her sons ! Let a Frenchman, and a Roman Catholic, the far-famed De Thou, give his opinion of Queen Elizabeth. “Elizabeth,” he says, “was of a lofty mind and manly spirit—rapidly matured for the serious business of life by her early fortune. She governed by her own understanding, not through that of others ; ably combined moderation with prudence—was severe only to the arrogant and intractable nobility, but mild to all others. From the first to the last, she inspired the former with respect and the latter with affection—rewarding real merit in such a manner as made her favours seem a right to the deserving—frugal in expenditure lest she should oppress her people by exhausting taxes—far from being extravagant and intemperate in her enjoyments, she was not avaricious, but provident for the future. Cautious, and full of solicitude in the responsibilities so worthy of a sovereign, her deeds in the present were deposits against futurity. Cherishing peace at home, her wisdom and policy gave a vent to the warlike and ardent spirits of her people in battle-fields afar from her shores : she would prove to the world that although ruled by a

¹ Raumer. But Dr. Lingard, however, says : “The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, ‘all enormities reigned in the highest degree,’ or, according to Harrington, ‘where there was no love, but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus.’”

woman, the energies, the martial prowess, the renown of a people need suffer no diminution—nor were they ever impaired. Full of moderation, her mind was averse to severity and bloodshed; and, judging from her own feelings, she was no advocate for the compulsion of conscience. Yet did she object to grant that liberty of conscience which, under pretence of religion, would, in those times, disturb public tranquillity: when conspiracies became frequent, she sharpened the laws against the factious—but less from her own inclination than by the advice of her ministers, who feared as much for her safety as for their own, in the imminent perils which suggested the edicts. But these severities were inflicted more on the property, than the persons, of the proscribed factions: and thus she has been taxed with the charge of avarice, which ought rather to fall on her ministers, whilst her mercy in sparing the lives of offenders won for her no grateful acknowledgment. In the destruction of the Spaniard's armada—the preparation of so many years, and at so vast an outlay—her good fortune was eminently conspicuous; for it was dispersed by aid from on high rather than the arms of men,—and the Spaniard's ambition and his iniquitous covetousness of empire were visited with providential retribution—condemned by a judgment of heaven.

“Elizabeth was apt at learning and eager for knowledge: she knew Latin and spoke it with ease. German she spoke correctly from its similitude to her own language; her French was not without a foreign accent; but she conversed in Italian with the greatest elegance: she delighted in poetry and music.¹

¹ Her love of learning was so great and long-continued, that in her 65th year

“Many of the aspersions which have been heaped upon her by her religious enemies, have been greatly confuted by her long and happy reign, prosperous to the end, defended by the invisible arm of the Divinity.¹ It was her pleasure to be courted, and complimented for her beauty, and to *seem—videri*—occupied with love, even in her old age—renewing, as it were, by this mental pastime, the memory of those fabulous isles, whereon chivalrous worthies and stalwart heroes roamed, and manifested love, which she required to be divested, by generous virtue, of all its grossness.² By this policy, if

she translated Horace's Art of Poetry, and Plutarch's Treatise on Curiosity. She excelled on the virginals, and understood the most difficult music; and dancing was her chief delight; and in that exercise she displayed a grace and elasticity which were universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last: few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the Duke of Nevers, in her 69th year.—*Raumer and Lingard*, and their authorities.

¹ It is curious to find that this generous argument in favour of Elizabeth's protracted reign of prosperity, has been turned against her by a modern Jesuit. *Gioberti* says that one of the modern Jesuits, addressing a congregation, told the devotees, that when Elizabeth began to reign, God offered her the choice between a short and difficult reign, with heaven beyond; or a long and prosperous one, with the other place in reserve hereafter. The queen, said the Jesuit, chose the latter prospects; and, to the present time, ever and anon there issues from the bottom of the Thames a voice mournfully crying: “O Queen, thou art damned! O Queen, thou art damned!”—*Il Gesuita Moderno*. Surely this is not one of the facts in the modern *Annual Letters* of the English Jesuits; however, it is “curious,” if not very “edifying.” But do not suppose that such legends were, in the olden time, confined to the “papists” and Jesuits. If you visit the castle of Framlingham, in Suffolk, they will show you a room where “the Bloody Mary brought forth a *serpent*.” Nay, they will show you the *image* of the same impressed upon the wall against which it leaped—and then vanished, I suppose to whence it originally came, which need not be named to “ears polite.”

² “*Ambiri, coli ob formam, et amoribus etiam inclinata jam ætate vacare videri voluit, de fabulosis insulis per illam relaxationem renovata quasi memoria, in quibus equites ac strenui homines errabant, et amores, fœditate omni prohibita generosè per virtutem exercebant.*” Perhaps Hénault's idea is as near to the fact as any: “One of the greatest springs of Elizabeth's policy was to hold

she exposed her fair name to the aspersion of the malevolent, she did not diminish the majesty of royal power, in whose administration she never swerved from the right line of sovereignty. In her were seen noble virtues, worthy of the greatest king—and but few defects, and such as are excusable in her sex. Many sought to obscure her glory out of religious hatred, and ascribed to cruelty what she did only from necessity and her own safety; so that to do away with the envy which some evince, nothing is wanted but time, which will in future prove to be the best panegyrist of Elizabeth, since nothing comparable to her is to be found in the history of the past, or will easily be found in that of the future.

“She was tall of stature and majestic, and enjoyed almost uninterrupted health to her extreme old age; and then a placid, tranquil death ended her most prosperous life,—since no sadness, no wretchedness, no gloomy terror, no impatiencce of pain, no torment, no convulsions preceded:—but a few days before she expired, she suffered from that atony of the nervous system, whereby her voice, and mind, yielding with their shattered frame-work, were affected, and she gradually expired in the morning of the 24th of March, 1603.”¹

forth to all the princes of Europe, and even to some of her subjects, the bait of her marriage, and keep them all in subjection by that hope.”—*Hénault, Abrégé*, ii. 614. Truly it seems to me impossible to imagine that Elizabeth could *condescend* to debase herself by yielding to that which, of all things, most effectually humiliates and fetters woman. That conviction alone was enough to defend Elizabeth.

¹ Thuan. lib. cxxix. Various circumstances have been recorded of the last moments of Elizabeth: they are to be accounted for by her physical condition operating on a mind harassed by importunate questions respecting an event (the succession) which she had long refused to answer. The cruel besiegers of a death-bed have much to answer for in their heartless depravity. This is not

The History of the Reign of Elizabeth, with herself in the midst, its universal influence, is yet to be written. Justice has not been done to that splendid epoch of England's rule amongst the nations, when God announced her destiny. To Elizabeth belongs the glory of having evoked, promoted, and ratified that spirit of

the place to enter into the frivolous, the stupid, and hobgoblin argument, which even the "sagacious" Lingard would palm upon his readers; but I must be permitted to denounce the wicked craft of Charles Butler, who talked of "the gloom and mental agony which embittered the last days of her, by whose ministers the persecutions of the Catholics were devised"—and then he quotes, in proof of his opinion, what do you think? Why, "two letters written by the Emperor Aurongzebe, in his last moments," on the *vanity of human life*, and the *certainly of judgment!* And yet this man was a lawyer. What would he say if we groped up the dreadful deaths of many popes—and modern ones too—that is, since the Reformation? What would he say to the latter days of the famous Cardinal Commendone, whose "last moments," as related by his friend Gratiani, are a thousand times more humiliating than those of Elizabeth—and yet, who cries a "judgment?" I believe that in certain states of the body as it dwindles into death, dreadful thoughts, in health suppressed, will rise as ruthless furies to torment the guilty soul; but in the case of Elizabeth, neither the antecedent nor the consequent is made out—except in the judgment-seat of rancorous bigotry—such as lurks, though muffled, in the exquisitely sly "*Memoirs of the English Catholics*, by Charles Butler, of Lincoln's Inn." "But I supply as to her religious and Christian behaviour in her last sickness what this writer is silent in. She had several of her learned and pious bishops frequently about her, performing the last offices of religion with her, as particularly Watson, Bishop of Chichester, her almoner, the Bishop of London, and chiefly the archbishop, with whom in their prayers she very devoutly, both in her eyes, hands, and tongue, and with great fervency, joyned. She cared not to have any other discourse but with them, about her spiritual estate. And though she was impatient of any speeches of others with her, yet she was ever well pleased to hear the Archbishop and the Bishop of London give her comfort and council and goodword. And most heartily and devoutly prayed continually with them, and making signs and shows, to her last remembrance, of the sweet comfort she took in their presence and assistance, and of the unspeakable joy she was going into." . . . Then follows the prayer which was made for the dying queen. "Her death drawing near, the archbishop exhorted her to fix her thoughts upon God, the better to draw her mind from other, secular, things concerning her kingdom and successor, that some then of her court propounded to her. To which good advice to stay her at that hour, she answered him [that] she did so, nor did her mind wander from God. And as a sign thereof, when she could not speak, she was observed to lift up her eyes and hands to heaven."—*MS. Bish. Kennett's Coll. Bib. Lansd.* xlix. f. 23.

enterprise, persevering industry, elastic hopefulness, honest pride, and proud honesty, which have made this nation the physical, moral, and intellectual bank of the universe—just as its metropolis is, by its geographical position, the centre of the habitable earth—the veritable pole round about which the world of action revolves. It is the broad and long and deep foundation laid by Elizabeth, and the ministers she selected and governed, which has enabled the nation to suffer and emerge from moral, social, and political shocks, such as would havewhelmed any other, or left them to splinter or flounder in restless insecurity and irksome discontentment—as a neighbouring nation, by every revolution which has tried the temper of its metal, or the soundness of its hull. To trace the rise and progress of these splendid characteristics of the nation—to bring the argument home to the present time of dim uncertainty, when weak minds shiver and little ones croak despairingly, whilst all should be stirring in loyal energy as the men of Elizabeth—to *prove*, by the example of Elizabeth, that a people's advancement, prosperity, and happiness are proportioned to the immediate affection of their sovereign, from whom they are not set widely apart—whom they can bless for blessings received, to whom they can *really* and *truly* appeal for redress in their wrongs, for relief in their sufferings—to show forth these desirable truths, is a labour of love, to be achieved for the benefit of mankind. For, every nation of earth looks to Britain, as the mariner on trackless oceans chronicles his progress by the star of day on the meridian. A spirit-stirring theme—a glorious enterprise will it be, thus from the past, so ungratefully obscured, so perversely neglected, to evolve axioms of wisdom for the guidance

of the present unto prosperous contentment—to generate a future, whose glory and good shall be sufficient, if they but equal the glory and good of the loyal in the days of Elizabeth. From such a contemplation it is with sadness and regret that I must now pursue the troublous history of the Jesuits.

It is difficult to conceive the extent of that infatuation which impelled a section of the Jesuits, with Parsons at its head, to entertain the hope or the idea of changing the royal succession of England. How is it to be accounted for? By that confirmed perversity which never permits certain natures to resign a bad cause, and retrace their steps into the paths of honour or honesty—if they ever trod therein. For a comprehensive statement respecting the intrigue of the Spanish faction in the last years of Elizabeth, we must rely in full confidence on the unimpeachable authority of Cardinal D'Ossat.¹ In a letter written to Henry IV. in 1601, he thus exposes the views and position of the Jesuitico-

¹ Few historic characters have enjoyed the fame of this Frenchman. He was one of those extraordinary personages, says Butler, who have united every voice in their praise. He is mentioned in terms of equal favour by De Thou and Pallavicino, by Wicquefort in England, and the Jesuit Galucci at Rome, who pronounced his funeral oration. And his destiny was a moral—an encouragement to all who need the hope of worldly recompense for striving to perform to the utmost their duty as men—in which term every duty of God's creature is included. From a situation so low, that his family was never known, D'Ossat raised himself by his talents, and the undeviating wisdom and rectitude of his conduct, to be the vice-ambassador of Henry IV. of France to the See of Rome—the centre, at that time, of the most important negotiations. He possessed the entire confidence of his sovereign; and the pope, as an expression of his esteem, honoured him with the purple. "His penetratiou," says L'Avocat, "was prodigious. He formed his resolutions with such discernment, that in all the various concerns and negotiations in which he was engaged, a single false step has not been discovered." His letters, which minutely detail his diplomatic transactions, are so replete with solid judgment and practical wisdom, that they may be read with profit even by those who are not compelled to investigate the little things of mighty monarchs.

Spanish faction. "As far back as 1594 was published a book in English, which the Spaniards caused to be written by an English Jesuit, named Parsons, and circulated throughout England, the Netherlands, and everywhere else, where they thought that the book might prove useful to their views. Its object was and is to demonstrate and induce the world to believe, that for many hundred years there has not been in England either king or queen legitimately entitled to the crown : it excludes all the sovereigns of England on the score of having been guilty of high treason, or disinherited, or bastards, or heretics, or by reason of some other defect : consequently, it excludes from the succession to the throne of England, after the death of the reigning Queen, Elizabeth, all those who are of the blood royal of England—the nearest relatives of the queen, as the King of Scotland and Arabella, who are her nearest kindred Having thus excluded from the throne of England all the Scotch and English, this precious book strives to show that the true right to the throne lapsed to the late King of Spain, Philip II., then living, and to his children,—and it deduces the succession by two channels, affirming that the succession of England has lapsed to two families—the House of Brittany, and the House of Portugal :—the House of Brittany by reason of Constance, eldest daughter of William the Conqueror, King of England, who was married to Alain Fergeant I., Duke of Brittany—from which marriage the said book pretends that all the members of the House of Brittany have, to the present day, descended. Secondly,—to the House of Portugal, by reason of Philippa, daughter of Jean Le Grand, son of King Edward III. and Blanche, only daughter and heir of

Henry, Duke of Lancaster, third son of Edmond, the second son of Henry III., King of England. Philippa was married to John I., King of Portugal; from this marriage the book pretends that all the princes and princesses of the House of Portugal have, to the present day, descended. Now it follows, says this book, that all the rights and pretensions of the House of Brittany have centred in the person of the Infanta of Spain, who is married to the Archduke Albert:—therefore the right of succession to the crown of England belongs to the Infanta In like manner, says the book, all the rights and pretensions of the House of Portugal are merged in the person of the late King Philip II. of Spain, and his children:—therefore to him it was due, and to his children it is due to succeed to the throne of England. Now, although these propositions and their consequences are frivolous sophisms, and contrary to all right and custom, and partly false, yet, as your Majesty is aware, the late King of Spain always made a great deal of them, and directed all his thoughts to the scheme—as does the new king, his son.” And whilst these ridiculous genealogical discoveries did immense credit to the inventive genius of the Jesuit Parsons, the King of Spain made them weighty arguments by the solid largesses he flung to the Catholic exiles of England, who therefore advocated his Jesuitical pretensions. “To this end have aimed and still aim all the caresses, the pensions, the largesses, and other gifts, which the Spaniards have lavished and still lavish on the Catholics of England who are exiled on account of their religion, and have taken refuge not only in the Netherlands and in Spain, but also in France, in Italy, and elsewhere; but chiefly on those whom they think likely to prove ser-

viceable on account of their nobility, kindred, or alliance—or on account of their abilities and valour. Precisely to the same end and aim are the colleges and seminaries established by the Spaniards expressly for the English, at Douay, and at St. Omer's, where they receive the youths of the best families in England, in order to compel into their service the relatives and friends of these youths, whose influence and exertions are thus directed in England: the principal care of the teachers in these colleges and seminaries being to catechise, to nourish, to educate the said young gentlemen of England in the belief and firm faith that the late King of Spain possessed, and that his children now possess, the true right of succession to the crown of England; and that it is thus useful and expedient for the Catholic religion, not only in England, but also all over Christendom. And when these young gentlemen of England have gone through their preliminary studies, and have attained a certain age, then, in order to Spaniardise them completely—*pour achever des les Espagnoliser*—they are transported from the Netherlands into Spain, where there are other colleges for them, and there they are instructed in philosophy and theology, and confirmed in the said belief and holy faith, namely, that the kingdom of England belonged to the late King of Spain, Philip II., and now belongs to his children. And after these young gentlemen of England have thus completed their course of studies, those among them who are considered most Spaniardised, most courageous, and most confirmed in the Spanish *Credo*, are sent into England to sow that faith, and win over to it those who have not left the country, and to act as spies, and inform the Spaniards of what is going on in England, and what they think might

and ought to be done in order to reduce England under the dominion of Spain, and in order, should it be necessary, to endure martyrdom as well, or, *rather*, more for the said *Spanish faith* than for the *Catholic religion*.¹ The Spanish troops formerly, and very lately, sent into Ireland are also for the same purpose, to seize in the interim all they can of the queen's dominions, and thus to serve as a stepping stone some day for the invasion of England." After alluding to the foreign resistance foreseen as inevitable to this scheme of the Spanish

¹ Mr. Borrow, of the Bible in Spain, visited one of these colleges, at Valladolid. His observations will be found as inconsistent as they are false (in the most important points), according to all that we have hitherto read, and the present testimony (acknowledged to be most respectable) of Cardinal D'Ossat. Still there is something so racy in the man's originality, that I am anxious to state my motive in transfixing the sentiments which I have before quoted from his curious and most entertaining pilgrimage. Therefore, let me rather be understood to vituperate the method of those who seem to imagine that they can defend the Church of England, by means similar to those which the Jesuits and all propagandists employed and employ, to undermine our hearty Protestantism. Such means, it is clear, will never answer, in the long run. Let each man—I mean each Protestant—ask himself what *is* the Church of England—I mean what *constitutes* the Church of England essentially? The question will lead him into an intricate investigation; but if he pursue it heartily, he will be able to discover that we have not as yet established amongst us that upright, consistent, God-beloved design which the sacred name of *Protestant* is worthy to christen. Here is Mr. Borrow's account of one of the colleges alluded to so plainly, so strikingly, so politically, by Cardinal D'Ossat. "Of all the curiosities of this college, the most remarkable is the picture-gallery, which contains neither more nor less than the portraits of a variety of scholars of this house who eventually suffered martyrdom in England, in the exercise of their vocation in the angry times of the *Sixth Edward* (!) and *fiere Elizabeth*. Yes, in this very house were many of those pale, smiling, half-foreign priests educated, who, like stealthy grimalkins, traversed green England in all directions; crept into old halls beneath umbrageous rookeries, fanning the dying embers of popery, with no other hope, nor perhaps wish, than to perish disembowelled by the bloody hands of the executioner, amongst the yells of a rabble as bigoted as themselves: priests like Bedingfield and Garnet, and many others who have left a name in English story. Doubtless many a history, only the more wonderful for being true, could be wrought out of the archives of the English popish seminary at Valladolid."—*Bible in Spain*, c. xxi.

succession, the cardinal proceeds to say, that "The pope foresees and believes in this resistance which will be made to the King of Spain and his sister; and has imagined in his mind that he might succeed in making the Duke of Parma, or his brother, the Cardinal Farnese, King of England after the death of the queen. [The reader remembers that this was the suggestion of the Jesuit Parsons]. Your Majesty will easily believe that he wishes them to attain this dignity on account of the alliance which connects them to his Holiness, and, moreover, because they are devoted Catholics, and accounted good and moderate princes, and his Holiness would think he was doing a deed agreeable to God, and profitable to the Catholic religion Moreover, his Holiness intends to aid these two princes with all his forces, both temporal and spiritual, and with all the authority which he has over the Catholic princes, lords, cities and nations. About four years ago, his Holiness created in England a certain *arch-priest*, in order that all the ecclesiastics and all the Catholics of the kingdom might have some authority, to whom they might have recourse in the affairs of the Catholic religion, so as to unite them among themselves, and suggest to them the best method for their preservation, and for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion. His Holiness has been persuaded to believe that by this means he will be able to effectuate a great part of what he will desire. And I know it is said that his Holiness has lately sent to his nuncio in the Netherlands, three breves, which he is to keep until he knows that the queen is dead, and then he is to send them into England—one to the ecclesiastics, the second to the nobility, and the third to the people. By these breves the three sections of the English nation are admonished

and exhorted by his Holiness to remain united among themselves, so as to receive a Catholic king whom his Holiness shall name, such as shall seem agreeable, profitable, and honourable, and all for the honour and glory of God, and for the restoration of the Catholic religion, and for the salvation of their souls.”¹ Thus did Father Parsons originate a scheme for the disposal of the crowns of England and Scotland. None but those whose infatuation made them unreasonable, looked upon the project without ridiculing its wild absurdity. Pasquin, the Roman Punch, said :—“ If any man will buy the kingdom of England, let him repair to a merchant, with a black square cap, in the city, and he shall have a very good pennyworth of it.”² Thus spake Pasquin to Morfio : but Pope Clement had said to the cardinal :—“ Neither you nor I are so old, but that we may yet behold Elizabeth subdued. England has been conquered often, and may be conquered again.” He called the queen “ an old woman without a husband, and without a certain successor.”³ Henry IV. treated the project as a chimera, as based on the hopes held out by the exiles, who promised more than they could perform—feeble instruments, doubtful friends, and dangerous advisers.⁴ Nevertheless the Spaniards prosecuted the Jesuit-scheme with their usual infatuation. They retained spies in France, in England, and Scotland, who pretended to be dissatisfied with the Spaniards, but served them devotedly, especially by forwarding the correspondence to and from England ; and some of these spies were men of worthless, desperate characters. With one of them

¹ Lettres du Card. D'Ossat, v. 55.

² Butler, Mem. ii. 51.

³ D'Ossat, ii. 434—6.

⁴ Lettres du Card. D'Ossat, v. Supplém. p. 52 ; Butler, *ubi supra*.

Parsons corresponded : their hiding-places were Paris and the principal seaports of France.¹

Vain was the machination. The scheme fell to the ground—to nothing—a frivolous, ridiculous concoction which was doubtless never seriously entertained by Parsons himself. Doubtless his systematic exposition of the Spanish pretensions was intended to cover the invasion of England—in nothing but the arbitrament of arms did Parsons confide. Repeated disappointment blasted that hope under Elizabeth : but he counted on a disputed succession after her death. “It had been expected,” says Butler, “that many competitors to the throne would arise ; and particularly it had been supposed, that the party which had been principally instrumental in bringing Mary to the scaffold, would not quietly permit her son to ascend the throne. Those, it was thought, looked towards Arabella ; and, being a Catholic, her claims, it was imagined, would naturally be favoured by that party. These constituted, at the time, the most numerous portion of the subjects of the realm. They considered themselves, therefore, entitled to a vote at the election, and the pope, seconding their views, claimed all their votes and interest for Arabella.”² Thus it appears, by this admission, that the Jesuit-

¹ D'Ossat, v. 69, *et seq.* Butler's analysis of the whole affair, as stated by the cardinal, by no means conveys an adequate idea of the scheme in all its bearings. His partiality for the Jesuits is as evident in the analysis as it is in his brief account of the Company, with which he dexterously prefaces their advent to England. It is a transparent apology, with not a few glaring mis-statements. It is only charitable to believe that he never read the histories and other works of the Jesuits themselves—and this remark may be applied to most of their apologists who “deny everything”—the dealers in wholesale negation and retail laudation.

² Mem. ii. p. 54. This poor lady was cousin to James I. She died in prison, and insane, (1615), after enduring much cruelty from her heartless relative. See D'Israeli, *Curiosities*, l. 256, *et seq.* Ling. viii., ix.

faction were "principally instrumental in bringing Mary to the scaffold," though Elizabeth and her ministers are made to bear the blame in Catholic declamations, more or less echoed by certain Protestant writers. And this faction, who had the blood of the Queen of Scots on their heads, were retained by the pope, to promote the scheme which was to exclude the son of the queen, martyred by the same Jesuit-faction! Surely this lawyer did not reflect on the evident consequences to be drawn from these admissions of a most notorious fact—which, however, when broadly asserted, is fiercely "denied." One of the pope's breves to the Catholics of England was sent to the Jesuit Garnet, provincial of England, and the salient point of the precious document was a command, enjoining the Catholics "not to admit any person, how near soever upon the line to the throne, after the queen's death, unless such person would not only tolerate the Catholic religion, but promote it to the utmost of his power; and engage himself by oath, according to the custom of his ancestors, for that purpose."¹ These qualifications of course could not be

¹ Butler, ii. 55. Butler very slyly appends a note, stating that he "has not discovered these breves in any *Bullarium*;" but Mr. Tierney has published one of them, addressed to the Nuncio in Flanders—and the identical passage, objected to Garnet on his subsequent trial for the Gunpowder Plot affair, occurs in this copy, only in somewhat stronger terms than those alleged by Sir Edward Coke—"ne cuiquam, in re tanti momenti jus sibi quovis modo assumenti, faveant; ne sua studia ac suffragia in quemvis conferant, nisi, ante omnia et super omnia, conservationi, stabilitati, et libertati Catholicæ fidei cautum sit in eo regno, isque rex fiat qui in gremio ecclesiæ Catholicæ fidei (cujus caput est hæc sancta Romana ecclesia, omnium ecclesiarum mater et magistra) se vitam victurum sanctè polliceatur, et firmiter caveat, et inviolatè observet, et denique, cum cæteris Catholicis regibus, nobis et successoribus nostris, veram obedientiam præstet."—*Tierney's Dodd*, iii. *Append.* xiv. Both Butler and Mr. Tierney state that there were only *two* breves issued by the pope; but it is curious to find that the original assertion of the accurate D'Ossat is proved by Parsons himself, and in a document published by Mr. Tierney himself—to which I am about to

found in any pretender but the one suggested by the Jesuit Parsons, and upheld by the pope—namely, the Farnese as a husband for Arabella. Parsons wrote “instructions” for the nuncio in Flanders, in which he distinctly states that the creation of the archpriest in England was intended to give unity to the scheme—just as Cardinal D’Ossat declared to Henry IV. “But if,” he continues, “any should be found (which is not expected) disturbing this peace and union, or disobeying the words, advice, and commands of their superiors, [the Spanish Jesuit-faction,] or should wish to follow their own judgment to the offence of others and the disunion of the Catholics, your Excellency will, by all means, strenuously take care to influence and bring them back—but will coerce those who resist or continue stubborn, by the infliction of censures and ecclesiastical discipline.”¹ It is thus evident that Parsons did all he could in preparing the grand event—“whilst the death of the queen was looked for”—*dum reginæ obitus expectatur*.² “That Parsons and the other individuals

refer. It is amongst the MSS. at Stonhurst, in Parsons’s own handwriting, and is entitled “Instructiones quedam ad ea melius exequenda, quæ tribus brevibus . . . continentur,” iii. *Append.* xiv.

¹ “Si qui verò invenirentur (quod non speratur) qui pacem hanc et unionem perturbarent, vel superiorum dietis aut monitis vel etiam præceptis non obedirent, vel suum judicium ad aliorum offensivam et Catholicorum divisionem sequi vellent, hos dominatio vestra modis omnibus juvandos ac reducidos pro suo virili curabit; reluctantes verò aut pertinaces censuris etiam ac disciplinâ ecclesiasticâ coercebit.”—*Instructiones, &c., MS. apud Tierney, iii. Append.* xiv. § 5.

² *Ibid.* § 3. Doubtless the reader has been struck with this confident expectation of the queen’s death, so general at a time when she was in good health. It was somewhat indecent and unchristian; but perhaps some vigorous *Novens* were going on amongst the Jesuit-novices, so murderous in their piety, as we have seen before, in the case of Pope Sixtus V. It is to be hoped that none of Mariana’s suggestions touching secret poison of mortal power, were “tried” on the queen. Particularly as it now appears that the “true relation of what succeeded in the sickness and death of Queen Elizabeth,” quoted in snatches by

belonging to his party," says Mr. Tierney, "had seriously determined, if possible, to set aside the Scottish succession, in favour of a Catholic sovereign, the preceding documents abundantly testify; but I notice it, because

Lingard, is endorsed by the Jesuit Parsons as the "relation of the *Lady Southwell*," whilst Mr. Tierney says that "the person called 'Lady' Southwell, was one of Elizabeth's *maids of honour*," iii. p. 70. Thus it appears that the paper was sanctioned by Parsons. Now this "lady" states as follows: "Her majesty being in very good health, one day Sir John Stanhope, being the vice-chamberlain, and secretary *Cecil's* dependant and familiar, came and presented her majesty with a piece of gold of the bigness of an angel, full of characters, which, he said, an old woman in Wales bequeathed her on her death-bed; and thereupon he discoursed how the said old woman, by virtue of the same, lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years; and in that age, having all her body withered and consumed, and wanting nature to nourish, she died, commanding the said piece of gold to be carefully sent to her majesty; alleging further, that as long as the said old woman wore it upon her body, she could not die. The queen, upon the confidence she had heretofore, took the said gold, and wore it about her neck. Now she fell not suddenly sick, yet daily decreased of her rest and feeding; and, within fifteen days, fell downright sick; and the cause being wondered at by my Lady Seropce, with whom she was very private and confident, being her near kinswoman, her majesty told her (commanding her to conceal the same), that she saw, one night, in her bed, her body exceeding lean, and fearful, in a light of fire. Afterwards, in the melancholy of her sickness, she desired to see a true looking-glass, which, in twenty years before, she had not seen, but only such a one which of purpose was made to deceive her sight; which glass being brought her, she fell presently exclaiming at all those which had so much commended her, and took it so offensively, that all those, which had before flattered her, durst not come in her sight. Now falling into extremity, she sat two days and three nights upon her stool, ready dressed, and could never be brought by any of her council to go to bed, or eat, or drink; only my lord admiral one time persuaded her to drink some broth. For any of the rest, she would not answer them to any question; but said softly to my lord admiral's earnest persuasions, that if he knew what she had seen in her bed, he would not persuade her as he did. And secretary *Cecil*, overhearing her, asked if her majesty had seen any spirits; to which she said she scorned to answer him to so idle a question. . . . And presently commanding him and the rest to depart her chamber, she willed my lord admiral to stay: to whom she shook her head, and with a pitiful voice, said, 'My lord, I am tied with a chain of iron round my neck.' He alleging her wanted courage to her, she replied, 'I am tied, and the case is altered with me.' Then two ladies, waiting on her in her chamber, discovered, in the bottom of her chair, the *queen of hearts*, with a nail of iron knocked through the forehead of it; the which the ladies durst not pull out, remembering that the like thing was used to the old lady of Sussex, and proved afterwards for a witchcraft, for the which certain were hanged, as

Parsons afterwards endeavoured to persuade James that the publication of 'Doleman's' treatise, and the other steps taken by the Spanish party, were never intended to produce any real effect on the succession; that

instruments of the same. The Lady Elizabeth Guilford, then waiting on the queen, and leaving her asleep in her privy chamber, met her, as she thought, three or four chambers off, and, fearing she would have been displeased that she left her alone, came towards her, to excuse herself; and *she vanished away*; and when she returned into the same chamber where she had left her, *found her asleep as before*. So growing past recovery (having kept her bed fifteen days, besides three days she sat upon her stool, and one day, when being pulled up by force, she stood on her feet fifteen hours), the council sent to her the Bishop of Canterbury and other of the prelates, upon sight of whom she was much offended, cholericly rating them, bidding them be packing, saying she was no atheist, but knew full well that they were hedge priests, and took it for an indignity that they should speak to her." Then follow the importunate questions put to her about the succession—"when they named my Lord Beauchamp; whereto she said, 'I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a king. Hereupon, instantly she died.'"—*Tierney*, iii. p. 70. Such is the awfully absurd account circulated among the Catholics, with the sanction of the Jesuit Parsons, who probably "had a finger in it." At the commencement the suspicion of poison is almost a conviction—*nor would I affirm that Elizabeth was not poisoned*. The conclusion is of a piece with those hideously disgusting legends of Romanism and Jesuitism, concocted to glut the religious rancour of their devotees. Surely Mr. Tierney published the document in order to show forth still more strikingly, as he invariably does, the infernal mind of the Jesuit Parsons and his faction. If you read Camden's account of the queen's death, you will see how her indignation is, in this beggarly account, transformed into weakness and vile superstition—the unavoidable hobgoblins of Jesuit-Romanism. Will you believe that Lingard actually pretends to make a mystery of the queen's indignant exclamation at the disgraceful conduct of many around her, when she said: "They have yoked my neck; I have none whom I can trust; my condition is strangely turned upside down." He pretends that Camden did not understand the allusion! . . . He says that the "MS. is endorsed, Apr. 1, 1607," but takes good care not to say "by Parsons." And, as touching the possibility at least of poison having been given to her majesty, I may mention that "*the possibility of a secret negotiation with Cecil*" was one of the proposals made to the King of Spain in 1597, according to Mr. Tierney, iii. Append. p. lxxvii; and we see by this narrative that a dependant of Cecil was the person who presented the "piece of gold," &c.; and the writer gives the results as though *she thought* there was "something in it." In his report of April 1, 1603, Beaumont, the French ambassador, states: "Many say that *Cecil* is the cause of the queen's death, inasmuch as she was once angry with him. He has certainly connections with James of Scotland and his queen, who exercises great influence."—*Raumer*, *Hist. of the 16th and 17th Cent.* ii. 189.

they were employed merely as feints, for the purpose of driving him to seek a reconciliation with the Church; and that, notwithstanding any outward demonstrations to the contrary, the whole party had always secretly resolved to receive him as the undoubted heir to the throne!"¹

In effect, the result of all the machinations devised by Parsons is a striking moral. Sophism, treasonable tamperings, inexhaustible falsehood—the scheme of an archpriest, and the consequent tyranny—all availed
 James I. nothing in the infamous cause: never did king
 1603. succeed to the throne more easily than James, the son of Mary Queen of Scots. A few hours after the peaceful and quiet death of Queen Elizabeth, James “was proclaimed king with the joyful shouts and acclamations of all the people.”² Can any argument more triumphantly prove that the Spanish Jesuit faction in England formed but a despicable minority of traitors? Is it not evident that the Jesuits must have deceived their royal and pontifical patrons as to the real state of matters in England touching the succession? This must be admitted in order to account for the result, after the imposing measures so strenuously applied by the pope to insure a Catholic succession. But the object of Parsons was to *arouse* an opposition to James—nothing less than a civil war in England, when the Spanish and papal forces might appear on the scene, to decide the question, and effectuate the absurd and senseless sophisms of his beggarly treatise. The pride of his bad heart could not be humbled to submit to his repeated failures, and he scrupled not to peril humanity in pursuit of his phantom: for it is evident, from his words, quoted in a

¹ Tierney, iii. Append. p. lxxii.

² Camden, *in fine*.

previous page, that he expected an outbreak at the death of Elizabeth. Thus did he speculate on human misery : safe himself, he would recklessly imperil all with whom he was connected by the ties of his religion. There are minds which nevertheless admire the Jesuit Parsons—admire him for his craft and dexterity in “coping” with Elizabeth and her ministers. But what are the *facts*, as we have witnessed ? Why, that he was, after all, but a bungling aggressor—constantly detected—everlastingly baffled—beaten on his own ground ! Had he headed a “stir,” and perished on the scaffold, there might be some little reason to respect the man :—but a cowardly, skulking, false-hearted intriguer,—seeking safety for himself, whilst he roused all others to their destruction—such a man deserves the fullest measure of scorn that all mankind can pour on him as a disgrace, a shame to humanity.

But Robert Parsons did not “give it up,” as yet :—he would not be exhausted. James was king in spite of “Doleman,”—and “the Man of Sorrows,” set his wits to work, to achieve a deliverance from his desperate affliction. Unquestionably he concocted a new scheme as soon as ever he bitterly heard of the “joyful shouts and acclamations,” which hailed the heretic Scotchman to the throne which he destined for the gentle Arabella and the orthodox Farnese. The scheme began immediately after the news of James’s accession reached the Jesuit. Exactly two months after that event, he penned the following letter to a party in the English court, with the view of its being shown to the vain pedant royal—and, as will be evident, cleverly concocted so as to mystify the Scotchman, and throw him off his guard. With all the information which we now possess, respecting this

Jesuit's machinations in furtherance of the views of his "Doleman," this letter will, I think, be a full-length portrait of Father Robert Parsons, drawn by himself. I have transcribed it from the original manuscript¹—a perfect model of close, compact, deliberate penmanship, wonderfully illustrative of his unfeeling, false, and crafty soul.

"TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MY VERY GOOD FRIEND,

"Mr. M. T., geve these.

"My loving good Sir, if my former letters have come there to our Frenches Hands, written since your last great change, you will have seene how your affaires are taken here, to witt, with great contentment of all sortes of men, upon hope that our new king will, in time, suffer himself to be rightly informed in Religion; which point you knowe is the Thing that hath held men in suspence these many yeres; who otherwise have loved his Majestie with all their affection; and now, seeing that God hath placed him so strangely and sodainly in the throne, with so general applause and consent of all as hardly in so great a matter could be expected, We attribute all to his divine providence for the best, hoping that he will also in tyme add that which wanteth for the complecte joy of our hartes; and in the meane space, we doe here the best offices we can for his Majesties service, and so shall contynue by God's grace, and already I have appointed both in this and all other seminaries, that contynuall prayer be made, with divers fastings and other devotions, for the good and prosperous success of his Majesties affaires. And, whereas, the last week I received a certaine booke of his Majestie, intituled *Βασιλικον δωρον* (which indeede is a princely gift and a princely work and talked of many times here before, now that I had it of our London printe of this yeare 1603). The reading of this booke hath exceedingly comforted me, as I have imparted also the same comfort to the other principal men of this place, and namely yesterday to his Holiness who, I assure you, scarce holds teares for comfort, to heare certaine passages in favour of vertue and hatred to vice, which I related to him out of that booke; and in very truth, sir, I do highly admire many things in that booke, and could never have imagined that which I see therein. Christ

¹ MS. Bibl. Cotton. Jul. F. vi. 142.

Jhesus make him a Catholique, for hee would be a mirror of all princes of Christendome; and this for the common [? weal]. Now somewhat about myself. I doe hear divers waies of sondry attempts in hand and to be taken in hand to hold me in disgrace with his Majestie; and in this I am told, will concur not only Protestants and puritans, but divers also of our discontented priests joyned with some Scottish-men, both here and elsewhere; every one having his different motives, humours, and ends therein; and I for my part, though I thank God I am little troubled with such treatments, having set up my rest to doe that which is—*rectum in oculis Domini* [right in the eyes of the Lord], as near as I may, and to desire or expect little of this world for the few yeares I have to live, yet doe I think myself bound notwithstanding, as well for others as for myself, to use the best diligence I can, to give satisfaction,—especially to so just and so good meaning a prince as our new king by his booke sheweth himself to be; for if you reade the 99th page thereof, you shall see so excellent notes given for avoiding and shifting of calumniators, as may encourage any man to treate any honest cause confidently with such a prince. Wherefore I shall desire you hartely to procure some man (not ungrateful to his Majestie) to deale with Him for me as soon as may bee; two letters of mine already I think his Majestie hath seene, written about this matter, whilst the Queene lived, the one some years gone, to the Earle of Angus, the copie whereof was intercepted in England; and the other last yeare, written to his Majestie, and sent by Sir James Linsay. My defence in those matters consisteth of two points:—First my faithfull and continuall travailes for his Majestie's mother, and for her and his [safety] during her life, and for many yeares after, wherein I may say truly that not only—*plus omnibus laboravi* [I have laboured more than all] of any one that laboured in those daies, with foraine princes for their Majesties service, but—*plus omnibus profeci* also [I have effected more], as may appear by the sums of money and other presents, which I procured both from the King of Spaine and Pope Gregorie 13, towards the maintenance of a garde for safety of His Majesties person in Scotland, and to other uses; and if his Majestie either had not the use of those sommes, or remember them not, in respect of his small age and many troubles in those dayes, yet is the thing sure, and I can easely get autenticall testimonies thereof, if His Majestie require it. The second point is about some latter proceedings, and the Booke of Succession by name, whereunto I answer most sincerely, that as it appeareth by our late Cardinall's handwriting that he together with Sir Fran. Inglefielde and

some others were the chief authors of that book, so whatsoever consent I or other Catholics of our nation had therein, it was for noe aversion of minds or of good wills from his Majestie, for whom *he (sic)* had laboured so earnestly and so many yeares before, but only that by laying forth other competitors besides himself he might be drawne that soon to be a catholicke,—the only want thereof was our affection; and this is sincerely the truth, and nothing ells;—and seeing that this hath not hindered his Majestie any thing at all (!) and that I can (I hope) recompence this fault abundantly in other services hereafter which may fall out, as all readie I have begun in some matters of moment (whercof His Majestie may chance hear somewhat ere long) I trust that the partie which shall deale with His Majestie for me herein, shall easely obtain my desire, which is only to enjoy his Majesties good opinion, for his better service hereafter; and that he will not believe calumniators against me, without trying first the truth; and this being once obtained, if it shall please his Majestie to geve me leave any further to write unto him, I shall do as you from thence shall advertise me of his Highnes pleasure; and so praying you be carefull to doe somewhat in this pointe and to advertize me thereof, I bidd you hartily farewell.”

This 24th of May, *1613.

*1603.

R. PARSONS.”¹

The post-dating of this letter, and the curious method he adopts by way of correction, is somewhat remarkable.

¹ Mr. Tierney seems not to be aware of the existence of this original letter, in the library of the British Museum, and has been (unintentionally, doubtless) deceived by Mr. Oliver in misrepresenting the said letter—for it is evidently that only one letter is in view, both from the words quoted, and the identical date (as corrected), namely, May 24th, 1603. Oliver is, I hope, only mistaken when he says that it was addressed to Garnet. The statements made by Parsons at the beginning of the letter—indeed, throughout the document—would have been perfectly superfluous if addressed to Garnet, even supposing the initials and “right worshipful M. T.” a feint. Mr. Tierney quotes the “copy” of it, which Mr. Oliver sent to him, without stating whence he got it—which was a pity: he alludes to it when proving that Parsons was the author of the “Book of Succession,” and his words are much to the point: “A copy of the letter cited by Mr. Oliver [*Collect. Persons*], the original of which is, I believe, at Stonyhurst, has been kindly forwarded to me by that gentleman. It is dated May 24, 1603, and is addressed to Garnet for the express purpose of engaging him ‘to procure some man not ungrateful to his majesty, to deal’ with the king in behalf of the

I must state that both the *antedate* and the *date* are in his own handwriting: — it was one of the

writer. Referring to some previous letters, it restates the grounds of his defence against the charges of his adversaries; speaks of his services both to James and to the Queen of Scots; and then proceeds to the particular accusation which had connected his name with the authorship of 'Doleman.' 'I answer,' he says, 'most sincerely, that, as it appeareth by our late cardinal's handwriting, that he, together with Sir Francis Englefield and some others, were the chief authors of that book, so, whatever consent either I or other Catholics of our nation had therein, it was of no aversion of minds or good-wills from his majesty, for whom *we* [in the original, *he*] had laboured so earnestly, so many years before, but only that, by laying forth other competitors besides himself, he might be drawn sooner [in original, 'that soon'] to be a Catholic.' Now, first, it will be remarked that the only two persons whom he ventures to name, were both dead at the period when he wrote; that the 'others' of whom he speaks, are mentioned only generally; and that, although he evidently wishes James to believe that he merely *consented* to the publication, there is even here no real denial of his having been at least *among* the active co-operators in the work. In the next place, Allen died in 1594, Englefield only two years later:—if the former had written the avowal here described, why was it never mentioned before? Why are we not even now told to whom it was addressed? Above all, how comes it that Parsons, who was repeatedly assailed as the author of the book—who, in his publications and letters, was continually endeavouring to remove the suspicion—and who, in his letter to the Earl of Angus, in January, 1600, had actually told the same story of 'Allen, Englefield, and others' (Plowden, 356), never until this moment thought of alleging the 'cardinal's handwriting' in support of his assertion? Again, the letter tells Garnet [M. T.] that the book in question had been written '*only* that, by laying forth other competitors besides himself,' the king 'might be drawn the sooner to be a Catholic.' But, on another occasion, Parsons could assign a very different origin to the work. In a paper drawn up, in April, 1597, for the express purpose of showing that the right of James to the succession had not been more impugned by the author than that of any other of the claimants, he undertakes to set forth the several reasons for which the book had been composed—*his razones por las quales se escrivio*. The first was to obviate the inconveniences of the law, by which the people were forbidden to discuss the question of the succession; the second, to expose the falsehood of the doctrine which asserted that propinquity of blood, not orthodoxy in religion, formed the real title to the throne; the third, to prepare the Catholics to act with promptitude and decision, when the death of the queen should render it necessary to appoint a successor; the fourth and last, to give to foreign princes, and especially to the pope, an opportunity of weighing the pretensions of the several competitors, and of taking such steps as prudence or necessity might require. (Parsons's original MS. in my possession: there is a copy at Stonyhurst, MSS. Ang. A. ii. 26). The reader will see that the '*only*' reason for which Parsons would persuade James that the obnoxious treatise was published, is not even alluded to in this paper: and he will scarcely, therefore,

methods used for the purpose of mystification.¹ This move of Parsons seems to have been suggested by a letter which he received from Garnet, dated 16th of April, informing him of the perfect acquiescence of all parties in the king's accession. Complete toleration was confidently expected for all religions: "so that, if no foreign competitors hinder, the Catholics think themselves well, and *would be loath any Catholic princes, or his holiness should stir against the peaceable possession of the kingdom.*"² All were endeavouring "to work a good conceit in the king and the lords, of themselves"—and even the Jesuits wrote "a common letter, to be shewed, as written to a gentleman of account [probably the "right worshipfull M. T.'], wherein they yielded reasons why they were to be trusted and esteemed, as well as others."³

be surprised, if, with this and other similar contradictions before me, I unhesitatingly reject the authority of the declaration to Garnet" [M. T.] This is a specimen of Mr. Tierney's method of convicting Parsons on almost every occasion where the Jesuit plays his part—with his "lies positive" and his "lies privative," to use the Jesuit's own expression. Nevertheless, Mr. Tierney is an orthodox Catholic clergyman. Indeed, a man must be bereft of all moral feeling, or the greater part of it must be merged in partyism, in order to approve of the life and deeds of Father Robert Parsons, Jesuit and everything else as the occasion suited. See Tierney, iii. 31, note, proving Parsons to be the author of the "Book of Succession."

¹ Mr. Tierney gives a specimen of the method respecting an important letter written by Garnet, about the time of the Gunpowder Plot. Mr. Tierney's remark is as follows: "Endorsed by Parsons originally thus:—'P. Garnet, 21st October, 1605, of the Persecution: 'with the same ink, however, he has subsequently drawn his pen through the '21,' and above it written '40.' In another copy of the paper also, where it appears most likely to catch the eye, he has inscribed the same date, thus—'4° 8 bris.'"—Tierney, iv. Append. 107. The italics are Mr. Tierney's.

² MS. apud Tierney, iv. Append. vii.

³ Ibid. Garnet promised Parsons a sight of the apologetic document, and also to inform him of its "effect." Mr. Tierney gives an analysis of it, and concludes thus:—"The reader will hardly be surprised to learn that Garnet, who, I believe, was the author of this paper, and who must have known the falsehood of one, at least, of its declarations, never had to inform its correspondent of its 'effect.'"—Tierney, *ubi suprâ*.

But vain was the hope that either Parsons or Garnet, or the Catholics, placed in the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, who seems to have been, throughout his life, either frightened by his shadow or his wits, so prodigious. And yet it was a fine opportunity for a king to display his beneficent intellect to mankind—through gratitude, if by no other motive. The tears which all “true Englishmen” shed for the death of Queen Elizabeth, were soon wiped off, by the accession of King James. The ancient feuds between the nations of England and Scotland were reconciled. Day by day, from Berwick to London, a most magnificent and joyous reception greeted the Scot, who had been all his life a pensioner, supported by the voluntary contributions of Spain, Rome, and England—each having especial motives for its “charity.” And now he was careering to the golden throne of England—utterly oblivious of his past trials, difficulties, and pinching want. In his progress, and at Newark, being told that some one, “in want of money,” doubtless, had “cut a purse,” James signed a warrant to hang him forthwith—without the slightest fellow-feeling for the brother who had “fallen on evil days.” Never a whit, however, was the jollity of the English people checked by this “prelusive drop” of the Scot’s grim despotism. The nearer he came to London the greater was the concourse, the greater were the acclamations of the people—although this king, so prodigal in proclamations, had issued one prohibiting the loyal rush of his “loving people,” because, said he, “it raised so much dust as proved troublesome in his passage.” On reaching London, his first care, (“being a prince, above all others, passionately addicted to hunting”) was to issue another proclamation forbidding all manner of persons to kill

deer, and all kinds of wild-fowl used for hunting and hawking—upon pain of the several laws and penalties to be executed upon them.¹ Such was the Scotchman's gratitude to the people "not one of whom had lifted up his hand against him, at his coming in,"—his own royal words. Was it therefore to be expected that he would fulfil the hopes of the wretched Catholics—merely because the leaders of their factions had—when it seemed a good speculation—lavished pensions and laudation on the vain and prodigal monarch? It is hard to find gratitude evinced for the purest, the most disinterested benefactions: but undoubtedly it is not to be wondered at, if we fail to get even the pharisee's reward for the calculated bribes of selfishness. A single month had scarcely elapsed after the king's arrival in London, when the Catholics were painfully convinced that, if James was not a stork, he was certainly not likely to be a log, for their leaders to do as they liked withal:—in six months their fondest hopes and expectations were dissipated, sunk in the gulph of disappointment. Over his cups the king called the pope "*the true Antichrist.*"² This is only the Greek for an opponent of Christ, and might be applicable to all who do not live as Christians ought to live: but we have concocted the word into a veritable personage, as yet to arouse such a persecution of the faithful as this world hath never seen or felt—a sort of terrible monster who, to believe the "commentators," will defy the Almighty himself—in short so horrible a monster that this world, wicked as it is,

¹ Coke, i. 7. "The people of London," says Beaumont, "appear strangely barbarous and ungrateful to the memory of Elizabeth, in that, after such long standing, almost idolatrous worship, they lighted, on the day of her decease, bonfires in honour of her successor:" *Raumer*, ii. 193, but a few weeks were enough to punish them for allowing themselves to disgrace their queen.

² Jardine, ii. 21.

will be polluted by his touch—and therefore shall be forthwith shivered into nought. Somewhat like that was James's opinion when he called the pope Antichrist—simply because, like ourselves, he really knew nothing about the recondite mystery, which had better be let alone by honest Christians. But the poor Catholics shuddered at the awful dictum of the Scoto-British Solomon, and looked to windward for squalls accordingly. One of their priests, Watson by name—he whom you have heard denouncing Parsons and the Jesuits—was most disgracefully treated by James, though Watson had been his “friend in need:”—the king told him insultingly—but with perfect truth—that “the papists were no longer necessary to his *advancement* ;” and Coke, the attorney-general, publicly declared, on the king's authority, that “the eyes of the Catholics should sooner fall out than they should ever see a toleration.” This was in 1603. In the following year the king came nearer to the point—being pushed by an “extremity,” which will be presently declared. He said he had, in consideration of the loyalty displayed at his accession, mitigated the fines for recusancy. An obscure and inexplicable plot of a few priests had been discovered ; and now, after giving the Catholics “a year of probation,” as he called it, “to conform themselves ;” but seeing “it had not wrought that effect, he had fortified all the laws that were against them, and commanded they should be put in execution to the uttermost.” The Catholic missionaries were banished—in fact, all the laws of Elizabeth against Jesuits and priests, were to be executed with rigour. The usual fine of 20*l.* per month for recusancy was demanded—nay, the demand was extended to the whole

period since the arrival of James, during which the penalties had for the most part ceased to be exacted. Ye who so bitterly denounce the pealing income-tax, think of this "religious" income-fleecing, and be consoled with your remnants on 'Change. Still, feel for the wretched Catholics of those times. Numerous families of moderate incomes were suddenly reduced to a state of beggary. Others, with larger property, became involved in difficulties, such as those in which we swim and swim, as it were, 'mid splinters of wrecks, that wound us on all sides, when, if we ask ourselves why we struggle on, instead of willingly sinking at once, it requires a strong heart to reply with "Cheer up—better days will come." In most instances, all the goods and two-thirds of the real estate of the unfortunate sufferers were surrendered, for the purpose of satisfying the iniquitous enactment "passed" by the parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and now enforced with ravenous demand. And why? 'Tis bitterly ridiculous; but James had brought with him from Scotland a number of *needy followers*. They had spent their small substance in riotous extravagance on the king's arrival in England. They had now to repair their broken fortunes. The dream of Pharaoh was to be realised: the riches of the land were to be devoured by the hungry dependents of the new Egyptian, who had dreamt his dream. The Scotch asked for everything: nothing was denied them: they devoured the kingdom like locusts. "The setting up of these golden calves cost more than all the wars of Elizabeth." In the establishment of Prince Henry alone, there were 297 persons receiving salaries.¹ He had not wherewithal to satisfy

¹ Raumer, Polit. Hist. i. 421, and note.

their cravings, for his abuse of his good fortune soon made him poor, where he might have had abundance that fails not, and his men were clamorous. What was to be done? A method was soon devised. Each of these sycophants was ordered to search out as many Catholics as possible, and to select from the more opulent those who were most likely to answer his purpose. Then the king in his bounty "bestowed" these persons upon his minion. He made over to him whatever claims the crown possessed, or might afterwards possess, on them, for the fines of recusancy—authorising him either to proceed at law for the recovery of the penalties, or to accept a grant of money, by way of composition for the amount.¹ Here was a frightful state of affairs! Here was a Solomon to inveigh against the Catholic clergy, and declare that, "as long as they continue to maintain their most obnoxious doctrines, they are in no way sufferable to live in the kingdom."² What a vile speculation—a worse than pagan persecution—since it made "religion" the pretext for the most iniquitous extortion. Nor was this all. An act of parliament went forth, classing Catholics with forgers, perjurers, and outlaws, and disabling them from sitting in the House,—injury aggravated by insult. Another act soon followed, declaring that all persons who had been educated in Catholic seminaries abroad, should be incapable of taking or holding any lands or goods within the king's dominions

¹ Tierney, iv. 38, note; Jardine, ii. 23. On the authority of Beaumont, the French ambassador, in his dispatch to Villeroi, dated 1st June, 1605. "Enfin il a été résolu au conseil de ce prince que les Catholiques payeront le tribut ordinaire, tant du passé qui ne leur a point été exigé, que du présent; et sur cela leurs biens sont départis et assignés en don à des particuliers courtisans, avec lesquels ils sont contraints de composer; dont ils sont au desespoir."

² Commons' Journals, i.; Jardine, ii. 22.

—another glorious speculation in *behalf* of religion, and in whole for the pockets of the king and his “lean and ill-favoured kine” from the land of starvation. Every Catholic who kept a schoolmaster in his house, who did not go to church, or was not licensed by the bishop of the diocese, had to pay forty shillings for every day they retained the said master; and he himself had to pay the same penalty. It was a fine of 100*l.* for a Catholic to send his children to be educated abroad.¹ Was there no voice raised against this maddening tyranny? The Viscount Montague rose in his place, and boldly denounced the measure. “Let them,” he said, “contrast the novelty of their own creed with the antiquity of that which they were endeavouring to suppress:”—but that suppression was not the immediate object: want of money—that dreadful epidemic—had stricken the royal council with the plague of uniformity. And Montague hit them as they deserved. “Let them reflect on the evil life and unsound opinions of those by whom they had been seduced from the religion of their fathers; and then let them, by arresting the progress of the present bill, manifest that favourable consideration for the recusants, to which their principles and their conduct so justly entitled them.” On the following day, Montague was committed to the Fleet—“for his scandalous and offensive speech.”² The Spanish ambassador ventured to intercede for the Catholics: it was in vain: James returned a peremptory refusal, and proceeded at once to let loose the whole fury of the persecution. In vain the Catholics appealed to his tender mercies—gently and covertly reminded him of the time when

¹ Jardine, ii. 23, 24; Tierney, iv. 40. See the Act in the latter, App. ix. b.

² Lords' Journal, ii. 328, 329; Tierney and Jardine, *ubi supra*.

their party had relieved him, as men relieve a beggar who has prospects. It was the worst thing they could do: for it summoned his pride to the defence of his ingratitude. To remind him of their services to his mother was still less to the purpose, since the whole line of his conduct proved that he considered a service to her as an injury to himself; in fact, that he was as bereft of filial piety as he was of manly gratitude. And of what avail was it to appeal to their patience during the last reign—their readiness, at the moment of peril, to fight “in the foremost ranks of battle” against Spain’s Armada? Nay, they did more; they, in as many words, renounced all temporal authority but that of the king—offering to gage “life for life” for the fidelity of their clergy. All to no purpose. It was like whistling for the wind, which sailors do, merely because it is their “custom,”—and so are all these “petitions,” which are never worth their paper without something to back them, and here there was nothing of the sort. Out went the king’s replies in the shape of admonitions to the judges and magistrates, to be rigorous in enforcing the penal laws, sentences of banishment against the missionaries, appointments of courts to be held every six weeks for the conviction of recusants, who were to be denounced by every officiating clergyman, under pain of suspension. The rich were impoverished, the poor were imprisoned, the middle classes saw their goods sold, their leases seized, their cattle driven away. And some were banished in perpetuity, whilst others were executed at Warwick and Lancaster.¹

This was rather too bad—it must be allowed. Nor

¹ Tierney, with authorities, iv. 40.

can we fail to conceive how the wretched Catholics, in their bitter disappointment, were, in the quaint words of Dodd, "like persons intoxicated with strong liquor, seeming resolved to fall foul upon every one they met with." And the Protestants as well, were exasperated by this infatuated pedant of a king. His Scotchmen obtained everything—even the places already given away by Elizabeth, as well as great presents from the domains of the crown. The discontent increased from day to day on various grounds, and spread over all classes of the kingdom. The people felt no alleviation in any quarter whatever, but the reverse in every direction. They had been habituated to see Elizabeth in public, to give her applause, and receive her thanks:—but the Scotchman despised them—lived in retirement. Such was his "princely gift" of gratitude to a people that honoured him by permitting him to be their king. Who is the man that cannot conceive the burning indignation of men at the time, in the midst of such ample, reckless provocation on all sides? "The upper classes," says Beaumont, "are furious against the Scotch; nay, one has suffered the expression to escape him, that they must have *Scotch* vespers like the *Sicilian* of old."¹ The *Gunpowder Plot* was the result.

Though the antecedents be not capable of diminishing the atrocity of the crime, still they should be borne in mind, and vividly too, by all who would come to a right conclusion respecting the horrible design. It was nothing less than to blow up the House of Lords with gunpowder, at the opening of the Parliament, and thus to destroy, at a single blow, the King, the Lords,

¹ Apud Raumer, whose sixty-first letter is a very good account of this very bad king, ii. 190.

and the Commons.¹ The frightful idea was not original. Similar scenes of vengeance had preceded it in that age of iniquity. "There be recounted in histories," says Parsons, "many attempts of the same kind, and some also by Protestants, in our days;—as that of them, who in Antwerp placed a whole bark of powder in the vaulted great street of that city, where the Prince of Parma, with his nobility, was to pass; and that of him in Hague, that would have blown up the whole council of Holland, upon private revenge; as also that of Edinburgh in Scotland, where the like train of powder was laid for the cruel murder of his majesty's father." Speaking of the last of these instances and comparing it with the present, Whittaker says, "The Scotch was plainly the parent, and the English the child—*improbis*

¹ The infatuated as well as atrocious scheme was as follows: "First, that Fawkes, as a man of approved courage, and of experience in emergencies, should be entrusted to set fire to the mine. This he was to do by means of a slow burning match, which would allow him full a quarter of an hour for his escape before the explosion took place. He was instantly to embark on board a vessel in the river, and to proceed to Flanders with the intelligence of what had been done. Secondly, Sir Everard Digby was to assemble a number of Catholic gentlemen on the 5th of November, at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, under the pretence of hunting on Dunsmoor Heath; from which place, as soon as they received notice that the blow was struck, a party was to be dispatched to seize the Princess Elizabeth, at the house of Lord Harrington, near Coventry. The princess was to be immediately proclaimed queen, in case of a failure in securing the person of the Prince of Wales or the young Duke of York, and a regent was to be appointed during the minority of the new sovereign. Having secured and proclaimed the princess, Catesby proposed that they should seize the horses at Warwick Castle, and the store of armour belonging to Lord Windsor, at Whewell Grange, in Worcestershire; 'and, by that time,' said he, 'I hope some friends will come and take our parts.' Thirdly, Percy was to seize the Prince of Wales, or, if he should be in the Parliament House with the king, he was to take possession of the Duke of York in the palace, to which he would have ready access by means of his office of gentleman-pensioner. He might do this under the pretext of securing his person from danger, and then, taking him to a carriage prepared for the purpose, he was to carry him with all speed to Dunchurch."—*Jardine*, ii. 56; also *Lingard*, ix. 48. Verily might Lingard say that "their passions were inflamed—their imaginations excited!"—*Ibid.*, 40.

ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater."¹ The chief contrivers of the plot were Catesby, the prime-mover, a man who had been involved in the Earl of Essex's insurrection, and other treasonable projects;—Wright, who was implicated in the same insurrection and had been sent on the embassy to the King of Spain, at the death of Elizabeth, as from "the English Catholics," *i. e.*, the faction which covered itself with that comprehensive appellation;—Winter, the third, had been deeply engaged in all the intrigues of the faction with the King of Spain;—the three men were of family, more or less reduced—more or less zealous Catholics—and "hunger-starved for innovation." There were others—among the rest Guy Fawkes, whose name has become as immortal as that of any hero of earth—because he undertook the desperate office of firing the mine—and yet, according to the Jesuit Greenway, who knew all the conspirators intimately, Fawkes was "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy to broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances."² Meanwhile, after the concoction of the plot, redoubled severities on the part of the government against the Catholics, exasperated the conspirators and expedited their preparations. One aged Catholic gentleman ventured to petition the king in behalf of his suffering brethren: he was seized, carried before the Privy Council, and prosecuted in the Star Chamber before the Lords Temporal and Lords Spiritual. He was sentenced to imprisonment, to stand on the pillory, and, of course, to pay a fine, which was 1000*l.*—all for presenting a petition to the Solomon of England.

¹ Tierney, iv. 42.

² Jardine, ii. 26, *et seq.*

And there were actually many members of the Court who proposed "that the old man should be nailed to the pillory, and have both his ears cut off"! Only one or two voices made the negative majority.¹

The conspirators went on with their preparations. For more than a year had these "gentlemen of name and blood" been employed about the "action," as the venerable Fawkes qualifies the doers and the deed. The fatal day approached: one of the conspirators, anxious to save his friend, Lord Mounteagle, wrote him a letter of "warning," to absent himself from the parliament—as the tale ran: but it is highly probable that the disclosure of the plot was a direct act of "treachery" by one of the members. On the 5th of November, 1605, Fawkes had just "ended his work" of preparation when he was seized in the act of emerging from the cellar beneath the House of Parliament. He at once avowed his purpose, and declared to the person who seized him, that "if he had happened to be within the house when he took him, he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all:"—there were thirty-six barrels of powder in the mine. The other conspirators were subsequently apprehended; and three Jesuits, Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway, were implicated in the design as accomplices in the preparation—in effect, all the conspirators belonged to the Jesuit-faction:²—it is in the highest degree improbable that any of the Secular Catholics, whether priests or laymen, were acquainted with the Gunpowder Treason.³ The conspirators, eight in number, were tried

¹ Jardine, ii. 37; Winwood, ii. 36; Tierney, iv. 41.

² *Guy Fawkes* had long been connected with the Jesuits: his name, among other suspicious signatures, occurs in a petition "got up" by the Jesuits in favour of the Company, during the disputes among the Catholics in Flanders.—*Tierney*, iii. p. 39, note.

³ Jardine, ii. 138.

and executed as traitors, protesting that "their only object was to relieve themselves and their brethren from the cruelty of the persecutors, and to restore a worship which, in their consciences, they believed to be the true worship of Christ; and for this they had risked, and for this they were ready to sacrifice, their fortunes and their lives." But when a Scottish nobleman asked Fawkes for what end he had collected so many barrels of gunpowder, the man o' the lantern replied: "To blow the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains." James pronounced him the English Scævola.¹

The Jesuits Gerard and Greenway, after many adventures, escaped to the Continent.² Garnet sent to the council a protestation of his innocence, and concealed himself at Hendlip, near Worcester. His hiding-place was betrayed, and a magistrate proceeded to seize the

¹ Lingard, ix. 58, 56.

² Greenway first tried to avoid detection in the populous streets of London: but, soon after his arrival, whilst he was one day standing in a crowd and reading the proclamation for his apprehension, he observed a man intently watching him, and comparing his person with the minute description of him in the proclamation. Greenway retired: the man followed him, and seizing him by the arm, said: "You are known: I arrest you in the king's name; you must go with me to the council." The Jesuit, with great composure, assured him that he was not the man he supposed him to be; but accompanied him quietly until they came to a remote and unfrequented street, where Greenway, being a powerful man, suddenly seized his companion, and, after a violent struggle, disengaged himself, escaped, and soon after was on board a small trading vessel bound to Flanders.—*Juvenci*, lib. xiii.; *Bartoli*, lib. vi.; *Jardine*, ii. 195. His real name was *Tesmond*, or *Tesimond*, and he had been instrumental in discovering and denouncing the "Bye Conspiracy," for which Raleigh was condemned to death, and Watson, the secular priest, was executed (*Oliver, Collect.*) Watson, at the gallows, accused the Jesuits of having "cunningly and covertly drawn him into the action for which he suffered." Indeed, the greatest hostility existed between the parties—and there could be no wonder that the Jesuit-faction should denounce their opponents to their destruction.—*Lingard*, ix. 18, note. Gerard and the archpriest were those of the faction who took an active part in the disclosure to the government.—*Abbot, Antilogia*, 130, et seq.; *Lingard*, ix. 12.

Jesuit. The lady of the house, in the absence of her husband, gave up the keys with an air of cheerfulness : every apartment was rigorously and repeatedly searched, and guards were stationed by day and night in each passage, and at all the outlets. Three days passed, and no discovery was made : but on the fourth two strange men suddenly appeared in the gallery, and were instantly apprehended. They were Owen, Garnet's servant, and the servant of Oldcorne, another Jesuit, whom hunger had compelled to leave their hiding-place. The search proceeded :—nine other secret chambers were discovered ; and on the eighth day an opening was found into the apartment in which the two Jesuits lay concealed.¹ For seven days and seven nights had these two Jesuits been confined in a place where they were forced to remain continually sitting, with their legs painfully bent beneath them. “When we came forth,” wrote Garnet to his spiritual attendant Anne Vaux, “we appeared like two ghosts . . . The fellow that found us ran away for fear, thinking we should have shot a pistol at him.” Marmalade and other sweetmeats were found lying by them ; but their better maintenance had been by a quill or reed, through a little hole in the chimney that backed another chimney into a gentlewoman's chamber, and by that passage caudle, broths, and warm drinks had been conveyed to them.”²

¹ Lingard, ix. 59 ; Jardine, ii. 206.

² Jardine, *ubi supra* ; MSS. Harl. 360. The lay-brother Owen, Garnet's servant, was the unrivalled contriver of the numerous hiding places in use among the proscribed Catholics. He sprang mines, made subterraneous passages, buttressed with walls, ending in impenetrable recesses, after winding round the thousand corners of the labyrinth. The entrances to these dens he rendered completely imperceptible, by the strange devices with which they were concealed. Nay, he would rigidly keep the secret of the various recesses, so

A bill of attainder had been introduced into Parliament summarily convicting eight Jesuits and others who had never been arraigned or heard in their own defence ; that such as were then living might be put to death at the king's pleasure, and that the property of all should be forfeited to the crown. A proposition more unjust and illegal had never been made to Parliament since the

that the den of one Catholic was never known to another. With this view he devised and constructed them entirely without assistance, in complete secrecy, and with incredible labour—having sometimes to break through thick walls, and excavate the solid rock, though he was diminutive of stature, and therefore went by the name of Little John. By his artifice many of the priests were saved from their pursuers, and it was difficult to find one of them who had not often owed his life to this lay-brother's labyrinths.—*Tanner*, f. 73. He was dreadfully tortured on this occasion, but all to no purpose :—for sixteen years he had been faithful to his master, and he remained faithful to the end ; he would tell nothing of importance, and they promised him the rack with the next examination. Complaining of illness the next day, his keeper carried him a chair to use at his dinner, and with his food a blunted knife for the purpose of cutting his meat. Owen finding fault with the coldness of the broth, besought the keeper to put it on the fire for him in an adjoining apartment ; and, as soon as the man had left the cell for this purpose, he ripped up his belly in a frightful manner with the knife. The keeper on his return observed the pale and ghastly countenance of the prisoner, and perceiving blood sprinkled on the floor, threw off the straw which the unfortunate man had drawn over him, and discovered what had happened. He then ran to inform the lieutenant, who immediately hastened to the cell with several guests who happened to be at dinner with him. In answer to their questions, the dying man declared that he had committed the act of self-destruction entirely from the apprehension of severer torture than he had suffered the day before. He expired soon afterwards, and an inquest being held upon his body in the Tower, a verdict of *felo-de-se* was returned. This statement is circumstantially made by Dr. Abbott, in his *Antilogia*, in refutation of what he calls the *calumnies* of the Jesuits respecting the mode of Owen's death. There is, perhaps, no great difference between the guilt of homicide by actual torture, and that of urging to suicide by the insupportable threat of its renewal.—*Jardine*, ii. 214, *et seq.* The Jesuits make him die under torture, preserving the fact of the ghastly wound, but stating that it was inflicted “ by the blade of the descending iron ”—which is incomprehensible ; for there was no iron-blade to descend—nay, *Tanner* gives an engraving of his torture, which was by suspension—his hands being tied together overhead, f. 74. *Tanner* of course attempts to refute the foregoing statement ; but, by his own engraving, at least, it is impossible to account for the wound as a mere accident. I need not say that this unfortunate suicide is one of the “ martyrs ” of the Jesuits.

odious bills of attainder in the reign of Henry VIII.¹ Hence you will readily believe the fact that there never was a trial more iniquitously conducted: craft, duplicity, downright falsehood, attended it throughout on both sides—each driving the other deeper and deeper into the mire of deceit and base equivocation. It was only the hope that “some more particular discovery might be made,” that induced the government to stay the proceedings on the iniquitous enactment, when the two Jesuits, Oldcorne and Garnet, were apprehended.²

The prisoners were interrogated: their servants were placed on the rack. They threatened Garnet with torture: he replied in the words of St. Basil to the Emperor Valens, under a similar threat, “Threaten boys with that”—*minare ista pueris*: but he was never, during his examinations, actually exposed to the torture; in fact, he was kindly treated in the Tower, as he admitted on his trial:³ but the object of this kindness was to throw him off his guard, as the result will attest. The warder, unlocking a door in Garnet’s cell, showed him another door on the opposite side of the wall, telling him that it was the only separation between him and Oldcorne, with whom he was at liberty to converse at his pleasure—suppressing the fact that, within a cavity formed in the passage, were actually concealed Cecil’s private secretary and a magistrate.⁴ Five times were these Jesuits thus perfidiously indulged with the means of betraying themselves, by disclosing their secrets—which was the object of the trick.⁵ Now, we may ask,

¹ Jardine, ii. 194, 195.

² Jardine, *ubi supra*.

³ Id. p. 213; Lingard, ix. 60.

⁴ Lingard, ix. 61; Jardine, ii. 215.

⁵ The government had played off the same artifice upon Winter and Fawkes; but these conspirators, either by chance or sagacity, disappointed the expectation

what credence can be placed in statements, made by spies, set forth for the very purpose of reporting against the Jesuits, to whose covert destruction they thus basely lent themselves? Nevertheless, that a conversation was carried on by the two Jesuits was certain, and Oldcorne admitted the fact. But when Garnet was asked if he had not spoken with his fellow-prisoner, he denied it most vehemently. Nay, when Oldcorne's confession was shown to him, he stoutly persisted in his negative—saying that Oldcorne might be weak enough to accuse himself falsely, but as for himself, *he* never would. Thereupon they read to him the reports of Lockerson and Forsett, the two listeners;—and then only did he acknowledge the fact, overwhelmed and abashed in his bitter humiliation. The unhappy man justified his manifest falsehood on the principle, that no man was bound to charge himself, until the matter of the charge was proved *aliunde*. In an intercepted letter written “to the fathers and brethren of the Society” on Palm-Sunday (after his trial), Garnet thus relates this story: “When the lords inquired of me concerning my conference with Hall, I denied it. They drove me to many

of the contrivers.—*Lingard*, ix. 61. Doubtless it was the apparent kindness and consideration lavished on Garnet, which threw the Jesuits into the snare. There is something dreadfully bitter in the thought that men calling themselves Christians, should thus tempt their victims already devoted to destruction. And yet, with that disgusting hypocrisy, so common in the age, these listeners, doubtless by order of the hypocrites who employed them, concluded their report as follows: “We again observed, that neither at their first meeting nor at their parting, nor in any part of their conference, they used no *one word of godliness or religion, or recommending themselves or their cause to God*; but all hath been how to contrive safe answers, and to concur in so much as may concern those matters they are examined of.” When the devil quotes scripture, we may respect the words, though we abominate his motive; but when infamous hypocrites talk of “godliness or religion,” it is hard not to be utterly disgusted with both. Jardine gives the reports in full, ii. p. 216, *et seq.*

protestations, which I made with equivocation. They then said that Hall had confessed the conference. I replied, 'that I would not confess it: that Hall might accuse himself falsely, but that I would not do so.' As soon as I found that they had sufficient proofs, I held my peace; the lords were scandalised at this. But what should I have done? Why was I to be denied every lawful means of escape?"¹ Thus was an important leverage gained to work on this Jesuit, who had resolved stoutly to deny every charge whatsoever, until brought home to him with irresistible conviction. The reports gave no inculpatory facts—but they excited suspicions—showed that there was some important secret as yet undiscovered; and the commissioners in their interrogatories, framed their questions on the salient points of the conversations, which constantly related to the examinations and the prospects of being able to silence the charges by the demand of proofs positive.² After repeated

¹ Abbott, *Antilogia*, p. 146; *Jardine*, ii. 226.

² The listeners reported, that, at one of the conversations, the Jesuits confessed each other, and that Garnet accused himself of having drunk to excess. If credit can be given to the reporters, this confession seems to confirm the imputation of drunkenness, which was repeatedly charged on Garnet by his contemporaries. Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated 27th March, 1606, says, that "He (Garnet) hath been indulgent to himself in the Gate-house and in the Tower, and daily drunk sack so liberally as if he meant to drown sorrow." Dr. Abbott, an enemy, says that Garnet had an inveterate habit of drinking to excess; and relates, that "on the night before his execution he was so drunk in the Tower, that his keeper thought it right to inform Sir William Wood of the circumstance,—who, going with his wife and some other persons to his lodging, found him in a disgusting state of intoxication, speaking thickly and inarticulately, and, in the idiocy of drunkenness, inviting each of them, as they came in, to drink with him."—*Antilogia*, p. 194. As *Jardine* observes, "this story might pass, with the other stories of Garnet's immoralities, related by Abbott, as a mere slander, did it not receive some confirmation from his confession to Hall:" but alas! how are we to arrive at certainty respecting assertions on either side, in these times? By the showing of Parsons and other Jesuits, it would seem that some of the secular priests, their opponents, were deep in the lowest immorality.

examinations, Garnet at last admitted, with much difficulty and prevarication, that the design of blowing up the Parliament House had been revealed to him in July, 1605, by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby, and, as he believed, also from Thomas Winter . . . He declared, however, that he endeavoured to dissuade Catesby from his purpose, and desired Greenway to do the same; and that he obtained from the former a promise that “he would not proceed in the matter before he (Garnet) had acquainted the pope generally with the state of England, and had taken his advice and direction therein.” He said also that he advised Catesby to send Sir Edmund Baynham to Rome for that purpose. But he further admitted that Catesby and Thomas Winter had, a twelvemonth before, mentioned to him generally that a design was on foot against the government, in consequence of the king’s breach of promise with the Catholics, but without explaining the particulars—that he again discouraged all attempts at insurrection, to the utmost of his power, saying that it was against the express and earnest command of Pope Clement VIII., as signified to him by a letter from the general of the Jesuits—nay, proceeding with these bold assertions, he said he had written, about May, 1605, to the pope “for staying of all commotions, and received answer from the pope about midsummer, wherewith he acquainted Catesby: and that about the beginning of July he wrote again to the pope, and certified that he hoped to stay all general stirs; but, for that he feared *some particular stratagem*, he desired the pope to grant a prohibition under censures.”¹ Now, in

¹ Jardine, ii. 227. Watson makes a statement which seems to throw some light on what is to follow. “About this same time (1603-4) there was such

the face of all these specious assertions, we find that his general, Aquaviva, writing a letter to him, dated June 25th, 1605, evidencing that neither the general nor the pope had been informed by Garnet of what was in agitation, though the fact had transpired abroad. Aquaviva writes : “ We have understood, though very secretly, (*and I am persuaded that your reverence has been made acquainted with the transaction,*) namely, that the Catholics are now planning and preparing somewhat for liberty.¹ As this affair, at this time especially, will not only inflict many and most grievous difficulties on religion, but will even endanger the Catholics themselves to the utmost, his Holiness has enjoined me to write to your reverence in his name, in order that, *in every attempt you may treat with these noblemen and gentlemen,* especially with the archpriest, and prevent them from

posting up and down of Gerard, Oldcorne, Darcy, Blount, and other Jesuits and Jesuited persons, as made it apparent that some great matter was in hammering and working amongst them, though kept close as by no means I could find it out :—only thus much I got out, that they had gathered a great mass of money together, amounting to a million of pounds, as one, or of crowns, as another reported, to levy an army undoubtedly therewith, when time should serve for it,” &c., stating the various pretences on which the money was collected, and the secrecy of the scheme, which “ was not mentioned by any but of the Spanish faction.”—*Watson to the Lords of the Council*. State Paper Office ; Tierney, iv. App. i.

¹ *“Intelleximus, etsi plane admodum secreto, quod ipsum istic reverentiam vestram cognovisse mihi persuadeo, catholicos nonnihil jam meditari molirique pro libertate.”* Mr. Tierney, alluding to the apologists of Garnet, appends a note to the words in italics, as follows : “ Eudæmon Joannes [the Jesuit *L'Heureux*] (pp. 249, 250.)—More [the Jesuit historian of the English Province], and others, profess to give this letter as it was written,—“rescripsit in hæc verba ;” but, besides other variations, they wholly omit the introductory part of the first sentence, which I have printed in italics, and then assure us that the letter was a reply to certain earnest representations made by Garnet, in the preceding month, as to the “desperate” designs of some Catholics. The words here supplied, however, distinctly show that Garnet had made no such representations, and that the intelligence, obtained at Rome, had been derived from a different source.”—iv. p. cviii. Append. xviii.

agitating such designs, lest they be executed,¹ for the sake of the reasons above specified, but especially on this account, namely, that his Holiness, who, besides entirely disapproving of such machinations, amongst those Catholics, affirms that they will utterly obstruct the greater benefits which, in his clemency and benignity, his Holiness is meditating, and is endeavouring to effectuate in behalf of those Catholics: since it is certain that his Holiness will never be found wanting—nor is wanting in the present circumstances, meditating, as I have said, and seeking those means whereby they may be aided *peacefully*, and by *safer events*.² Wherefore, since you know the importance and necessity of the matter, you will endeavour by all means to induce them to desist from such designs—since, indeed, in addition to the former reasons, which are of the highest importance and weight, there is another by no means contemptible, because it will even be for the advantage of the Catholic cause—for should *it* happen, which God forbid, it will inflict no small damage on *our Company*—since no one will easily believe that these things have been brought about without the *consent, at least, of Our men*. 25th June, 1605.”³ Now, if the general himself “was persuaded” that Garnet was acquainted with the design, surely it could not be thought unreasonable if all the world were similarly persuaded. And Garnet admitted the fact in his reply to the general—admitted that he knew of these

¹ “ Ut omni conatu cum principibus istis ac dominis, præsertim cum domino archipresbytero agat, efficiatque ne ejusmodi cogitata tractentur, nedum perficiantur.”

² “ Ea media quibus et cum pace et securioribus eventibus adjuventur.”

³ “ Quia, si eveniret, quod Deus avertat, non mediocri damnum offeret Societati nostre, cum non ita facilè quis crediderit, hæc sine nostrorum saltem consensu factitata esse. 25 Junii, 1605.” Copy in the State Paper Office,—*apud Tierney*, iv. *Append.* xviii.

treasonable machinations—admitted that, instead of denouncing them to the government, as Greenway, *alias* Tesmond, had done—as Gerard had done, in the case of the “Bye Conspiracy,” that affair of two *secular priests*—he had only given the conspirators his *advice* to desist!¹ And he says nothing as to the pretext afterwards put forth, that the communication was made to him *in confession*. The letter is dated July 24, 1605—and, therefore, may fairly be referred to the period to which he alluded, when he admitted that “the design of blowing up the Parliament House with gunpowder, had been revealed to him in July 1605, by Greenway,” the Jesuit. Garnet writes :

“We have received the letter of your Paternity, which we embrace with that reverence which is due to his Holiness, and your Paternity. And, indeed, as far as I am concerned, I have four times impeded the stir, hitherto—*pro meâ parte, quater hactenus tumultum impedivi*—nor is it to be doubted that we can hinder all the public preparations of arms, since it is certain that many Catholics will attempt nothing of the kind without our consent, unless in the most urgent necessity.² But there is, however, a source of great anxiety to us, namely, lest, perchance others may fly to arms in some province, whereby necessity itself may drive the rest to similar measures ; for there are not a few who cannot be restrained by the simple

¹ Treating of his betrayal by the Jesuits, Watson says that “their vile and treacherous minds be such, as they will betray their own father and dearest friend they have in the world, for their own advantage—*et propter bonum publicum Societatis*—which they count a public or common good, though a whole commonwealth, yea, and the whole Catholic Church, be overthrown thereby.”—*Watson to the Lords of the Council*. Aug. 9, 1603 ; State Paper Office.

² “*Nec dubium est, quin publicos omnes armorum apparatus prohibere possimus, cum certum sit multos Catholicos absque nostro consensu nihil ejusmodi, nisi urgente necessitate, attentare velle.*”

command of his Holiness. For they dared to ask, during the lifetime of Clement, whether the pope could hinder them from defending their lives.¹ They say, moreover, that *no priest shall be made acquainted with their secrets*; but they particularly, and some friends also, complain of us that we place obstacles to their projects; and, in order that we might somehow appease them, and at least gain time—so that in the delay, proper remedies may be applied—we have exhorted them to dispatch, with common consent, some one to his Holiness, &c.²

¹ “*Est tamen quod nos valdè sollicitos tenet.*” To these words Mr. Tierney appends a note as follows: “I should inform the reader that this letter is inserted by Gerard in his MS. (c. vi. 78), and that from him, or, what is the same thing, from Greenway, it has been adopted by Eudæmon Joannes (253, 254), and by all the writers connected with the Society. In Gerard’s copy, and, of course, in all the others, the words, ‘*Est tamen quod nos valdè sollicitos tenet,*’ as they occur here, are, for a reason which will appear presently, changed into ‘*Duo tamen sunt quæ nos valdè sollicitos tenent.*’”

² “*Atque ut hos aliquo modo leniremus, et saltem tempus lucraremur, ut dilatione aliquâ adhiberi possint congrua remedia, hortati sumus ut communi consilio aliquem ad suam Sanctitatem mitterent &c.*” Here Mr. Tierney observes: “Gerard’s copy, after the word ‘*mitterent,*’ has no ‘&c.,’ but, continuing the sentence, thus proceeds,—‘*quod factum est, cumque ad illustrissimum nuncium in Flandriam direxi, ut ab ipso suâ sanctitate commendetur, scriptis etiam literis, quibus eorum sententiam exposui, et rationes pro utrâque parte.*’” And so on proceeds the addition, stating the danger of “some treason or violence to the king,” and the possibility of all the Catholics being compelled to take up arms; which is only a repetition of what he wrote himself, as we have read; and then the addition suggests that his Holiness should forbid the Catholics to resort to arms by a public edict, which, again, the former part of his letter declares to be either unnecessary or useless, since he says that he had the power to hinder all public demonstrations among many Catholics, whilst there were others who set the pope at defiance, or something like it. Besides, the general’s letter was virtually a papal breve—Garnet could have done just what the archpriest did, in a letter to his assistants and clergy, quoting the identical words of the pope’s disapprobation as imparted to the general, and by him to Garnet. I may also observe that the plural form used in the letter is changed to the singular in the addition (“*exposui,*” “*meo iudicio,*”) or as Mr. Tierney observes:—“To be able, in fact, to suppose that one half of the letter is hidden under this ‘&c.,’ it is also necessary to suppose that the words on which I have remarked in the preceding note [*Est tamen, &c.*] have been purposely changed from the plural to the singular; that this has been effected, and that the variations, observable in the two

God must be prayed to, in order that *he* may apply some necessary remedy to these many evils. We implore the benediction of his Holiness, as also of your Paternity. At London, 24th July, 1605."

concluding sentences, have been introduced for the special purpose of concealing the omission, and that thus a piece of dishonesty has been perpetrated, which is not only without any assignable motive, but is morally incompatible with the fact, that the '&c.' marks, and is *intended* to mark, the place where something has been omitted." Nor is it unfair to suppose that by the "&c." Garnet meant the explanation of the infernal *result*, to be given by the emissary of the conspirators. Mr. Tierney has no hesitation in preferring the copy which he has published from the State Paper Office; "but the strongest argument in favour of the copy," adds Mr. Tierney, "is the impossibility of reconciling the date of a supposed fact, mentioned in Gerard's additions, with that of the present letter. Garnet says, that for the purpose of gaining time, he has exhorted the parties of whom he speaks to send an envoy to the pope; and Gerard makes him add, not only that his exhortations have been effectual, but that the envoy is already (July 24) on his road. Now, it was proved on the trial of Garnet, and it was acknowledged by that Jesuit himself, that the person thus accredited to the pontiff was Sir Edmund Baynham; that Baynham was the bearer of the letters mentioned in Gerard's copy as addressed to the nuncio, but that it was not until the latter part of September that he left England to proceed to his destination." It is an important fact, which has escaped the notice of the writers on the plot, that when Baynham quitted England, whether it was the early part, or the middle, (Jardine states both in different places), or the latter part of September, the Parliament was to meet on the 3rd of October, on which day only was it prorogued to the 5th of November; but even supposing that he was aware of the prorogation, "it was barely possible, even if he had travelled directly to Rome with the utmost expedition, to have procured the pope's prohibition [which, by the way, Garnet thought useless], and to have returned with it to England before the 5th of November. In point of fact, Baynham used no expedition at all; he went through Flanders and remained there some days, and did not reach Florence till the 20th of October, well knowing that the real object of his mission would be accomplished by his being at Rome as soon as the tidings of the explosion had arrived there."—*Jardine*, ii. 402. Nothing is more likely than that his delay on the road was caused by the news of the *prorogation*, so that he might not be at Rome until the infernal result had taken place; for according to the admissions of the conspirators at the trial, Baynham was sent to Rome "in order that he might be there when the news of the explosion arrived, and be prepared to negotiate with the pope on behalf of the conspirators, and to explain to him their designs respecting the establishment of the Catholic religion in England."—*Jardine*, ii. 47. Garnet prevaricated in his explanation of this mission at the trial; "but taking the latest and final reason alleged by Garnet, namely, that he proposed his mission to the pope in order to negotiate for the prevention of the

These letters decidedly prove that Garnet was aware of certain machinations against the government, which he did not reveal to the authorities. Such conduct was scarcely to be expected from the Jesuit, in the present

plot by a papal prohibition, is it credible, that for such a purpose he would have employed such a messenger? A man of profligate and turbulent habits, who had been engaged in Essex's rebellion, prosecuted for riots and affrays, and known as the captain of a club or society called 'the Damned Crew.' Could the superior of the Jesuits find no more fitting emissary on a message of mercy and salvation than the 'Captain of the Damned Crew'—the man of 'treasons, stratagems, and spoils,' whose turbulent and unprincipled character was so notorious in England, that the conspirators themselves thought it imprudent to entrust him with any part of the conduct of the project at home, saying that 'he was not fit for the business?'—*Jardine*, ii. 47 and 401. It was against these notorious facts that the Jesuit-apologists made the absurd addition to Garnet's sophisticated letter! Dr. Lingard seems inclined to persuade his readers that Garnet was ignorant of any particulars of the plot as late as October 4th—basing his argument on a garbled letter of Garnet to Parsons, respecting which dishonest trick I have quoted Mr. Tierney, and refer the reader to that writer for some pertinent remarks on the subject, iv. Append. c. ii. In the letter to which Dr. Lingard refers, Garnet describes the sufferings of the Catholics, and thus concludes: "So that there is no hope that Pope Paul V. can do anything: and whatsoever men give out there [at Rome] of easy proceedings with Catholics, is mere fabulous. And yet I am assured, notwithstanding, that the best sort of Catholics will bear all their losses with patience. But how these tyrannical proceedings of such base officers may drive particular men to desperate attempts, *that I cannot answer for; the King's wisdom will foresee.*"—*Lingard*, ix., 388. Now, in the circumstances, we may fairly see the drift, the *allusion* of these words which I have scored: but Dr. Lingard says: "Now it is plain, from the tenor of that letter, that Garnet was then (October 4th) ignorant of any particulars of the plot, unless we suppose that he sought, by equivocation, to impose on his superiors in Rome,—a supposition which no one acquainted with the constitution of the Order will be disposed to admit." "Constitution of the Order" forsooth! What has that to do with the question? Was Garnet complying with the "Constitution of his Order" when he carried Anne Vaux, at each remove, with him, and was so intimate with his "spiritual daughter," without supposing even that the connection was criminal? "Constitution of the Order!" And what will the doctor say to the conduct of the Spanish Jesuits, *at the very time*, against their general, as I have related? Is the doctor too well "acquainted with the Constitution of the Order" to believe those facts? I have said before, and I repeat it, that the Constitutions are one thing, and the Jesuits are another: they must be considered apart for judgment.—I need not say that the doctor's attempt fails by reason of the facts above given.

instance : nevertheless, by the law of the land, "it is plain that he incurred the legal guilt of misprision of treason" even before the proceedings against him, by such various methods of baseness, entrapped his avowals. The Jesuit continued, throughout the trial, his desperate and reckless course of equivocation and casuistical distinctions. He admitted his "*general* knowledge" of the plot ; but took refuge under the cloak of sacramental confession. Now, we remember the obloquy which the Jesuits in Spain incurred when one of the Company actually made use of information extorted from a woman in the confessional, in order to denounce her accomplice to the Inquisition : we also remember that the Jesuits defended the member, and that their historian states the doctrine with approbation.¹ I remind the reader of the fact, merely to show the constant inconsistency of the Jesuits ;—their deeds must be judged apart from their doctrinal inculcations, as it would seem :—we may err by testing their vices or their virtues by their doctrinal standard, which was never a fixture—but always adapted to particular times, and things, and places, and persons. In the present instance, the commissioners, with their usual baseness, falsely told Garnet, that

¹ See p. 40, vol. ii., of the present work for the transaction, and the Jesuit-doctrine thereupon inculcated. I there gave a condensed translation, and reserved the original for the present occasion by way of memento. "Fas quidem, tota quamvis universitas rerum esset interitura, nunquam esse signum sacrosanctum confessionis resignare. Posse tamen incidere tempora, quibus sacerdos jure à confitente exigat, ut quempiam, sive socium participem sceleris, sive quem hæreticum aut aliâ pestilenti labe corruptum norit, si remediî nulla præterea relicta via sit, ipsemet confessario, vel inter confessionem facta potestate eâ notitiâ utendi si correctio fraterna futura sit ; *vel quod ferè præstat et ad judiciale denunciationem necessarium est, extra confessionem indict.* Quod si abnuat facere, *absolvi non debeat, quemadmodum absolvi non licet, qui vel reus furti, restituere alienam rem, vel quæ debeat alia, præstare non sit paratus.*"—*Sacchin.* lib. ii. 131.

Greenway himself had declared that the disclosure of the plot was *not* made to him in confession. This added to his perplexity. He wavered,—made several attempts to reconcile his own statement with the supposed declaration of *Greenway*,—and concluded by declaring that, whatever might have been the intention of his brother, he had always considered the communication as made with reference to confession.¹ To simple Catholics it must appear strange that people should tell their *intended* crimes in confession, instead of confessing their actual sins with contrition and purposes of amendment. Few such simple Catholics will be brought to believe that the former can honestly be mentioned at confession: nor can we be pronounced unfair if we believe, with General Aquaviva, that Garnet was acquainted with *a* plot, if not *the* identical plot, notice of which had reached the general at Rome. But, in effect, what faith could be placed in the assertions of a man, whom his equally false judges were able to convict of downright, unscrupulous, unblushing falsehood? Accordingly, when Garnet made the reply above given, the commissioners, tempting the false Jesuit, asked him whether he had not corresponded with the traitor *Greenway*, his brother Jesuit? Garnet denied, swearing by his priesthood, that he had ever sent letter or message to *Greenway*, since they last parted. What a dreadful moment, what a harrowing, convulsive moment for the Jesuit! The commissioners exhibited to him a letter of his to *Greenway*, which they had intercepted! He acknowledged it: but maintained that he had done nothing wrong in denying the fact,—saying that *they* were the persons to be blamed—*they* who, being in possession of the letter, had

¹ Lingard, ix. 66.

nevertheless put the question to him, as if they were not.¹ Hence we see how completely the wretched man was given over to the spirit of equivocation and falsehood: but we also behold the extent to which his enemies carried the machinations of their false hearts, to overreach the Jesuit by cajoling him into actions which, if they did not incriminate him, were capable of being made the opportunities for displaying, in its foulest aspect, the specious falsehoods of Jesuitism. In fact, the Jesuits themselves never, perhaps, surpassed these Scoto-English commissioners in craft,—wicked craft and iniquitous duplicity. And yet the latter had the conscience to condemn Garnet for his crafty equivocation! The man had gone so far into the mire that he stuck therein—and refused to emerge. Three days later he was interrogated a second time respecting the doctrine of equivocation, and boldly declared that the practice of requiring men to accuse themselves was barbarous and unjust—that in all such cases it was lawful to employ equivocation, and to confirm, if it were necessary, that equivocation with an oath; and that if Tresham, as had been pretended, had equivocated on his death-bed, he might have had reasons which would justify him in the sight of God.² “To these avowals I ascribe his execution. The man who maintained such opinions

¹ Lingard, ix. 66. Examinations in the State Paper Office.

² “This I acknowledge to be according to my opinion, and the opinion of the schoolmen. And our reason is, for that, in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lie, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require.—HENRY GARNET.” Original in State Paper Office, in Garnet’s own hand-writing.—*Apud Lingard*, ix. 67, note. This phase in the career of Garnet will appear more strikingly in a subsequent page; the circumstances in which he denied having written to Greenway, will present a saddening contemplation.

could not reasonably complain, if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course,"—this is the opinion of Dr. Lingard, the Catholic historian of England.¹ But doubtless the Jesuit would have been hanged even in the absence of these avowals. The object of all the iniquitous examinations by which the wretched man was tempted to prevaricate, to equivocate, and speak falsehood, was

¹ Lingard, vol. ix. p. 87, 2nd ed. 1825. Surely nothing could be fairer than this opinion of Dr. Lingard. It was a noble expression of moral conviction, in defiance of a casuistical inculcation—a sort of respectful tribute to the "moral sense" of the nation; and doubtless many a Protestant thereupon concluded, that though a *Jesuit* might inculcate equivocation, such doctrine was not countenanced by "the Church." But a modern Jesuit takes the doctor to task for this observation—and very sharply, too. The Jesuit of the *Documents* says: "This reflection of Dr. Lingard proves that a man may be at the same time, a great historian, a learned civilian, and a *very weak theologian* (!). The man 'who maintained such opinions' [Garnet] was a man who maintained a doctrine approved by the universal church. Cette reflexion, qui est du D. Lingard, prouve qu'on peut être à la fois un grand historien, un savant jurisconsulte, et un très foible théologien. L'homme 'qui soutenait de telles opinions' était un homme qui soutenait une doctrine approuvée de toute l'Eglise."—*Documents*, i. ; *Conspirat. des Poudres*, p. 54, note. This was a hard hit on the doctor, and it seems to have taken effect; for, in the subsequent edition of his work, he has modified the text, mystified it somewhat by additions, and otherwise obscured the moral conviction aforesaid, as follows: "To these *and similar* avowals I ascribe his execution. *By seeking shelter under equivocation, he had deprived himself of the protection which the TRUTH might have afforded him* (!); nor could he in such circumstances reasonably complain, if the king refused credit," &c., ed. of 1844, vol. ix. p. 67. But the Jesuit does not stop short with administering a rebuke to the doctor; for, thereupon, in these our very modern times, he proceeds to justify equivocation by the highest authority that Christians can appeal to. In former times—in those bad times for religion—that disgraceful epoch of Christianity—there was nothing to be wondered at when the Jesuit L'Heureux took Casaubon to task, for saying that he knew not what authorities Garnet could have for his doctrine of equivocation. "Thou say'st that thou dost not know what authorities he could have. If thou hadst turned over the holy Bible, as thou hast turned over the Neros and Caligulas of Suetonius—if thou hadst read Augustin, Gregory, the other Fathers, thou wouldst have found that the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and God himself are the authorities" [of Garnet's equivocation !].—*Eudemon Joan. Resp. ad Epist. Is. Casaub.* c. viii. p. 164, ed. Col. Agrip. 1612. "Nescire te ais, quos auctores habuerit. Si perinde sacra Biblia, ut Suetonii Caligulas, ac Neronas versasses,—si Augustinum, si Gregorium, si alios Patres legisses; jam

nothing more than to expose a leader of Romanism, a Jesuit, and to gratify the disreputable theological curiosity of the king. Garnet's doom had been certain from the first: by the law of the land he stood at once guilty of death by his presence in the kingdom as a Jesuit. To read the complete account of the trial, so admirably given by Jardine, is a bitter task—one of those transactions which present not a single redeeming feature to palliate a great iniquity. We may be permitted to say—

dudum auctores ejus Patriarchas, Prophetas, *Deum ipsum* invenisses." The book has on the title page "*permissu Superiorum,*" and, further, the *imprimatur* of Aquaviva himself, on the report, and at the approval, of three theologians of the Company. It may be worth while to let the modern Jesuit (Lingard's reporter) state the definition of equivocation—which so many talk about without exactly knowing what a Jesuit means, or may mean, by the famous, or rather infamous, term. "Equivocation properly so called," says the Jesuit of the *Documents*, "is a proposition with several meanings—à plusieurs sens—amongst which one is true, and which may be recognised by those who understand that proposition, if they have sufficient discernment to supply what is wanting to that which is not explained—*s'ils ont assez de discernement pour suppléer à ce qui n'est pas expliqué,*"—a somewhat cloudy definition:—but the modern Jesuit vouchsafes an example—a sample—and it is nothing less than "OUR LORD!" "Our Lord," says he, "gave an example of it, when he said: 'I go not up unto this feast' (John vii. 8), and yet he went secretly (ib. 10): all the circumstances of this passage prove that he meant to say: I go not up [publicly].—N. S. en a donné un exemple, lorsqu'il dit: *Non ascendo ad diem festum hunc* (je n'irai point à cette fête) . . . et cependant il s'alla en secret; toutes les circonstances de ce passage prouvent qu'il voulait dire: *Non ascendo (manifestè)*—Je n'irai point publiquement." The blasphemous absurdity of twisting this text into an equivocation is at once obvious; but the Jesuit makes it an "equivocation" by omitting the part which was "explained," namely, *quia meum tempus nondum impletum est*—for my time is not yet fully come:—then he abode in Galilee (ibid. 9); but, subsequently—when his time was fully come—after his disciples had preceded him, at his bidding, "he also went up unto the feast." The portion of the text omitted to construct the "equivocation," happens to be absolutely necessary to qualify the sense—for there could be no doubt as to the *requirement of the law* being complied with, by the Redeemer; the only question being, the *appointed time*. Even the word "yet" in the Greek, and in the Protestant translation, is rendered unnecessary by the context. Surely it was enough that Porphyry, the anti-Christian, taxed this text with "falsehood," (as the Jesuit ought to have known) without this Jesuit's attempt to twist it into an equivocation, which Francis of Sales, in his *Philothea*, if I remember rightly, says is worse than a lie. After this

Would to heaven that the Gunpowder Plot had never occurred, so that humanity might have been spared the guilty disgrace of so unjust, unchristian a trial! The closing scene was of a piece with every act and scene of the disgusting drama.

On the 3rd of April, Garnet wrote a letter to Anne Vaux.¹ It was after another attempt to circumvent the

“example of our Lord,” the Jesuit gives another from a “Saint Athanas,” and then he summarily appeals, quoting the “Conferences of Angers,” to St. Raymond, St. Antoninus, Angelinus. &c., and to six formidable casuists, *videlicet*, Soto, Victoria, Medina, Bannès, Navarre, Toledo.—*Documents*, i. *Conspiration des Poudres*, p. 55. If this Jesuit of the *Documents* thus pronounced Dr. Lingard “a very weak theologian” for his apparent condemnation of his Company’s favourite equivocation, what could he say to the erudite and most devout Alban Butler, and the very light of the Gallican Church, the famous Bossuet, who severely condemned the use of equivocation? Parsons, of course, was a staunch advocate of the practice, as exhibited particularly in his “Treatise on Mitigation towards Catholic subjects.” Alban Butler observes (*Life of Sir T. Matthews*, p. 27) “that the attempts of Parsons to vindicate the use of equivocations alarm the judicious reader, and deserve a severe animadversion.” At the assembly of the Gallican clergy, in 1700, Bossuet announced, “that to use equivocations or mental reservations, was to give to the words and phrases of language an arbitrary meaning, framed at will, only understood by the speaker, and contrary to the meaning which the rest of the world would give them.” He remarked that, “one is not called upon to justify all those words of holy men, in which some truth may be found; that it is better to describe them as human weaknesses, their proper name, rather than to excuse them by the artificial terms of equivocations and mental reservations, in which concealment and bad faith would be manifest”—an evident rebuke to the men of the “celebrated” Company.—*Bausset’s Hist. de Bossuet*, l. xi. See *Butler’s Mem.* ii. p. 171.

¹ This lady was the daughter of Lord Vaux. She constantly accompanied Garnet in his peregrinations. As often as the Jesuit was compelled to change his residence, the faithful Anne was by his side, with woman’s consoling affection and boundless admiration, to cheer him in the midst of his ceaseless perils. Garnet thus infringed his rule, so stringent in the matter of female intercourse; but, is it absolutely necessary to believe that this affectionate, faithful woman was ever more to the Jesuit than a friend, intensely loving, and therefore cherished in that unblemished purity, for which she merited defence by her generous devotedness? Still, it is not surprising that such a connection should have been ascribed to bonds less pure than those of religious or Platonic attachment. It would be idle, of course, to investigate at length the merits of a tale of scandal more than two centuries old. Garnet solemnly denied the imputation at his execution; and his intercepted letters from the Tower, show no feeling

Jesuit by giving him false information. Protestant clergymen lent themselves to the infamous machination. They told him that multitudes had forsaken the Catholic Church in disgust at his admissions and his accusation

towards Anne Vaux, beyond that of paternal regard ; and though the language of some of her letters is sufficiently excited and passionate, they express only the agony of distress at the loss of a valued friend, upon whose advice and society she had long habitually relied ; they are, in fact, such letters as any religious devotee might have written to a spiritual protector, under similar circumstances. For instance, in answer to a note, in which he informed her that Oldcorne (Hall), his fellow-prisoner, had dreamed that "he and Garnet were transported to two fair tabernacles ;" Anne Vaux writes as follows, and beautifully too :— "Mr. Hall's dream had been a great comfort, if at the foot of the throne, there had been a seat for me. God and you know my unworthiness : I beseech you to help me with your prayers. Your's, and not my own, A. V." In a subsequent note she says : "If this come safe to you, I will write [again] ; and so will more friends, who would be glad to have direction from you, who should supply your room. For myself, I am forced to seek new friends ; my old are [tired] of me. I beseech you, for God's sake, advise me what course to take so long as I may hear from you. Not out of London, my hope is that you will continue your care of me, and commend me to some that, for your sake, will help me. To live without you is not life, but death. Now I see my loss. I am and always will be your's, and so I beseech you to account me. O that I might see you ! Your's." These sentiments breathe a deep attachment ; but it must be a poor heart indeed that will argue thence the confirmation of the scandal which coupled the name of Anne Vaux with that of Garnet. It is not perhaps immaterial to consider that at this period, Anne was upwards of forty, and Garnet more than fifty years of age.—*Jardine*, ii. 199. And when we consider the dreary, sad, desolate, life of the Jesuit, in that wilderness of blood to the traitors of "the faith," wherein his bitter lot was cast—and when we know that woman's love and approval build a fortress of impregnable comfort round the heart in the battle of life—we may congratulate this Jesuit that he lacked not the blessing ;—and if it has ever happened to us thus to be circumstanced—thus to be blessed—and yet to have remained generously contented with that all-sufficient love and approval—then we may freely and gladly award respectful unsuspecting admiration to the friendship of the faithful Anne and the Jesuit Garnet. I for one will believe her pure, and the Jesuit not guilty ; for, in the absence of proof to the contrary, it is a relief, in the bitter narrative of these events, to find one faithful, gentle heart beaming on the forlorn criminal, even as that sun which God "maketh to rise on the evil and on the good."—Anne constantly maintained Garnet's innocence of the plot, as she attested at her examination, when imprisoned on account of her known connection with Garnet. But there is no evidence that she knew of the plot before it was discovered : she protested that she did not ; and there is no proof in her examinations to implicate her in the transaction,

of Greenway, which you remember was torn from the man by a falsehood. They even hinted that Greenway was taken. All this was to induce him to write explanations to his friends, in self-defence ; and opportunities for such communication were insidiously thrown in his way, whilst his letters were intercepted and brought to the Council. Garnet was anxious to clear himself with his Catholic friends, for the false information filled his mind with dismay, whilst he dreaded that further scandal would arise from the disclosures which Greenway might make in his supposed captivity. His whole defence had rested upon the assurance of Greenway's escape ; and if that Jesuit were now taken and examined he might give a totally different account of the transaction, and betray all. His letter to Anne, which she never received, consisted of explanations and a defence of his conduct. After giving her advice respecting the best mode of disposing of herself after his death, he says :—" I understand, by the doctors which were with me, and by Mr. Lieutenant, that great scandal was taken at my arraignment, and five hundred Catholics turned Protestants ; which, if it should be true, I must think that many other Catholics are scandalised at me also. I desire all to judge of me in charity ; for, I thank God most humbly, in all my speeches and actions I have had a desire to do nothing against the glory of God ; and so I will touch, as near as I remember, every point. I found

except her near relationship to some of the conspirators, and her intimacy with all of them, and, of course, her adherence to Garnet after he was declared a traitor by royal proclamation.—*Ibid.* ii. 63, 64. At the trial, the Earl of Salisbury said to Garnet : " This gentlewoman, Mr. Garnet, hath harboured you these twelve years last past, and seems to speak for you in her confessions ; I think she would sacrifice herself for you to do you good, and you likewise for her."—*Ibid.* 309.

myself so touched by all that have gone before, but especially by the testimony of two that did hear our confessions and conferences, and *misunderstand us*, that I thought it would make our actions much more excusable to tell the truth than to stand to the torture or trial by witnesses. *I acknowledged that Mr. Greenwell* [Greenway] *only told me in confession*; yet so that I might reveal it after I should be brought in question for it. I also said that I thought he had it in confession, so that he could reveal it to none but to me; and so neither of us was bound, or could reveal it [*i. e.* we were not bound, and might reveal it]. I thought Mr. Greenwell was beyond sea, and that he could have no harm; but if he be here, in their fingers, I hope his charity is such, that he would be content to bear part with me. *He was so touched that my acknowledgments* did rather excuse him; for I said (as it was true) that we both conspired to hinder it. And so I hope he did. For Bate's accusation is of no credit, he revealing confession, if it were true. For matters of the pope's authority, of *sigillum confessionis* [the seal of confession,] of equivocation, I spoke as moderately as I could, and as I thought I was bound; if any were scandalised thereat, it was not my fault, but their own. The breves I thought necessary to acknowledge for many causes, especially Mr. Catesby having grounded himself thereon, and not on my advice. I remember nothing else that could scandalise. But I was *in medio illusorum* [in the midst of deceivers], and it may be, Catholics may also think strange that we should be acquainted with such things [the Plot]; but who can hinder but he must know things sometimes which he would not? I never allowed it: I sought to hinder it more than men can imagine, as the pope will tell: it

was not my part, as I thought, to disclose it. I have written a detestation of that action for the king to see ; and I acknowledge myself not to die a victorious martyr, but a penitent thief, as I hope I shall do ; and so will I say at the execution, whatsoever others have said or held before. Let everybody consider, if they had been twenty-three times examined before the wisest of the realm, besides particular conferences with Mr. Lieutenant, what he could have done under so many evidences. For the conspirators thought themselves sure, and used my name freely ; though, I protest, none of them ever told me anything, yet have I hurt nobody * * * Howsoever I shall die a thief, yet you may assure yourself your innocency is such, that I doubt not but if you die by your imprisonment, you shall die a martyr. *For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God.* Farewell, my always most beloved in Christ, and pray for me !”¹

On the following day Garnet sent to the Council the declaration alluded to in the foregoing letter as written for the king to see.

“ 4^o April.

“ I Henry Garnet, of the Society of Jesus, Priest, do here freely protest before God, that I hold the late intention of the Powder Action to have been altogether unlawful and most horrible, as well in respect of the injury and treason to his Majesty, the Prince, and others that should have been sinfully murdered at that time, as also in respect of infinite other innocents, which should have been present. I also

¹ The text and conclusion are in Latin. “ 1 Pet. iv. *Tempus est ut incipiat judicium à domo Dei. Vale, mihi semper dilectissima in Christo, et ora pro me !* 3^o April.” The letter is taken from Garnet’s autograph in the State Paper Office by Jardine, who remarks that, “ it was Garnet’s usual custom to conclude his letters to Anne Vaux with fragments of text from the Vulgate [the Latin Bible] or from the Roman Liturgy, not always very apposite to the subject of his communications.”—*Jardine*, ii. 322. Orange-juice was the fluid used instead of ink ; it became legible by being held to the fire.

protest that I was ever of opinion that it was unlawful to attempt any violence against the king's majesty and the estate after he was once received by the realm. Also I acknowledge that I was bound to reveal all knowledge that I had of this or any other treason out of the sacrament of confession. And whereas, partly upon hope of prevention, partly for that I would not betray my friend, I did not reveal the general knowledge of Mr. Catesby's intention which I had by him, I do acknowledge myself highly guilty, to have offended God, the king's majesty and estate; and humbly ask of all forgiveness; exhorting all Catholics whatsoever, that they no way build upon my example, but by prayer and otherwise seek the peace of the realm, hoping in his Majesty's merciful disposition, that they shall enjoy their wonted quietness, and not bear the burden of mine or others' defaults or crimes. In testimony whereof I have written this with my own hand. HENRY GARNET."

"Both the above papers," says Jardine, "are still in existence at the State Paper Office in Garnet's handwriting; and no doubt can exist either as to their genuineness or their contents. They contain nothing positively inconsistent with Garnet's statement on the trial; taken by themselves, indeed, they rather strengthen his defence; but it will be observed that he takes care to define exactly the extent of the admissions which he had made, which might be for the information and guidance of Greenway in his answers, supposing he was taken; and the whole scope and object of the letter to Anne Vaux is not to justify himself from the imputation of being in fact an accessory to the plot, but to excuse himself from the accusation of weakness in having acknowledged so much as he had done, by showing that he had admitted no more either against himself or Greenway than had been already proved beyond the possibility of contradiction."¹ It was actually

¹ Garnet's Examination, 25th April, 1606.; State Paper Office; Jardine, ii. 324.

on the same day, April 4th, that Garnet wrote the letter to Greenway—by way of caution as to what he had avowed—and afterwards affirmed “upon his priesthood, that he did never write any letter or letters, nor send any message to Greenway since he was at Coughton; and this he protested to be spoken *without* equivocation”!¹ Strongly as we abhor the disgraceful temptation of falsehood by which he was entrapped—truly as we may make every allowance for the Jesuit’s infatuated conscience—and sympathise with a man in such a dilemma—yet, on the verge of eternity, thus to forswear himself, exhibits one of the most dismal features of his perverted mind—casting the darkest shade of doubt on all his representations. And yet, can it be supposed that it was merely to save his life that Garnet asseverated these solemn falsehoods? It would seem so from his supplication to the king for mercy:—but we must also give the Jesuit credit, if such it be, for that anxiety which made him dread to compromise his Company—a conspicuous sentiment in the Jesuits, which, if it be not inexcusable, certainly renders them, on all occasions, unsafe authorities as to events which relate to their Company. On their “priesthood,” on their “salvation,” by the God who was to judge them hereafter, they thought themselves expediently permitted to *swear* anything by equivocation—just as they might *undertake* anything by the doctrine of probabilism, or that which permits conscience to be overruled by the decisions of others—provided they be “learned.” Following in a similar track, Garnet’s apologists have exhausted their wits to make it a technical instead of a moral question; and whilst no man, I believe, can read the

¹ Ibid. *ut antea*.

documents I have copied, and the facts admitted on all hands, without the conviction that Garnet was, as his general expressed it, "conscious of the thing"—yet has Jesuitical perversity been able still to keep it an open question amongst the damaging facts which attest the abuse of the religious sentiment, by those who pretend to be its angels unto happiness here and hereafter.

The Jesuit's doom was pronounced; and yet they continued the tormenting, disreputable, immoral examinations of the man whom they believed, with reason, to be a confirmed prævaricator, and unscrupulous equivocator—a perjurer; as though they cared not if they tempted the sinner still more to sin against his God—provided they could make useful discoveries for the sake of their party. Yet these were the immaculates who denounced the immoral doctrines of the Jesuits—their unscrupulous recklessness as to the *means* by which their *ends* were promoted. I believe they were more guilty than the Jesuits—for, after all, these Jesuits upheld certain principles by which they believed their conduct justified: whereas their Protestant opponents and deceivers had no such "excuse" for their iniquity:—where the former lied conscientiously, so to speak, the latter practised deceit against their consciences, prævaricated with the knowledge of the sin, and lied with deliberate malice in the presence of the God of Truth, whom they pretended to serve. A few days before Garnet's execution several divines of the English Protestant Church visited him in the Tower, for the *alleged* purpose of giving him such spiritual assistance as his situation required, but really perhaps by the direction of the king, says Jardine,—in order to draw from him further information respecting the faith and doctrine of the Jesuits. Among other persons present on this occasion,

besides Sir William Waad (the person who intercepted Garnet's letters), there were Dr. James Montague, the Dean of the Chapel Royal; Dr. Neile, one of the king's chaplains and Dean of Westminster; and Dr. John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's—all of them clergymen of distinguished learning and—piety.¹ And they “put questions” to the Jesuit, and their account of his answers are recorded, but their account is not worth recording:² notwithstanding the frightful distress of mind in which they found the wretched man—they dangled with his unspeakable anguish, as reflected in the following letter—probably the last he ever wrote—to the faithful Anne—but intercepted as a matter of course.

“It pleaseth God daily to multiply my crosses. I beseech him give me patience and perseverance—*usque in finem*—[unto the end]. I was, after a week's hiding, taken in a friend's house, where our confessions and secret conferences were heard, and my letters taken by some indiscretion abroad;—then the taking of yourself;—after my arraignment;—then the taking of Mr. Greenwell;—then the slander of us both abroad;—then the ransacking anew of Erith and the other house;—then the execution of Mr. Hall;—and now, last of all, the apprehension of Richard and Robert; with a cipher, I know not of whose, laid to my charge, and that which was a singular oversight, a letter in cipher, together with the ciphers;—which letter may bring many into question.

“*Suffer etiam hos*;—ye have heard, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy. May the name of the Lord be blessed.

“Your's *in æternum*, as I hope,

“21^o. Apr.

“H. G.

“I thought verily my chamber in Thames Street had been given over, and, therefore, I used it to save Erith; but I might have done otherwise.”³

¹ Jardine, ii. 330.

² See them in Jardine, ii. 331.

³ State Paper Office; Jardine, ii. 332. The words from James, c. v. 11, are in Latin.

At the end of the letter Garnet described an oval figure, the cross at the top, the I. H. S., or *Jesus Hominum Salvator*, Jesus Saviour of Men, in the centre, with the figure of a heart beneath, pierced with three nails, and the following words below : God of my heart, and my portion God for ever, *Deus cordis mei ; et pars mea Deus in æternum.*

Still they tormented him ; and gave him another examination on the 25th of April ; and after a dismal interval of eight days, the Jesuit was finally informed that he was to suffer the death. The wretched man could hardly be persuaded to believe the announcement, "having conceived great hope of grace by some good words and promises he said were made to him,"—thus did they deceive him to the last.¹ On the 3rd of May, 1606, Garnet was drawn upon a hurdle, according to the usual practice, to the place of execution prepared in St. Paul's Churchyard. The Recorder of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Dean of Winchester, were present by the king's command—the first in the king's name, and the two others in the name of God and Christ—to assist the Jesuit with such advice as suited the condition of a dying man.² And how did they fulfil their mission ? Oh, 'twas a bitter thing to hear these *Christians* squabbling, (no other words will do), squabbling with the wretched Jesuit on the brink of eternity ! High aloft above the heads of the multitude assembled to see the sight, the scaffold displayed the Jesuit, the Man of the Law, and the Men of God. The man of the law urged the Jesuit publicly to declare his real opinion respecting the conspiracy and treason—"it

¹ A letter at the State Paper Office, Jardine, ii. 334.

² Jardine, ii. 337.

was now of no use to dissemble—all was clearly and manifestly proved,”—and the Man of the Law ventured to mention “the true spirit of repentance” and satisfaction to “the Christian world,” with “heartly compunction.” And the deans said they were there “to suggest to him such matters as might be useful for his soul,”—they exhorted him “to prepare and settle himself for another world.” The Jesuit intimated that he was ready. The Churchmen asked him to declare his mind to the people. He denounced the plot to those beside him. They would have him declare as much to the multitude. “I am very weak,” said he; “my voice fails me: if I should speak to the people, I cannot make them hear me; it is impossible that they should hear me.” They led him to the western end of the scaffold. Still he hesitated to address the people. The recorder urged him, and promised to repeat his words aloud to the multitude. Then he addressed the multitude as follows: “My good fellow-citizens, I am come hither on the morrow of the invention of the Holy Cross, to see an end of all my pains and troubles in this world; and I here declare before you all, that I consider the late treason and conspiracy against the state, to be cruel and detestable: and, for my part, all designs and endeavours against the king were ever disliked by me; and if this attempt had been perfected as it was designed, I think it would have been altogether damnable: and I pray for all prosperity to the king, the queen, and the royal family.” He paused. The recorder told him to “ask pardon of the king for what he had attempted.” “I do so,” said Garnet, “as far as I have sinned against him,—namely, in that I did not reveal that whereof I had a general knowledge from Mr. Catesby—but not

otherwise." Then the Dean of Winchester began : " Mr. Garnet, I pray you deal clearly in this matter ; you were certainly privy to the whole business." " God forbid ! " said the Jesuit : " I never understood anything of the design of blowing up the Parliament House." Then proceeded the awful squabble between the man of the law, the man of God, and the wretched convict just about to depart for an eternal judgment. It was a repetition of the trial : only the Dean of Winchester was the attorney for the nonce. Charges were flung at the Jesuit, and he flung them back, just as before. Then the recorder interposed, holding in his hand papers which the king had given him for the purpose—as the whole disgraceful scene was planned beforehand : " the king had expressly arranged this, in order that if Garnet, with his accustomed effrontery, should, after all his previous confessions, return to a denial of his guilt, on the scaffold, the means of convicting him by his own testimony might be ready." As soon as the recorder began to produce the papers, Garnet, unwilling to have his confessions publicly read, told him " that he might spare himself that trouble ; that he readily acknowledged whatever he had signed with his hand to be true ; and that, inasmuch as he had not declared the knowledge of the plot which had been generally imparted to him, he owned himself to be justly condemned, and asked pardon of the king." Again he denounced the plot, and the recorder repeated his words with a loud voice to the multitude. And then he remembered Anne Vaux, and proceeded to defend her against the evil reports by which the connection had been tarnished. Having paid this tribute to the faithful Anne, the

wretched convict asked the recorder how much time would be given to him for prayer: he was told that he might pray as long as he liked, and no one would interrupt him. "He then kneeled down at the foot of the ladder, but performed his devotions very coldly, and seemed unable to apply himself steadily and piously to prayer. Indeed, so little affected was he in praying, that he looked round from time to time, and listened to what was said by the attendants, sometimes even answering to what they said; so that he seemed to mutter his prayers more for form and appearance than from any devotion of mind." When he arose from his knees, and was about to put off his clothes, the recorder *again* addressed him, saying, "That he feared he was about to make his end as his life had been,—his main object being still to attempt to extenuate his crime by cunning and duplicity." One of those standing near him then asked him, "Whether he still held the same opinion as he had formerly expressed about equivocation, and whether he thought it lawful to equivocate at the point of death?" He refused to give an opinion at that time; and the Dean of St. Paul's sharply inveighing against equivocation, and saying that seditious doctrine of that kind was the parent of all such impious treasons and designs as those for which he suffered, Garnet said, "that how equivocation was lawful, and, when [lawful], he had shewn his mind elsewhere, and that he should, at any rate, use no equivocation now." The dean rejoined; "But you have recorded strange doctrines on that subject in your written confessions." "In those confessions," said Garnet, "I have stated my real opinions, and to them I refer you." The recorder then assured him, as he seemed still to entertain some

hope of life, "That there was now no hope of pardon for him, and that it therefore behoved him to declare any thing within his knowledge, which might be useful to the state ; and at all events, that it was desirable that he should declare to the people whether he was satisfied of the justice of his condemnation." Garnet answered, that he had nothing further to confess, but that he was esteemed more guilty than he really was, inasmuch as he was not the author or contriver of the plot. When he had undressed himself to his shirt, he said, with a low voice to those who stood nearest to him, "There is no salvation for you, unless you hold the Catholic faith." They answered, "We doubt not that we do hold the Catholic faith." "But," said he, "the only Catholic faith is that professed by the Church of Rome." They replied, "that upon this matter he was altogether in error." He then ascended the ladder, and, when he had entirely undressed himself, he requested the executioner to give him notice before he threw him off ;—and thereupon he addressed the people of his own accord :—"I commend myself to all good Catholics. I am grieved that I have offended the king by not revealing the design entertained against him, and that I did not use more diligence in preventing the execution of the plot. Moreover, I pray God to bless the king's majesty, with the queen, and all their posterity, and grant him long to live and reign. I commend myself also most humbly to the lords of his majesty's council, and beseech them not to judge hardly of me. I am sorry that I dissembled with them, and that I did not declare the truth until it was proved against me ; but I did not think they had such sure proofs against me till they showed them to me. As soon as

perceived this, I thought it most becoming to confess, although before; it would have been unlawful for me to have accused myself. As to my brother Greenway, I wish the truth respecting him were known. I would never have charged him, if I had not believed him to be beyond the sea. But it seemed right to me to confess the truth, which I wish he had done also, that false rumours might not make both of us more criminal than we really were. I beseech all men that Catholics may not fare the worse for my sake, and I exhort all Catholics to take care not to mix themselves with seditious or traitorous designs against the king." Having thus spoken, he raised his hands and made the sign of the cross upon his forehead and breast, saying in Latin, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! Jesus Mary! Mary, mother of grace! mother of mercy! Do thou defend me from the enemy, and receive me in the hour of death." Then he said:—"Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, because thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!" Then again crossing himself, he continued in Latin still,— "By this sign of the cross, may all that is malignant flee far from me! Plant thy cross, O Lord, in my heart"—and again, "Jesus Mary! Mary, mother of grace! mother of mercy! Do thou defend me from the enemy, and receive me in the hour of death!" In the midst of these prayers the ladder was drawn away, and, by the express command of the king, he remained hanging from the gallows until he was quite dead.¹

¹ Jardine, ii. 341—344, quoting Abbott. I need not state that Bartoli and More, the Jesuit-historians of the English province, give a more edifying death-scene to Garnet;—but from all that preceded, I prefer that of an enemy, as being much more probable in the given circumstances. More gives Garnet a

The account from which I have quoted proceeds with the remark that, "all that Garnet said from first to last was spoken in a hurried, timid, and disturbed manner ; not using any clear and steady course of prayer, not confessing his unworthiness, and praying for forgiveness, nor professing his faith in Christ. His mind appeared to suggest nothing to him which could enable him to address himself to God with comfort, or rely with satisfaction upon his Redeemer. Confiding wholly in his superstitious usages, he seemed to have no prayers to use besides those forms which daily repetition had impressed upon his memory." ¹ All this may be perfectly true ; but consider the incessant harassing repetitions of the charges with which the man of the law, and the men of God, literally pelted the wretched convict. Tempting him to the very brink of eternity, they denied him the power, if he had the will, to die in peace with his Maker ; and then he is charged, nay, condemned for not dying a death more edifying than the life which to its last moment they compelled him to live ! In truth, the trial of Garnet develops Jesuitism ; but perhaps it still more strikingly exhibits the Jesuitism of the Scoto-English government under its Solomon ;

speech, but it does not contain all that was elsewhere recorded as having been uttered by the Jesuit. The important feature of the speech, which induces me to think it authentic in substance, is Garnet's last effort to explain away the bad impressions, which he had been given to believe, the Catholics entertained respecting his disclosures. Besides, there is an important false statement in More and Bartoli. The king's express command was that Garnet should remain hanging from the gallows until he was quite dead :—but Bartoli actually says that the executioner cut off Garnet's head, closed the eyes, shut the lips, and held it up to the people—but none cried "Long live the king !" but a profound silence reigned around (*Dell' Inghil. f. 579*) :—whilst More says that "the populace by their cries, deterred the executioner from cutting the rope too soon, shouting again and again : 'Keep off ! keep off ! Let him hang ! (to the last breath !)'"—*Butler*, ii. 158.

¹ *Jardine*, ii. 344.

and I hesitate not to affirm, that those with whom he had to deal, from first to last, do not seem to me more respectable as Christians, or as men, than the Jesuit. I see ample evidence to suggest the moral guilt of Garnet, as well as his legal guilt by his own admission, of the treason for which he suffered : but the means employed to eventuate the conviction of the wretch, or rather to justify his execution to the world, were so detestable, so mean, so cruel, that it would almost seem that some malignant fiend resolved to make that trial compensate for the horrible but averted guilt of the Powder Action. The disgrace which should have been confined to a few disreputable, desperate men calling themselves Catholics, and connected with the Jesuit faction in England, has settled also upon the Protestant party, who covered themselves with the infamy we have traced to its conclusion. It is well to be reminded of these facts, as often as the 5th of November comes round with its riots and damages, as though the fiend aforesaid made the Powder Action a legacy of inflictions on the loyal people of England, to the latest posterity.

A few remarks on this celebrated trial may be interesting. The conviction of Garnet, and his consequent punishment, were not the object of the trial. The end proposed by the clever heads of those times, was to make "a public and visible anatomy of Popish doctrine and practice," as the Earl of Salisbury declared on the trial. The ferocious and hungry party in power, cagerly grasped the occasion to establish, on some sort of principle, the severe enactments which they had prepared against the Catholics. With this intention, the particular crime of Garnet was expanded into a large discourse of all the treasons, real and imputed, of the

faction. Garnet's affair was the text; but all the villanous attempts of Cullen, Williams, Yorke, and Squires, in the reign of Elizabeth, were detailed at great length, and urged upon the attention of the jury, with every circumstance of aggravation. Nor did the interested prosecutors confine themselves, in the case of the culprit, to the particular crime in question, but, in order to excite a particular prejudice against Garnet, they entered into the history of the treasonable negotiation of the Jesuit faction with the King of Spain, at the end of Elizabeth's reign—promoted or forwarded by Garnet, as I have related. This machination was recited and proved as circumstantially as if it had been part of the charge in the indictment—although Garnet had, at the accession of James, *purchased* his pardon from the king, for all previous misdemeanors.¹ “The course of examination and evidence,” says Jardine, “as well as the general conduct of the trial, corresponded with the practice at that time universally adopted in state prosecutions. The whole evidence against Garnet, as to the Powder

¹ It must, however, be borne in mind that the Spanish faction continued in full activity for some time after the accession of James. In 1603, an emissary was accredited to the Spanish court, was furnished with letters of recommendation from Garnet to the Jesuit Creswell, and was secretly instructed to deal with Philip III. or his council for a renewal of the engagements made with Winter, on the former occasion. *Fawkes* was dispatched on the same expedition, and he was introduced by letters from Baldwin, a Jesuit resident in Flanders: “he was enabled to enforce his reasonings with a description of the preparations already made in England, for the assistance of an invading army,” says Mr. Tierney. Philip received the messengers kindly, but refused to adopt their proposals. He said he had no quarrel with his English brother: he had already appointed an ambassador to adjust the terms of a lasting peace with James: it was thus impossible for him to listen to the representations of the two envoys—though accredited by the Jesuits Garnet and Baldwin. This was the death-blow to the Spanish faction; the idea of invasion sank for ever; and the grim ghost or fiend of the Powder Action emerged from the agitated gulf of despair.—See *Tierney*, iv. p. 8, note. See also *Watson's* statement, *ante*, p. 154, note.

Plot, consisted of his own voluntary statements and declarations before the commissioners, and of the confessions of those who had been already executed for the offence with which he was charged ; and no single living witness was produced in the course of this voluminous proceeding, excepting the two persons who verified the interlocutions of Garnet with Hall. With respect to the mode of laying these documents before the jury, a more than usual unfairness took place on this trial, in the selection of passages to be read from the examinations and confessions. Among many instances of a similar kind, an example of peculiar injustice in this respect occurs in the case of a voluntary declaration of Garnet, dated the 13th of March, which follows in the form in which it was read upon the trial. A better illustration of this iniquitous course of proceeding can hardly be found ; and I therefore now give the reader the whole declaration from the original, premising that the body of the paper is entirely written by Garnet ; but that the letters in the margin, distinguishing the paragraphs, and those at the head of the paper, pointing out to the officer what he was to read, are in Sir Edward Coke's handwriting. The passages read on the trial are distinguished by italics :—

A.	}	Paragraphs to be read.
B.		
D.		
F.		

“ 13o Martii.

A. “ *I have remembered some things, which, because they were long before my knowledge of the Powder Acts, I had forgotten.*

B. “ *About Michaelmas after the king came in, Mr.*

Fac Simile
of the Autograph of Parsons,
the English Jesuit.

praying you to be carefull to do somewhat in this point
and to advertise me thereof I bid you hartely farewell

x 1603

Lond 24th of May 1615

R. Parsons

Catesby told me that there would be some stirring, seeing the king kept not promise.

C. "And I greatly disliked it, saying it was against the pope's express commandment; for I had a letter from our general thereof, dated in July before, wherein was earnestly, by Clement, commanded the very same which this pope commanded the last summer. Therefore, I earnestly desired him that he and Mr. Thomas Winter would not join with any in such tumults: for, in respect of their often conversation with us, we should be thought accessory. He assured me he would not. But neither he told, nor I asked, any particulars.

D. "*Long after this, about Midsummer was twelvemonth, either Mr. Catesby alone, or he and Thomas Winter together, insinuated that they had somewhat in hand, and that they would sure prevail.*

E. "I still reprov'd them; but they entered into no particulars.

F. "*Soon after came Mr. Greenwell [Greenway, the Jesuit Tesmond] to me, and told me as much.*

G. "I greatly disliked any stirring, and said, 'Good Lord! how is it possible that God can work any good effect by these men? These are not God's knights, but the devil's knights.' Mr. Greenwell told this to Thomas Winter, who, about a month after Michaelmas, came to me, and expostulated that I had so hard a conceit of him, and would never tell him of it. As for their intermeddling in matters of tumults, since I disliked it, he promised they would give over; and I never heard more of it until the question propounded by Mr. Catesby.¹

¹ This was a question which Catesby proposed to Garnet "in general terms, as to the lawfulness of a design intended for the promotion of the Catholic

As for his asking me of the lawfulness of killing the king, I am sure it was never asked me in my life, and I was always resolute that it was not lawful; but he was so resolved in conscience, that it was lawful in itself to take arms for religion, that no man could dissuade it, but by the pope's prohibition, which afterwards I

religion, in the prosecution of which, it would be necessary, together with many enemies, to destroy some innocent Catholic friends." Garnet said that in total ignorance of Catesby's intended application of his answer, he replied, that "in case the object was clearly good, and could be effected by no other means, it might be lawful among many innocents to destroy some innocents."—*Garnet's Examin. Jardine*, ii. 229. By thus expressly connecting this question with the plot, Garnet evidently contradicts the assertion of Greenway or the Jesuit *Tesmond*, who, in his Narrative, would make it appear that Catesby's question referred to his pretended design of serving under the Archduke in Flanders against the States. The particular case being the attack on a town defended by Dutch heretics, in sacking which it might happen that some Catholic inhabitants might be killed or injured;—the question was whether it was justifiable to prosecute a design in which this injustice might probably occur? Garnet answered in the affirmative.—*Ibid.* In point of fact, throughout the whole machination, the Jesuits seem to have known everything, and yet in such a way that they could *casuistically, equivocatingly* say they knew nothing of the transaction. So strangely did they deceive themselves by casuistry. I may observe that this same question occurs in the casuistic works of the Jesuit Lessius, and is repeated by *Ligorio*, iii. 121. Perhaps one of the most remarkable facts connected with this affair, is, that the Jesuit Martin Delrius, in his *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, published in 1600, two or three years before the scheme was concocted, actually gives a gunpowder plot in illustration: "For instance," says he, "a criminal confesses that he or some other person has placed gunpowder or other combustible matter under a certain house; and that unless this is removed, the house will inevitably be blown up, the king killed, and as many as go into or out of the city be destroyed or brought into great danger,—in such a case, almost all the learned doctors, with few exceptions, assert that the confessor may reveal it, if he take due care that, neither directly nor indirectly, he draws into suspicion the particular offence of the person confessing. But the contrary opinion is the safer and better doctrine, and more consistent with religion, and with the reverence due to the holy rite of confession." See the whole passage in *Jardine*, ii. 371, 372, with some sensible remarks thereon, showing that the work might be in the hands of the English Catholics, or rather, their leaders. I shall have occasion to offer a few observations on the practice of confession, in general, and will only here remind the reader of the Irish ostler who, upon being asked by his confessor whether he ever greased the horses' teeth, said "No—but he would try it."

inculcated, as I have said before. The ground of this his resolute opinion I will think of.

“HENRY GARNET.”

“It is clear,” says Jardine, “that the whole of this declaration, taken together, would have been far too favourable to Garnet to be consistent with the case which the attorney-general meant to lay before the jury. He therefore made no scruple to read parts of it, as unqualified admissions of Garnet’s conferences with Catesby and Winter about intended tumults, and to omit altogether the statement by which these admissions were qualified and restricted; namely, that on such occasions he invariably discouraged seditious movements to the utmost of his power. This mode of dealing with the admission of an accused person is pure and unmixed injustice; it is, in truth, a forgery of evidence; for when a qualified statement is made, the suppression of the qualification is no less a forgery than if the whole statement had been fabricated.¹”

“In many other respects, this trial of Garnet forms a peculiar illustration of the cruelty and injustice of a state prosecution in ancient times; and indeed in those evil days of the administration of justice, few men came to their trial under greater disadvantages than Garnet. He had been examined twenty-three times, as he states, ‘before the wisest of the realm,’ besides sundry conferences with the Lieutenant of the Tower, which were all recorded against him with ready zeal. The king’s humanity, or perhaps his timidity, had indeed saved him

¹ “This practice of falsifying the confessions of accused persons appears to have prevailed to a most unjust extent in the *ore tenus* proceedings in the Star Chamber, and may have been thence derived into state prosecutions in other courts.”—*Jardine*, ii. 358.

from actual torture ; but the rack had been threatened by the commissioners, and it appears from his letters that he was constantly in fear of it. He had literally been surrounded by snares ; his confidential conferences with his friend had been insidiously overheard, and, as he said, misunderstood ; and it is obvious that the listeners did not hear all, or nearly all that passed. His letters from the Tower had been intercepted, and were in the possession of his accusers, and artifices and threats were alternately employed in order to delude or terrify him into confession. After six weeks' imprisonment, with a weak and decaying body, and with spirits broken by perpetual alarm and anxiety, he was suddenly taken from the solitude of his dungeon, to contend for his life, alone and unassisted, before a crowd of prejudiced and partial auditors, against the most subtle advocate of the time. When these disadvantages are duly considered, it must be confessed that Garnet played his part on the trial with firmness and moderation ; answering sedately and respectfully to the searching questions proposed by the commissioners, and steadily maintaining the ground upon which he had rested his defence, ever since the discoveries induced by means of his conferences with Oldcorne. We search in vain, however, in his demeanour on the trial, as well as in his various letters and examinations, for proofs of that intelligence and learning which are ascribed to him by Bellarmine and other writers of his own party.”¹

The general question of Garnet's *moral* guilt has been the subject of warm discussion at various times during the last two centuries. Those who have debated this matter *since* the trial, observes Jardine, have undoubtedly

¹ Jardine, ii. 355—360.

far better means of forming an accurate judgment upon it, than the court or jury upon the trial, in consequence of the important evidence obtained by means of Garnet's confessions after the close of the judicial proceedings. In the course of the year after Garnet's execution the question arose incidentally in the course of the controversy respecting the new oath of allegiance imposed by James. The king, in his "Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance," asserted that Garnet, "the leader of the band of Jesuits in England," had died, acknowledging his privity to the plot by other means than sacramental confession;—this was indignantly contradicted by Bellarmine, who, under the assumed name of Matthæus Tortus, published an answer to the king's "Apologie." Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, replied to this work of Bellarmine by an extremely acute and powerful pamphlet, entitled, "Tortura Torti," in which the question respecting the manner and extent of Garnet's acquaintance with the plot is fully and ably argued. James also noticed Bellarmine's work in a "Præmonition to all Christian Princes," prefixed to a revised edition of his "Apologie." Upon this Bellarmine wrote an "Apologie for his Answer to the Book of King James I.," in which he re-asserted Garnet's innocence of any criminal participation in the plot. In the year 1610 a work appeared, entitled "An Apology for the most Reverend Father Henry Garnet against the charge of Sir Henry Coke," written by a person who assumed the name of Eudæmon Joannes, and described himself as a Cretan Jesuit; but who was supposed by contemporaries to be one of the expatriated English missionaries. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained that the real name of the author of the several works published under the title

of Eudæmon Joannes was L'Heureux. He was a native of Candia, and a Jesuit of high reputation for learning, who taught theology at the University of Padua, and was appointed by Pope Urban VIII. Rector of the Greek College at Rome. The book of Eudæmon Joannes was adroitly and plausibly written, and excited so strong a sensation throughout Europe in favour of Garnet, that James considered it absolutely necessary to provide some antidote to the poison. He therefore employed the celebrated Isaac Casaubon, whom he had about that time invited to England, to refute the Jesuit's arguments, and supplied him with all the confessions and declarations of the conspirators, and of Garnet himself, together with various other documents necessary for the purpose. Casaubon executed the duty imposed upon him with a degree of skill and candour worthy of his enlightened character ; and his "Epistle to Fronto Ducaeus," which appeared in 1611, is unquestionably one of the best works which were published on the subject. Eudæmon Joannes, in 1612, wrote an answer to Casaubon, by no means equal to his first work, and easily to be refuted by those who had access to the evidence possessed by the English government. Still the impression produced upon the public mind by the arguments of Eudæmon Joannes in his first work, was not entirely removed : Catholic writers continued to refer to it as a triumphant and incontrovertible demonstration of Garnet's innocence ; while the inaccurate and imperfect narration of the proceedings on his trial, led to abundant false reasoning upon the subject. In this state of the controversy, Dr. Robert Abbott, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of the highest reputation for talents and learning, but a fierce adversary of popery, and, from his

controversies with Bellarmine and the Arminians, denominated—“*Malleus Papismi et Arminianismi*, published his celebrated ‘*Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon Joannis.*’” In consequence of the vast body of evidence it contains, drawn from the original materials supplied by the government, as well as the powerful reasoning of the author, it is, beyond all comparison, the most important work which appeared in the course of the controversy. It abounds in the scurrilous language so common in the political and religious disputes of that time, and contains incredible stories of Garnet’s personal immoralities; but it is peculiarly valuable at the present day, in assisting us to form an accurate judgment upon the main subject of the controversy, because it gives the substance of much documentary evidence not now to be found, and removes many doubts, and fills up many chasms in the history of the transaction. In 1678 the celebrated Popish Plot again excited a fierce controversy between the Catholics and Protestants. In more recent times, the great question of Catholic emancipation once more raised up the spirit of controversy respecting Garnet, and his connexion with the Powder Plot, and Mr. Butler’s remarks on the subject in his “*Memoirs of the English Catholics,*” which, though partial and superficial in the extreme, had, at least, the merit of being temperate, called forth warm and animated replies from Mr. Townsend, and various other writers of less eminence and ability. Violent party spirit, stimulated by the peculiar circumstances of the periods in which the debates have arisen,—and the very imperfect knowledge of facts upon which the arguments on both sides have generally proceeded—these two causes have invariably mystified the

subject, and impeded the successful investigation of the truth. Party spirit and prejudice have distorted and misapplied the materials at command; and the discussion has been conducted so much more in the spirit of political rancour than of candid inquiry, that the only result has been to widen the unfortunate breach which had so long existed between the Catholic and the Protestant, without advancing a step towards the solution of the historical difficulties: "It is most absurd and unjust," observes Jardine, "to argue, because a particular Jesuit, two hundred years ago, followed his pernicious principles into a wicked course of action, that therefore the principles and doctrines of Catholics at the present day must be practically opposed to morality and good government. Garnet's most obnoxious and dangerous opinions were the opinions of a section only of those who professed the Roman Catholic religion: they were not sanctioned generally even by the Jesuits of his day, but were maintained and encouraged only by the most fanatical and extravagant casuists of that party. In the writings of several learned Jesuits in the seventeenth century, there are no traces of such extreme opinions; within fifty years after Garnet's time, they were ridiculed and refuted in the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal, who was a conscientious Catholic; they were disclaimed as doctrines of the Church of Rome, in the most solemn manner, by the unfortunate Lord Stafford, who was also a conscientious Catholic; and in the doctrinal works of Catholic divines in our own times they are universally disavowed and condemned. If it be unfair and unreasonable to impute to modern Catholics the false and mischievous *opinions* of Garnet, it is still more manifestly unjust to make them responsible for his *particular*

crimes, unless it could be shown that they entertain his opinions, and also that such crimes are their natural and probable result.”¹

With regard to the moral guilt of Garnet, there are circumstances of peculiar obduracy in his conduct, after he became acquainted with the atrocious design. On the 4th of September, before the horrible affair was to come off, Garnet wrote a letter to Parsons, doubtless intended for exhibition to Aquaviva and the pope, in which he said :—“ As far as I can now see, *the minds of the Catholics are quieted, and they are now determined to bear with patience the troubles of persecution for the time to come ; not, indeed, without hope that either the king himself, or, at least, his son, will grant some relief to their oppressions.*” His Jesuit apologist—who could know nothing of what Garnet had confessed, excepting what appeared from the imperfect report of his trial, alleged the above announcement as a proof that Garnet was ignorant of the plot at the time it was written. But Garnet admitted, in his confession, that for many months

¹ Jardine, ii. 364—370. Mr. Jardine is scarcely correct in saying that the doctrines put forth by Garnet “are universally disavowed and condemned in the doctrinal works of Catholic divines in our times.” By referring to the last edition of *Ligorio*, 1845, t. ii. p. 316—327, it will be evident that the old theory of amphibology or equivocation, &c., is still taught by the casuists ; in fact, *Ligorio* invariably quotes the Jesuits as men of authority. The equivocation deduced from the words of Christ, before given, is in *Ligorio*, and the whole section is as full of convenient distinctions and cases as can possibly be required. But this cannot bear on the question of Catholic rights, and perfect equality. By proscription we give power and influence to their priesthood, and open a way to the worst doctrines of the casuists. The great body of Catholics know nothing at all of these doctrines : they are confined to the *priests*. It should therefore be the object of governments to disconnect the people from the priests. This result is daily more and more apparent. I believe that perfect toleration will be the death-blow to the influence of the Roman priesthood. I speak in general terms—for undoubtedly there are amongst that body at the present day, men of unexceptionable probity.

before that date, he was made acquainted with the plot by Greenway—that he was fully aware of the perseverance of the conspirators in their scheme, as he asked Greenway about it as often as he saw him—and, at the moment he wrote that letter, he was on the point of starting upon a pilgrimage with several of the sworn conspirators, to St. Winifred's Well, in Flintshire.¹ This letter must be considered as supplying convincing and fatal evidence against Garnet. It shows to demonstration that, within a few weeks before the intended meeting of Parliament, when the blow was to be struck, Garnet was wilfully deceiving, *not Parsons*, indeed, as Jardine says, but the general and the pope, as to the disposition of the English Catholics; and that, so far from endeavouring to procure a prohibition from the pope to prevent the execution of the plot, he was persuading the authorities at Rome into a belief that all interference on their part

¹ In the month of September, 1605, this pilgrimage was undertaken by Garnet, accompanied by a large party of Catholics. The performance of this extraordinary religious ceremony, at this precise point of time, when the Parliament was expected to meet on the ensuing 3rd of October, and the Powder Plot was on the eve of its execution, is undoubtedly a circumstance entitled to much weight in considering the question of Garnet's implication in the moral guilt of the conspiracy. It appears, from various examinations, that the party consisted of about thirty persons, male and female, among whom were Garnet, Anne Vaux, and Lady Digby. The pilgrimage, which occupied about a fortnight, began at Goathurst, *Sir Everard Digby's* house, in Buckinghamshire, and proceeded by Daventry to *John Grant's* house at Norbrook, and *Winter's* at Haddington, and thence through Shrewsbury to Holt, in Flintshire. It is material to observe not only that Rookwood, one of the avowed conspirators, was a party to this pilgrimage, but that on their progress the pilgrims stopped at the houses of Grant and Winter, at each of which mass was said by Garnet. "It is scarcely conceivable," observes Jardine, "that this unusual proceeding, undertaken at the express suggestion of Garnet, by persons actively concerned in the plot, within a month from its proposed execution, should not have had reference to the great blow then about to be struck for the Catholic Church." If this step may seem to change the horrible crime into infatuated fanaticism, it may also have been the means adopted to impress the minds of the vulgar with the notion that God willed the deed of blood, and thus replied to their prayers.

had become unnecessary, and that all previous representations to the contrary (if such were ever made) were to be considered as withdrawn. He might be bound, if his story were true, by a supposed religious duty, not to reveal the *particular* scheme ; but no motive but a desire to promote the purposes of the conspirators, by absolutely preventing any interference from Rome, could have led him thus to suggest a falsehood—"to speak peace when there was no peace,"—to talk of the patience and quietness of the Catholics, and of their hopes from the king and his son, when he knew that, within two months from the date of his letter, a party among them, in the rage of despair, were about to execute upon the king and the Protestant party the most savage vengeance which the heart of man ever devised.¹ Even the friends and apologists of Garnet admit that he was apprised of the dreadful scheme about the 21st of October ; and yet, in a letter of his, whose postscript bears that date, there is actually nothing whatever to indicate that perturbed state of mind which he pretended to experience from the first intimation of the Powder Action. True, after describing the sufferings of the Catholics, and stating the royal threat of greater severities, he says :—"And yet, notwithstanding, I am assured that the best sort of Catholics will bear all their losses with patience : but how these tyrannical proceedings of such base officers may drive particular men to desperate attempts, that I cannot answer for :—the king's wisdom will foresee :"—but the body of the letter consists of topics and suggestions totally incompatible with the presence of any dreadful thought in the mind of the writer. I have quoted from the letter in a previous page, and will now give other extracts :—

¹ Jardine, ii. 384—386.

“ Father Stanny, the Jesuit, is now very well in the Gatehouse, though close : yet it is thought he shall go over, at the French ambassador’s request ; to which ambassador we are all beholden : and the suit cometh of the ambassador’s self. This Father Stanny hath written of himself, that he was sorely tormented with the stone, and had also the measles ; and, for want of sleep, fell into the conceit [that] the house where he was should be searched : therefore, went out, for fear of hurting the family, came to an inn, where, having not slept, in the morning, *he imagined the town was all in armour, betwixt Catholics and heretics*, and so *thought he must also do his part, and so called for a knife, and struck the chamberlain.*¹ He hath been diversely examined ; but all is well ended, and rather edification taken of all sorts, than otherwise ; and Catholics esteem of him as of a saint, as, indeed, his carriage for these twenty years hath deserved.

“ I forgot to write again the jest which once I wrote in the letter which was missent to Joseph [probably Joseph Creswell, the Jesuit], which he returned to me very unluckily ; that is, that Father Parsons [having] procured Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert to be the pope’s secretary, exacted, first, an oath, that Mr. Fitzherbert should *discover all the secrets ; which oath prevailing against the other second oath, taken to the pope himself, divers secrets were known, which Clement knew must needs be discovered by his secretary, Fitzherbert, who, either by torture, or for fear of the same, disclosed his former oath to Father Parsons, who thereupon fled to*

¹ This extraordinary hallucination of the Jesuit is certainly remarkable at the time when the Powder Action and its probable results were the dominant ideas of those who reasoned in their madness.

Naples. This I write, to make you sport : but Mr. Christopher Southworth most confidently reported it.¹

These were scarcely topics to be enlarged upon by one, who contemplated with any kind of horror, the frightful machination with which he was acquainted. Now this letter is one of the strong points with the Jesuit and other apologists of Garnet. Mr. Tierney observes : “ Relying on the fidelity of Gerard, the Jesuit, who declares ‘*upon his conscience,*’ that he has ‘set down Father Garnet’s words truly and sincerely as they lie in his letter,’ Dr. Lingard has printed what is given by that writer, and from it has argued with Greenway, that Garnet, on the *fourth* of October, the date assigned to it both by Gerard and Greenway, was still ignorant of the nature of the plot. The truth, however, is, that although the *letter* was written on the *fourth*, the *post-script* was not added until the *twenty-first*, of October : that from this postscript the two Jesuit writers have selected a sentence, which they have transferred to the body of the letter ; and then, concealing both the existence of the postscript, and the date of the *twenty-first*, have represented the whole as written and dispatched on the *fourth*. The motive for this proceeding, especially on the part of Greenway, is obvious. That writer’s argument is, that the Parliament had been summoned to meet on the third of October ; that Garnet had not heard of the intention to prorogue it to the following month (this, to say the least, is very improbable) ; that, for any thing he could have known to the contrary, the great blow had already been struck, at the very time when he was writing ; and, consequently, that had he been acquainted with the intentions of Catesby and his

¹ MS. apud Tierney, iv. Append. civ. et seq.

confederates, he would never, at such a moment, have thought of proceeding, as he says [in the letter] he was about to proceed, towards London, and thus exposing himself to the almost inevitable danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. Now, the whole of this reasoning is founded on the assumption that the letter bore only the single date of the fourth. On the twenty-first, the supposed danger of a journey to London no longer existed. At that period, too, Garnet, instead of proceeding towards the metropolis, had not only removed in the opposite direction,—from Goathurst, in Buckinghamshire, to Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux, in Northamptonshire, but was also preparing to withdraw himself still farther from the capital, and by the end of the month, was actually at Coughton, in the neighbourhood of Alcester. In fact, what was written on the fourth, he had practically contradicted on the twenty-first: and to have allowed any part of the letter, therefore, to carry this later date, would have been to supply the refutation of the very argument which it was intended to support. Hence the expedient to which this writer has had recourse. The postscript and its date are carefully suppressed; and we are told that, looking at the contents of the letter, Garnet, when he wrote it, could have known nothing of the designs of the conspirators:—‘When he wrote this letter [says Greenway], which was on the 4th of October, he knew nothing of the project of these gentlemen, other than by the suspicion which he had at first entertained.’ Without stopping to notice the falsehood contained in the concluding words of this sentence, and without intending to offer an opinion here, as to the principal question of Garnet’s conduct, I may still remark that even the friends of that Jesuit universally admit him to

have received the details of the plot from Greenway about the twenty-first; and that this fact alone may be regarded as supplying another and a sufficient motive both to the latter and to Gerard, for the suppression of that date."¹ It is in the selfsame letter that, according to Mr. Tierney, there is, "*a short but separate paragraph of three lines carefully obliterated;*" and in the postscript, Garnet says: "This letter being returned unto me again, for reason of a friend's stay in the way, I blotted out some words, purposing to write the same by the next opportunity, as I will do apart."² It is true that the paragraph before the erasure, only talks of one of his temporal coadjutors, who "may benefit us by buying and selling without taxes," and the next treats of his "wonderful distress for the want of the ordinary allowance from Joseph," the Jesuit Creswell in Spain;—but when we know, from his own confessions, that he was then aware of the project; when we consider that the *fourth* of October was just the day after the Parliament was prorogued, the supposition forces itself upon us that this careful erasure of three lines in the letter, covered,

¹ Tierney, *ubi supra*. Mr. Tierney gives a still more striking proof of the utter faithlessness of Gerard. Fawkes stated that Gerard was the Jesuit who administered the communion to the conspirators, but that Gerard was not acquainted with the project. "To show, however," says Mr. Tierney, "how very little reliance can be placed on the asseverations of Gerard, when employed in his own vindication, it is only right to observe that, referring to this transaction in his manuscript narrative, he first boldly, and very properly, asserts, on the authority of Winter's confession, that the priest who administered the sacrament was not privy to the designs of the conspirators; and then, ignorant of Fawkes's declaration, which had not been published, and supposing that his own name had not transpired, as that of the clergyman who officiated on the occasion, he recurs at once to the artifice which I have elsewhere noticed, of substituting a third person as the narrator, and solemnly protests, on his salvation, that he knows not the priest from whom Catesby and his associates received the communion! 'Yet who that priest was I have heard Father Gerard protest, upon his soul and salvation, that he doth not know.'"—*MS.* c. xii. p. 192. See also *Eudæmon Joannes*, 284; *Tierney*, iv. 44, note.

² *Ibid.* iv. Append. cvi.

in all probability, the announcement of that important fact to the great paramount of plots and machinations, the ever restless Robert Parsons. Parsons had ever been the very soul of the Spanish faction, and it was out of that broken concern that the Powder Action issued: is it reasonable to believe that Parsons was ignorant of the "great blow," about to be struck for the cause? He who found out—he who knew everything that was passing in England, could never have been ignorant of the Powder Action. If the Jesuit Baldwin, in the Netherlands, was made a party to the scheme, why not Parsons in Italy? Must Parsons be the soul of every other machination, except the one which seemed so likely to be crowned with complete success?

These are but conjectures: let us return to the facts attesting Garnet's moral guilt in the plot. In June, 1605, Catesby proposes to him the question about "killing nocents and innocents." One month afterwards, in July, 1605, Greenway, according to Garnet's account, unfolds the whole scheme of the plot to him, at which communication he says he was struck with horror and grief, and immediately set himself to work to prevent the execution of the project. At this point of time, then, at least, when Greenway made his communications, the meaning of Catesby's inquiry, about "nocents and innocents," which at first Garnet says he thought an idle question, as well as the nature of the plot "insinuated" by Catesby or Winter a year before, must have flashed upon his mind. Did his conscience, which became so uneasy upon this discovery that he could not sleep, prompt him to tell Catesby that he now perceived in the insidious question he had propounded—that he now detected the scheme he had in hand? Did he then denounce the project to him in the epithets he after-

wards applied to it, as being "altogether unlawful and most horrible?" Did he call upon him to abandon the ferocious enterprise, disgraceful to humanity, and an everlasting reproach to his religion? He says, "he could not do this, because it was matter of secret confession." For the reasons above given it may be doubted whether Garnet really believed himself bound by the sacrament of confession;—but admitting that he thought so, it was in his power to relieve himself entirely from this obligation. Catesby, having obtained leave from the other conspirators to do so, offered to inform him in particular what attempt he had in hand, which Garnet refused to hear.¹ Why did he refuse to hear him? His mind was so disquieted with the story that Greenway had told him, that he could not sleep. He earnestly desired—he prayed to God that the project might be prevented—his own tongue, which, if at liberty, might instantly destroy the scheme, was bound by a religious sacrament. Now an opportunity is offered of releasing him from this solemn obligation—and of leaving him altogether free to follow the dictates of humanity and the suggestions of his conscience. He rejects the opportunity! And when Lord Salisbury asks his reason for not hearing Catesby thus offering frankly to tell him the whole story, he answers that "his soul was so troubled with mislike of that particular, that he was loath to hear any more of it." Now, it is plainly impossible that these facts could have existed, as Garnet relates them; for it is beyond all belief that his conduct could have been as it actually was, if his motives and intentions had been as he represents them. A person troubled in spirit by the possession of a frightful

¹ "But I refused to hear him, and at two several times requested him to certify the pope what he intended to do."—*Trial, Jardine*, ii. 293.

secret—painfully anxious to avert an impending calamity by disclosing it, but compelled to silence by a religious obligation—would have eagerly embraced the means of deliverance afforded by Catesby's offer :—Garnet, on the contrary, says he refused it, and gives a frivolous and absurd reason for so doing. His refusal to hear Catesby, under these circumstances, was altogether repugnant to the universal motives which govern the actions of men ; —he gives no sufficient reason for so inconsistent an action ; and therefore, upon the fundamental rules of all historical evidence, the whole story must be rejected as incredible.¹

Again : “ A fortnight before the 5th of November, he is found with Catesby and several Jesuits, at Sir Everard Digby's house at Goathurst [whence he wrote the letter of *two dates*, and the *erasure*, to Parsons]. At this place they separate ;—Catesby going straight to London to execute the bloody project ; and Garnet, with Mrs. Vaux, and Sir Everard and Lady Digby, travelling to Coughton, the centre of the rendezvous—the place actually hired for the purpose of the conspiracy—and whence Digby is to proceed four days afterwards to the pretended hunting at Dunchurch. This journey took place on the 29th of October. At that moment the preparations of the incendiaries were complete. The powder and combustibles were in the cellar. The hand was raised and ready ‘that should have acted that monstrous tragedy.’ Within one week the Parliament would meet, and the catastrophe would take place. Garnet was perfectly informed of all this—the man who abhorred the plot—who, for months before, could not sleep by reason of his alarm—who prayed to God, and did all he could, to prevent the execution of the project

¹ Jardine, ii. 389, *et seq.*

—suffers *Catesby* to depart to the scene of destruction without even a remonstrance, and he himself quietly travels with a principal conspirator to a place hired by that conspirator expressly with a view to the intended operations of the insurgents, after the explosion had taken place. There the insurgents seek Garnet—and thither *Catesby* sends to announce to *Garnet* the failure of the enterprise! All these are admitted facts. Let us now consider for a moment whether this conduct would or could have been the conduct of a person who really felt, thought, and intended, as Garnet declares he did. In the first place, would he have suffered *Catesby* to leave *Goathurst* on his bloody expedition without remonstrance or warning? Would he, under such circumstances, have removed to a greater distance from London? On the contrary, would not his anxiety have forced him to the scene of immediate action, to take the chance at least of finding some means of averting the blow he so much dreaded? If this was hopeless, would he not at all events have fled to the remotest corner of the land, instead of incurring the suspicions which must necessarily rest upon him, if he sought the rendezvous of these men of blood?"¹

Lastly, "One more instance deserves to be mentioned, in which Garnet's statements appear to be signally refuted by acknowledged facts. Garnet declares that 'he commanded *Greenway* [the Jesuit *Tesmond*] to dissuade *Catesby*,' and that '*Greenway* said he would do his best to make them desist.'² The calm and temperate manner in which this is represented to have been done, cannot fail to astonish the reader, when he considers the fearful extent and murderous cruelty of the scheme to which the command of Garnet referred. The language is

¹ *Jardine*, ii. 392, *et seq.*

² *Trial*, *apud Jardine*, ii. 294, 302.

precisely that which might have been employed to discourage one of the most insignificant actions of Catesby's daily life, but is surely not such as would have been used to prevent the execution of a design to murder hundreds at a single blow. But, looking to Greenway's conduct, it is wholly incredible either that Greenway promised to urge the conspirators to desist, or that he did in fact do so. Of Greenway's conduct before the 5th of November, we find few particulars recorded, except in Bates's evidence : it is clear, however, that he was in constant communication with the conspirators, and there is no evidence, nor has it been suggested, except in his own exculpatory narrative, that he ever in any degree discouraged the conspiracy. On the other hand, he is found with Garnet at the rendezvous on the day of the meeting of Parliament. On hearing by Bates, after Fawkes's apprehension, that the conspirators are in open rebellion, he goes, after a consultation with Garnet, to join them at Huddington. Catesby and Percy receive him at that place, with open arms, as an associate and ally, the former exclaiming upon his appearance, 'Here is a gentleman that will live and die with us!' ¹ After consulting with the arch-traitors for two hours, he rides away to Mr. Abington, at Hendlip, and tells him and his family, that 'unless they presently join the rebels, all their throats will be cut ;' and, upon Mr. Abington's refusal to do so, he rebukes him as a 'phlegmatic' person, and says he shall go elsewhere, and especially into Lancashire, for the same purpose for which he had come to Hendlip.² Here, then, we find the man whom Garnet says he commanded to dissuade the conspirators, intimately allied with them for months before the dis-

¹ Morgan's Examination, 10th Jan., 1605-6. State Paper Office.

² Examination of Hall, or Oldcorne, Mar. 6, 1605-6. State Paper Office.

covery of the treason, and yet doing nothing, in performance of the supposed command of the superior; nay, upon their breaking out into actual rebellion, he even joins them, rides to and fro in the country to excite Papists to arm in their support, and acts in every respect as a zealous promoter of their design. Can it be believed that Greenway, a subordinate Jesuit, would have dared thus to disobey the positive command of his superior, if such a command had really been issued? Is it credible that Greenway, who had confessed the plot to Garnet, and received absolution on the express condition of his promise to dissuade others from this great sin, should have not only omitted to do so, but have done all in his power to assist and encourage the traitors to promote the treason?"¹

In fact, "Garnet was the friend of Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Greenway. Garnet had avowedly participated with them in two previous capital treasons, one immediately before, the other immediately after, the death of Queen Elizabeth, which he himself considered so serious, that he thought it necessary to shelter himself from punishment by [purchasing] a pardon [from the king]. He had kept the pope's breves against Protestant succession for several years, and had repeatedly shown them to Catesby and Winter, the former of whom constantly referred to these breves, as justifying his scheme. Of *Catesby, the contriver of the plot*, Garnet was the peculiar and intimate adviser and associate. At White Webbs, at Erith, at his lodging in Thames-street, at Fremlands, in Moorfields, and at Goathurst, from the time of the king's accession until within a fortnight of the 5th of November, *Catesby* and *Garnet* are found in constant and confidential communication. *Catesby* informs him repeatedly in general terms

¹ Jardine, ii. 396, *et seq.*

that he had a treason in hand ; and yet—according to Garnet—he who had been his *accomplice* in two previous treasons, does not choose to trust him with the particulars of the third—passes by his friend—the superior of the Jesuits, and confesses his design to Greenway, a subordinate Jesuit ! This strange reserve could not proceed from any apprehension of Garnet's disapprobation of the scheme ; for Garnet declares that Catesby had all along no doubt of its lawfulness—that he knew it would prevail, and that he was sure the pope himself could not but approve it. In truth, no cause ever has, or ever can, be assigned for this improbable and unnatural silence : it is inconsistent with the character and relative position of the parties—it is contrary to the common motives which actuate the conduct of mankind ; and, if the facts above stated respecting the intimate connexion between Garnet and Catesby be true, it is absolutely incredible.”¹

I believe that this acute and most candid reasoning of Jardine, decides the moral guilt of the Jesuit. This admirable writer brings forward other striking and acknowledged facts to strengthen this position, all in accordance with the axiom of Lord Stowell, the profound master of the science and practice of judicial evidence. “It is a good safe rule,” says Lord Stowell, “in weighing evidence of a fact which you cannot compare with other evidence of the same fact, to compare it with the actual conduct of the persons who describe it. If their conduct is clearly such as, upon their own showing, it would not have been, taking the fact in the way in which they have represented it, it is a pretty fair inference that the fact did not so happen. If their actings, at the very time the fact happens, represent it

¹ Jardine, ii. 338, *et seq.*

in one way, and their relation of it represents it in another, why there can be no doubt which is the authentic narrative, which is the naked truth of the transaction.”¹ “It is obvious,” observes Jardine hereupon, “that this rule applies with precisely the same force to a comparison of the representations of one person with the actions of others, or with the acknowledged circumstances of a transaction to which the representations relate ; for instance, where an individual states that he did certain acts in conjunction with other persons, or gave them certain advice, if it can be shown satisfactorily that the conduct of those persons has not been such as it must necessarily have been, or that the other circumstances of the transaction have not been such as they must have been, if those acts had really been done, or that advice had in fact been given, it is a reasonable conclusion that the statements are false. And surely if this comparison of statement with conduct, is a valuable means of estimating testimony in judicial investigations at the present day, when there is usually a fair presumption that a witness is speaking the truth, it must be doubly valuable when applied to the statements of those who not only practised, but avowed and justified, as a laudable and moral principle, *equivocation*, *evasion*, *falsehood*, and even *perjury to God*, when committed by an individual in order to defeat a criminal charge made against him,” as did *Garnet* in his confession.² “Many other circumstances might be mentioned, all of which point directly to a different conclusion from that which Garnet laboured to establish on the trial, and which his apologists, with greater zeal and ingenuity than knowledge, have since urged in his

¹ See his judgment in the case of *Evans v. Evans*, Haggard's Consistory Reports, i. 41 ; Jardine, ii. 386.

² Jardine, ii. 387.

behalf. But the enumeration of all the arguments would extend these remarks to a length of dissertation altogether unjustifiable. There was great justice in what Lord Salisbury said to Garnet upon the trial, namely, that ‘all his defence was but simple negation ; whereas his privity and activity, laid together, proved him manifestly guilty.’ It is impossible to point out a single ascertained fact, either declared by him in his examinations to the commissioners, or to the jury on his trial, or revealed by him afterwards, or urged by his apologists since his death, which is inconsistent with his criminal implication in the plot. On the other hand, all the established and undisputed facts of the transaction are consistent with his being a willing, consenting, and approving confederate ; and many of them are wholly unaccounted for by any other supposition. Indeed, this conclusion appears to be so inevitable, upon a deliberate review of the details of the conspiracy and of the power and influence of the Jesuits at that period, that the doubt and discussion which have occasionally prevailed during two centuries respecting it, can only have arisen from the imperfect publication of facts, and above all, from the circumstance that the subject has always been treated in the spirit of political or religious controversy, and not as a question of mere historical criticism.”¹

At the time of Garnet’s execution the Jesuits adopted a most ingenious plan for the purpose of displaying the

¹ Jardine, ii. 402, 403. Mr. Tierney has deferred his judgment on the moral guilt of Garnet, to the occasion when he shall give the life of the Jesuit—in the concluding volumes of his excellent work ; but there can be no doubt, I think, that his judgment will coincide with that of Jardine ;—the remarks which I have quoted from him can lead to no other conclusion. There is hope that this conscientious writer may put forth from his large stores, documentary evidence to attest these necessary convictions of the acute, the candid, the unbiassed Jardine—whose “Criminal Trials” are as instructive as they are entertaining.

innocence of the guilty member : they created a miracle, not out of nothing, but out of a straw. They exhibited a straw with the face of Garnet stated to have been miraculously impressed upon it, and working wonders as usual—among the rest performing the office of a midwife ; whilst a rag stained with his blood, became a successful fever-doctor in the land of Sangrado.¹ After the execution of Oldcorne and Garnet, the most absurd tales of miracles performed, in vindication of their innocence, and in honour of their martyrdom, were industriously circulated by the Jesuits in England and in foreign countries. Thus it was said,—and the story is repeated by More, the Jesuit-historian of the English Province, by Ribadeneyra in his Catalogue of Jesuit-martyrs, by the Jesuits Bartoli and Tanner, and by other Catholic historians—that after Oldcorne had been disembowelled, according to the usual sentence in cases of treason, his entrails continued burning sixteen days, though great quantities of water were poured upon them to extinguish the flames—the sixteen days denoting the number of years that he laboured in propagating the Catholic religion in England ! The Jesuit More also relates, that from that particular spot, on the lawn at Hendlip, where Garnet and Oldcorne last set their feet before their removal, “ a new and hitherto unknown species of grass grew up into the exact shape of an imperial crown, and remained for a long time without being trodden down by the feet of passengers, or eaten up by the cattle.” It was asserted too, that, immediately

¹ “ Et verò cœlitus etiam prodigii opinionem spicæ illi asseri judicabant, qui miraculosè per eam se adjutos existimabant. Ex quibus matrona nobilis periculoso enixu ad vitæ desperationem adducta, reverenti ejus spicæ tactu puerum continè incolumis enixa est. Nobilis item Hispani filiulus anno 1611, violentâ febris Gadibus de spe vitæ dejectus, applicato linteolo Garneti sanguine delibuto, illico ab æstu recreatus, postridie ex integro sanus evasit.”—*Tanner*, f. 72, et seq.

after Garnet's execution, a spring of oil suddenly burst forth at the western end of St. Paul's, on the spot where the saint was martyred.¹ But the Miraculous Straw was unquestionably the finest piece of invention exhibited by the inexhaustible Jesuits. The affair is related most diffusely by the Jesuit apologist, Eudæmon Joannes, and the other Jesuit romancers. In Spain they put forth a "Ballad of the Death of Father Garnet," with the legend and figure of the miraculous straw: it circulated throughout the provinces; and excited so much attention, that the English ambassador was actually directed by the sapient James to require its suppression by the Spanish government!²

The Jesuits made one of their English students the agent of the trick. They made him say that he felt, on the day of Garnet's execution, a most extraordinary conviction that he would see a manifest proof of the conspirator's innocence. He stood by, whilst the executioner was quartering the dead Jesuit, when a straw spotted with blood, came, he knew not how, into his hand. Subsequently, a man's face was seen peering in miniature from the precious relic—and it was pronounced the "genuine picture of Garnet most perfectly displayed in the single drop of blood."³

In those days of ignorance and superstition, when the public mind was in a state of great excitement respecting Garnet, this was a story well calculated to attract attention. Among the lower orders of the people especially, the prodigy was circulated with great diligence, and believed with implicit confidence:—whilst

¹ Bishop Hall's Sermon before the King, Sept. 19, 1624; Jardine, ii. 345.

² Winwood's Memorials, ii. 336; Jardine, ii. 345, *et seq.*

³ Tanner, 72; Jardine, ii. 347. The youth's narrative is given in full by Jardine.

the higher class of Catholics who knew better, or ought to have known better, chose to foster the delusion. The story, which was originally confined to the vulgar, gained ground by frequent repetition, until at last, and within a year of Garnet's death, by that love of the wonderful, and that tendency to exaggeration, which are the natural results of popular ignorance, it was declared, and currently believed, by Catholics both in England and abroad, that an undoubted sign from heaven had been given for the establishment of Garnet's innocence. Crowds of persons of all ranks daily flocked to see the miraculous straw. The Spanish ambassador saw and believed. The ambassador from the archduke, not only saw at the time, but long afterwards testified what he had seen by a written certificate, which is published *verbatim* by the Jesuit More.¹ In fact, the scheme was perfectly successful; and in process of time the success of the imposture encouraged those who contrived it, or had an interest in upholding it, to add considerably to the miracle as it was at first promulgated. Wilkinson, the student, and the original observers of the prodigy, more properly represented that the appearance of a face was shown on so diminutive a scale, upon the husk or sheath of a single grain, as scarcely to be visible unless specifically pointed out; in fact, the fanciful conception, in such circumstances, is at least as reasonable as that of the everlasting "man in the moon."



¹ Morus, f. 330.

Two faces appeared upon the middle part of the straw, both surrounded by rays of glory, whilst the head of the principal figure “the likeness of a martyr’s crown



had on,”—the face of a cherub peered from the midst of his beard, “squat like a toad,”—all the curious additions being like the “bundle of sticks” on “the man in the moon :”—so blind and thoughtless are impostors, when emboldened by success.¹

¹ This is the state in which the thing appeared as the frontispiece to the

In this improved state of the miraculous straw, the story was circulated in England, excited the most profound attention, and became generally known throughout the Christian world.¹

Alluding to the "noise which Garnet's straw had made," Bishop Hall, in a contemporary letter, observes : "I had thought that our age had too many grey hairs, and with time, experience—and with experience, craft, not to have descried a juggler ; but now I see by its simplicity it declines to its second childhood. I only wonder how Fawkes and Catesby escaped the honour of saints and privilege of miracles."² Such, however, was the extent to which this ridiculous fable was believed, and so great was the scandal which it occasioned among the Protestants, that Archbishop Bancroft was commissioned by the Privy Council to call before him such persons as had been most active in propagating it, and, if possible, to detect and punish the impostors. The archbishop began the inquiry : numbers were examined : but the original agent, Wilkinson, was safe at the Jesuits' College of St. Omers, and thus the impostor escaped the punishment he most richly deserved. Nevertheless, the result of the inquiry was the complete exposure of the fraud. The "Mrs. N., the matron of singular Catholic piety," mentioned, with vast parade, in the declaration made by Wilkinson at St. Omers, was only the wife of one Hugh Griffiths, a tailor, with whom Wilkinson lodged ; and the "noble person, her intimate acquaintance," whom the impostor stated to

Apology of Eudæmon Joannes. Both are copied from Jardine's "Gunpowder Plot." The IHS and the nails below are the usual Jesuit-symbols ; and the circular inscription means "The miraculous effigy of the Reverend Father Henry Garnet, of the Company of Jesus, martyr of England, 3rd May, 1606."

¹ Jardine, ii. 347.

² Jardine, ii. 351.

have first seen the face of Garnet in the straw, turned out to be a footman named Laithwaite, in the service of a lady of quality. When separately examined, these two men contradicted each other materially ; but by their evidence it was proved that the face on the straw was a discovery made subsequently to the enclosure of the relic—the embryo Jesuit, Wilkinson, residing in the interval, for the space of seven weeks, under the same roof. “ At the time of the enclosure of the straw in the bottle,” said the tailor, “ and for some time afterwards, nothing was seen of the face :” it was discovered five months after the death of Garnet, by the tailor or the footman—for each claimed the honour of the first discovery. As Wilkinson was present at the time, we may form some idea of the impostor’s effrontery from the statement he put forth, declaring the discovery to have been made a few *days* after Garnet’s execution, and the enclosure of the straw. Nor is that all. The footman deposed that *he* “ pointed out” the face to the tailor’s wife, and afterwards to her husband and *Wilkinson* :” whilst the young Jesuit in his declaration said : “ A few days afterwards, Mrs. N. showed the straw in the bottle to a certain noble person, her intimate acquaintance, who, looking at it attentively, at length said, “ I can see nothing in it but a man’s face.” Mrs. N. and myself being astonished at this unexpected exclamation, again and again examined the ear of straw, and distinctly perceived in it a human countenance, which others also, coming in as casual spectators, or expressly called by us as witnesses, also beheld at that time. This is, *as God knoweth*, the true history of Father Garnet’s Straw !”

Previously to the institution of this inquiry, the straw had been withdrawn or destroyed ; but several persons

were examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury who had repeatedly seen it, and were, therefore, fully capable of describing the curiosity. Among these a gentleman of Cambridgeshire declared "that the straw having been shown to him by Griffith's wife, he had discoursed of it to several persons when walking in St. Paul's, and told them at the time, as his real opinion was, that it seemed to him a thing of no moment; that he saw nothing in the straw but what any painter could readily have drawn there; that he considered it so little like a miracle, that he never asked the woman how it was done. "The face," he said, "seemed to him to be described by a hair or some very slender instrument; and that, upon the whole, he saw nothing wonderful in the thing, except that it was possible to draw a man's face so distinctly upon so very small a space." A painter who had been shown the straw by Garnet's devoted friend Anne Vaux, was also examined by the archbishop. He made a drawing of the straw from recollection, upon the margin of the paper which contained his examination; and expressed his opinion that "beyond all doubt, a skilful artist might depict upon a straw, a human countenance quite as artificially as that which he had seen, and more so; and therefore that he believed it quite possible for an impostor to have fabricated this pretended miracle." With respect to the exaggeration of the miracle after this period, the testimony of Griffiths himself, given in his first examination, is sufficiently conclusive. "As far as I could discover," said he, "the face in the straw was no more like Garnet than it was like any other man with a long beard; and truly, I think, that no one can assert that the face was like Garnet, because it was so small; and if any man

saith the head was surrounded with a light, or rays, he saith that which is untrue."

Many other persons were examined, but no distinct evidence could be obtained as to the immediate author of the imposture. It was quite clear, however, that the face might have been described on the straw by Wilkinson, or under his direction, during the interval of many weeks which occurred between the time of Garnet's death and the discovery of the pretended miracle in the tailor's house. At all events, the inquiry had the desired effect of checking the progress of the popular delusion in England; and upon this the Privy Council took no further proceedings against any of the parties, wisely considering that the whole story was far too ridiculous to form the subject of serious prosecution and punishment.¹

"Credulity and imposture," observes Lord Bacon, "are nearly allied; and a readiness to believe and to deceive are constantly united in the same person."² As this fable of Garnet's straw illustrates in a remarkable manner the prevalence of gross superstition amongst the lower orders of Catholics in those times, so may it seem to

¹ Jardine, ii. 353, *et seq.*

² De Augment. Scient. Even in these our own times of stern realities, a partizan of the Jesuits writes as follows: "For the truth of the miraculous straw, containing Father Garnet's portrait, we have the authority of Father Gerard, in his English MS. of the Gunpowder Plot, and several other contemporaries. The reader, interested in the subject, may read the 7th book of Father More's History; pp. 95, 96, of Grene's Defence of the Jesuit's Life and Doctrine: Lord Castlemaine's *Catholique Apology*, p. 422: Challoner's *Memoirs of the Missionary Priests, &c.* Father Richard Blount [Jesuit], who was not a credulous man, in a letter dated Nov. 1606, mentions this *accurate* portrait, and affirms that 'it had been seen by Catholics and Protestants, of the best sort, and divers others. This you may boldly report, for, besides *ourselves*, a *thousand others are witnesses of it.*'"—The Rev. Dr. Oliver, of St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, 1838, *Collect.* p. 100, ed. 1845. It must be remembered that this *accurate* portrait was the *first*; and the presence of this Jesuit Blount, "besides *ourselves*," would seem to point at once to the guilty rogues who "had a hand in it."

show that the same superstition possessed the minds of the enlightened Jesuits, who concocted or promoted such impostures. But very strong facts militate against this excuse for the Jesuits : they themselves furnish the best proofs, perhaps, of the impious imposture. In the original trick, the face was drawn and fashioned towards the top of the ear—a portion of the husk having been removed to make the figure more conspicuous. Now, the second edition, published as a “miraculous effigy,” and elaborately engraved for the frontispiece of the Jesuit’s Apology for Garnet, is quite a different affair, as we have seen :—the face is placed towards the bottom of the ear, with a cherub on the beard, a cross on the forehead, and a crown on the head, whilst the whole is made radiant with light. Mere superstition is not sufficient to account for the imposture in this second state, at least. The object of the Jesuits was to remove the imputation which Garnet’s conviction had thrown upon the fame of the Company ; convinced that Garnet must be pronounced guilty by all human inference, they cunningly, unscrupulously, impiously resolved to enlist the superstition of the masses in their favour, and slandered heaven to propitiate the good-will of earth. Like the magicians of old, the Jesuits fructified their philosophical and mechanical knowledge into the invention of various tricks, which they applied, according to circumstances, as the lever of influence with the savages of their foreign missions, and their devotees in Europe. Doubtless, if a modern Jesuit, or a partisan of the “celebrated Order,” be reading this page, he will exclaim, what an unfounded assertion—false and malicious. It admits of proof, notwithstanding. We remember, in a previous page of this history, how the Jesuits, by their own description, tricked the

barbarian chieftain of Africa with a shining or reflecting and speaking picture of the Virgin Mary.¹ But let that pass, however striking ; and let us turn to their famous Father Kircher, and the curious tricks he taught, towards the middle of the century which was edified by the “miraculous picture” of Garnet on a stalk of wheat. Amongst the experiments which this Jesuit describes in his treatise on the “Magnetic Art of Light and Shade,” there is one precisely to the point in question. After illustrating by figures, how the radiating marks and concentric layers exhibited by a horizontal section of exogenous trees, may be made to represent insects and snakes, he says :—“Whoever shall penetrate more deeply into these matters, will easily invent a method by which any one will be able, by the various contortion and bending of the stalk of any plant, to sketch or draw thereon any given image.”² Assuredly Kircher could have made a variety of “miraculous effigies ;” and it appears he was ever persuaded that the secrets of art and nature might lawfully be applied to the concoction of edifying deceptions. I may as well give two examples—a fact among the savages of the foreign missions—and a suggestion for the edification of the devotees of Europe. The experiment is “to exhibit in the air a flying dragon and other portentous images of things.”

“It is related that, by this invention, some fathers of the Company of Jesus in India were delivered from the greatest dangers among the barbarians. These fathers were kept in prison, and whilst they knew of no means

¹ See vol. ii. p. 63, of the present work.

² “Qui hæc profundius penetraverit, modum facillè inveniet, quo quisquam ex variâ contorsione, constrictioneque thyrsi alicujus plantæ datam imaginem in eâ adumbrare valeat.”—*Art. Magnet. et Magn. Lucis et Ubræ*, p. 170; *Physiologia Kircheriana*, p. 94.

to free themselves from slavery, another father, more sagacious than the rest, invented a similar contrivance—after having previously threatened the barbarians that unless they would give up his associates, they should soon see portents and experience the evident wrath of the gods—*manifestam deorum iram experturos*. The barbarians laughed at the threat. The father made the figure of a dragon out of very thin paper, which he stuffed with a mixture of brimstone and pitch, so that when ignited, the machine was lit up, and displayed, in their own language, these words: THE WRATH OF GOD. Giving the machine an immensely long tail, he flung it aloft. Wafted by the wind, it ascended—the horrifying image of a flaming dragon. Astounded by the extraordinary motion of the phantom, the barbarians, recalling to mind the angry divinity and the words of the fathers, began to fear that they were about to suffer the predicted punishment. Whereupon they instantly opened the prison and set free the fathers. In the meantime, the machine took fire and burned with a noise, as it were in approval of their deed, and remained stationary. Thus the fathers, with a natural phenomenon, obtained, by striking terror into the barbarians, what they could not purchase with a large sum of gold.”¹

After describing the method for constructing the curious “flying machine,” Kircher observes: “By this contrivance, flying angels may be easily exhibited on the day of our Lord’s ascension. The wonder of the spectacle will be increased by placing small pipes round about the machine, which, by the motion of the air, will cause a certain sweet music, together with the sound of small bells, to be placed therein.”²

And lastly, Kircher describes a curious machine

¹ *Physiol. Kircher.* p. 118.

² *Magia Catopt. Physiol. Kircher.* p. 119.

whereby “to exhibit various sights in the midst of darkness,” and concludes the description as follows: “We read in the history of the Arabians, which is entitled ‘*Dacker Ellschriphin*,’ that a certain philosophical king of Arabia performed such wonderful things by means of a similar machine, that he used to extort from his subjects whatever he wanted by these illusory portents and apparitions,—the more easily because they believed, in their simplicity, that they came from heaven.”¹

Kircher’s works are literally crammed with curious and clever applications of the various principles of physics: his “experiments,” collected and invented, must have proved wonderful means in the conversion or intimidation of the savage, and the edification of the devotees in Europe. What he had learnt from his teachers he expanded or improved; and we may, at least, ascribe to his predecessors a knowledge of the natural art magic sufficient to effectuate all their influence in the East and in the West, among barbarians, and in Europe among the devotees of the Catholic Church—always ready to be imposed upon by “the good fathers” of every Order, monastical or sacerdotal. “The master of superstition is the people,” says Bacon, “and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice—in a reversed order. It was gravely said, by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrines of the schoolmen bear great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena, though they knew there were

¹ Ibid. p. 128. Kircher was the inventor of the magic lantern, or rather, he perfected the contrivance, which was in use long before his time, as shown by the anecdote above.

no such things ; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies,—excess of outward and pharisaical holiness,—over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church,—the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre,—the favouring too much of *good intentions*, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties,—the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations,—and, lastly, barbarous times, especially when joined with calamities and disasters.”¹ This last named cause of superstition is sufficient of itself to account for the pitiful benighting of the Catholics of England, in the bitter times when Garnet’s straw could make a sainted martyr out of a willing regicide and ruthless incendiary.² But when we know that in the midst of the miseries which their missionaries brought upon them, they

¹ *Essays, Of Superstition.*

² Rant, the agent of the Catholic Bishop of England, says : “The summer, 1624, Mr. Read, the Scottishman, Peter Fitton, and I, saw Garnett’s picture in the grand Geseñ gallery, with this subscription,—‘*Propter fidem Catholicam—For the Catholic faith.*’ I spake of it to Mr. Peter, in my lodging (he coming in company with my Lord Windsor, in February, 1625) against this inscription, saying he died *for treason*, and how I would complain of it. Mr. Clayton and I went thither in April, 1625. It was changed, and only,—‘*Ab Hæreticis occisus, 1606.*’ Yet the straw is there, and transposed to the right hand, which is the less perspicuous part of the alley.”—*MS. apud Tierney*, v. 107, note. Hence it is evident that the belief in Garnet’s innocence and sanctity was not universal amongst the Catholics. The dupes of the Jesuits were, for the most part, their own devotees. The Catholic church-historian, Dodd, thus concludes his remarks on the Plot : “To conclude with what relates to Garnet’s being a martyr and worker of miracles, I leave the reader to form a judgment of those matters from the circumstances of his life and behaviour ; to which it will conduce very much, if we consider how far he could preserve a good conscience, in the commerce he had with the conspirators. The same, I say, as to his miracles, which are to be credited or disregarded with respect to proofs. Neither the Church of Rome, nor the body of English Catholics, are under any obligation to become a party in such kind of controversies.”

experienced some comfort from their grovelling superstitions, however much we would denounce these in other circumstances—in the present day—we may be permitted to commiserate rather than stigmatise that wretched refuge for those who were in bitterness of heart—proscribed—hunted down and torn by their rulers, who were compelled to suspect them of treason to their sovereign and country, whilst their religious teachers aggravated the poignancy of their sorrows, by exhibiting against each other a degree of rancour and hostility so fierce and determined, that it may be doubted whether the Catholic cause in England was more thwarted by the government which connected it with treason, than by that intestine warfare which called forth the worst of human passions from the hearts of its leaders—the secular priests, the monks, and the Jesuits. This important page of Jesuit-history now demands attention.

“All the animosity ’twixt Jesuits and priests, and priests and others, rises from *meum* and *tuum*,” said Signor La Scala to Rant; “a Jesuit will not let a priest come where he has to do, nor a priest let a Jesuit where he has power.”¹

The contention began with the reign of Elizabeth—and the “occasional conformity” of the Catholics was the motive. Tracts teemed from both sides—conferences were held—the fathers of the Council of Trent were appealed to—and the non-conformists gained the day. Allen’s missionary priests soon came over to confirm the decision, and promote its consequences. But in 1579 the English College at Rome was taken from the secular priests and handed over to the Jesuits. This transfer was connected with the political partyism

¹ Tierney, v. 105, note.

running high amongst the leaders of the Catholics, and the students who were preparing for the same position. Some ranged with many of the secular clergy, on the side of the Scottish succession,—others, under the wing of Parsons, and the other Jesuits, contended for the Spanish chimæra. This question was the source of general excitement among the evangelists of the mission. The college at Rome was not a Goshen in the benighted Egypt of politico-religious contention. For some time, and from various causes, a spirit of discontent had existed in the establishment. Under the superintendence of an inefficient rector, the discipline of the house had been relaxed; impunity on the one hand, and remissness and incapacity on the other, were producing their natural results—when Parsons published his *Conference on the Succession*. The book was introduced into the college: political excitement was now added to private animosity. In an instant, the flame was enkindled: the discontented openly ranged themselves under the banners of the Scottish party: the grievances, real and imaginary, which had formed the subject of complaint, were exaggerated to the utmost: particular wrongs were aggravated by the recital of public injuries. The opposition of the other party was denounced as tyranny—its actions as the offspring of ambition; and a demand was made for the recall of the fathers from the English mission—for their removal from the government of the college—and for an alteration in many of the principal rules of the establishment.¹ Thus did the famous or infamous book of the Jesuit, react, indirectly, against his own Company: whilst to others at Rome that book was a joke, it thus became a serious infliction on the

¹ Tierney, iii. 38, note.

Company itself: for this disorganised, disorderly college was managed by the Jesuits.¹

The first impulse of Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, was to yield the point, and to abandon the superintendance of the college: but the advocates of the Spanish interest, alarmed by that rumour, resolved to oppose the prudent impulse of the general. Dr. Barret, the President of Douay College, who was in Rome at the time, hastened to the pope, and “in the name of every missionary—and every Catholic in England—in the name of the colleges and the martyrs—and the English Church,”—implored the pontiff—as he valued the cause in which they were engaged, to prevent the resignation contemplated by the general of the Jesuits. Petitions swarmed from various quarters: the leaders abroad—of all ranks and conditions—were stirred to avert the threatened calamity. Still the matter remained in suspense, when Parsons arrived at Rome. His influence and address revived the hopes and won the confidence of all parties. He listened to the complaints of the scholars—discussed with them the subject of

¹ A striking illustration, connected with the subject, is given by Mr. Tierney. On the occasion of the disturbance in the English seminary, in 1596, the office of protector of the English mission was conferred on Cardinal Tolet, who, from a Jesuit, was made a cardinal by Clement VIII., as the reader remembers. From the man's benevolence, equity, and moderation, as venerated on all sides, it was hoped that better days would dawn for the wretched corporation; but, unfortunately, the protector lived only a few months: a short illness ended his life, in the course of the year after his appointment. Tolet discountenanced the machinations of the Spanish faction; and Parsons, in revenge for his having discouraged it in the seminary, recorded the cardinal's name and his death, in a paper which still bears the following title,—“An Observation of certain apparent Judgments of Almighty God against such as have been seditious in the English Catholic cause, for these nine or ten years past.” The paper is in the Stonyhurst MSS. (Ang. A. ii. 44); for an account, however, of the learning, the virtue, and the ardent piety of this distinguished and amiable prelate, see Ciacconius, ii. 1872; Southwell, Bibl. 258, and the numerous authorities cited by them. Tierney, v. Append. cxlix. note.

their grievances ; and, having promised them redress where it was practicable, engaged them ultimately to acquiesce in cheerful submission to his judgment. Thereupon three of them were, by his advice, dispatched to the English mission—ten were removed to Douay—and then the congratulations of his friends, the thanks of the students, acknowledged the important service which he had rendered to the cause. To the pope Father Parsons presented a memorial in vindication of the Jesuit-rector and of the Company, and in opposition to the demands of the scholars. And yet, Dr. Barret himself, the prime mover of the opposition, had written to Parsons the following strong avowal. “ This rector will never be able to rule in this place. Many things I can tell you of that must be amended in the manner of government.”¹

At the very moment when these English students were calling for the removal of the Jesuits, the English exiles in Flanders were besicging the pontiff with their complaints against the Company. The Jesuit Holt was the cause of the strife. He was a zealous advocate of the Spanish succession, was employed in Brussels, as the agent of the king, and the administrator of the funds devoted by that monarch to the support of the exiles. Holt was a man of character and talent : but the austerity of his manners was embittered by the violence of his politics ; and the “ tyranny ” of Father Holt soon became a topic of loud and incessant animadversion

¹ Letter of Dr. Barret to Parsons, apud Tierney, iii. Append. xv. “ Parsons, in his *Briefe Apologie* (54 b.) professes to print this letter ; but his object, both there and in other places, is, to free the government of the Society from all imputation ; and, accordingly, he suppresses the whole of the passage which I have printed in italics.”—Tierney, *ibid.* The portion suppressed (including the above declaration) forms about a fourth of a very long letter. The passage, as Mr. Tierney insinuates, was certainly calculated to do more harm than good to the faction, since it admits the justice of the demonstration.

among the members of the opposite party. Charges and recriminations followed each other rapidly: political animosity lost nothing of its intensity by being united to religious rancour. To counteract this demonstration the Jesuits had recourse to the usual expedient. They got up petitions among their friends: papers declaratory of the zeal and prudence, both of the fathers in general, and of Holt in particular, were prepared, and circulated for subscription. Seven superiors of Douay, eighteen clergymen, and ninety-nine laymen, including soldiers and women, "gave a character" to the Jesuits. "With the means by which some of these signatures were obtained," says Mr. Tierney, "there is every reason to be dissatisfied: that of Guy Fawkes was amongst them." Holt gained the day:—the charges against him were pronounced "unfounded, trivial, or doubtful," in order to prevent an inquiry which might prove injurious to the Company. It was evident to the Jesuit-provincial that no permanent tranquillity could be established until Holt was removed from Brussels: but Aquaviva resolved that the obnoxious Jesuit should remain; and to varnish the affair, he ordered that letters should be obtained from the cardinal of the country, stating that the Jesuit was found innocent after all parties had been heard,"—although there was no investigation at all. A copy was to be sent to Rome, and a copy was to be given to Holt, so as to be ready "if anything were cast in their faces—*si quid contrà jactaretur.*" Such was Aquaviva's prescription for this intestine disorder, whilst the real motive for Holt's retention, as assigned by Parsons himself, was, that his services were deemed necessary to the promotion of *Ferdinand's designs against England!*¹

But the consequence of the Jesuit-management of the

¹ Tierney, iii. 39, Append. xvii.

English College at Rome had been disastrous to the mission, to the secular interest. The transfer had been brought about by intrigue : the seculars who lent themselves to the Jesuits bequeathed its penalty to their cause ; and the penalty was soon forthcoming. The college was still to serve as a nursery for the clergy ; but the Jesuits reaped a double advantage by the change of management. The juniors of their Company had a maintenance, and enjoyed an opportunity for improving themselves, by being made tutors to the clergy, and subsidiary professors. Moreover, the college became a kind of nursery for their order ; for very often those students who were designed for the clergy, before they had completed their studies, were enrolled among the Jesuits. But the greatest advantage to their Company was, their control and management of the revenues belonging to the college—1500*l. per annum*.¹

“It is no small advantage to the Jesuits,” says the Catholic historian, “to have the management of the temporals belonging to the clergy ; and, on the contrary, no less a disadvantage to the clergy, to be documented by persons of a different interest in the controversies of life. The effects of this kind of education appeared very visibly among the missionaries in England, about the year 1595 ; especially in the castle of Wisbeach, where a great many of them being kept prisoners, a scandalous rupture happened amongst them.”²—“Originally introduced as assistants,” says another Catholic historian, “the Jesuits, with the advantage of a resident superior, had gradually become the most influential members of the English mission. They possessed more extensive faculties [or “privileges,”] than the clergy. They were attached to the principal families, and were the channel

¹ Dodd, ii. 168, *et seq.*

² Id. iii. 38, *et seq.*

through which the funds, for the maintenance both of the clergy and the poor, were chiefly administered. The younger missionaries, educated in the colleges of the fathers, and still looking to them for support, naturally placed themselves under their guidance: the elder clergy, on the other hand, superseded in their authority, and deprived, in a great measure, of their influence, regarded the members of the Society in the light of rivals. In addition to this, the political feelings before-mentioned were at work. Human nature, on both sides, yielded to the impulse. What one sought to recover, the other sought to retain and enlarge: the jealousies of the college were extended to the mission; and each believed, or sought to make others believe, that his opponents were the destroyers of religion.”¹

Whilst persecution raged without, these confessors of the faith within the walls of a prison could find no peace amongst themselves: persecuted by the heretics, these men of orthodoxy persecuted each other, even on the brink of the grave—in sight of the scaffold, whereon, at a moment’s notice, they might be summoned to become “martyrs” for the veneration of posterity! I suppress the multitudinous reflections which rush to the mind to explain, to illustrate this striking phenomenon of the human mind, in connection with man, the persecuting animal.

There were three-and-thirty prisoners for “the faith” in Wisbeach castle. Only two were Jesuits—one Father Weston and Thomas Pound, or Pond, the quondam cavalier, but now a Jesuit layman. The Jesuit conceived the very laudable project, as it would appear, of regulating the company of confessors by means of certain rules, as to the hours of rising, eating, studies, prayer, and recrea-

¹ Tierney, *ubi supra*.

tion, whereby, as far as circumstances would permit, they might appear like a college, or regular community. When such a comfortable plan was thought capable of execution, it must be inferred that imprisonment for "the faith," in the days of Elizabeth, was not, after all, the frightful thing of the martyr-mongers. Garnet, then residing in London, drew up the plan of prison-discipline ; and Weston proposed its execution. The seculars opposed it ; but the Jesuit had meditated the scheme of government, and had made up a party, nineteen out of the thirty-three confessors. He arranged all his measures for a demonstration ; and, by way of preliminary, he absented himself from the table in the common hall of the otherwise comfortable prisoners. His absence for several days elicited various remarks from the brethren : these remarks were mentioned to the Jesuit, and he at once declared that, unless his companions would submit to some regular mode of life, his conscience would not permit him again to join their society.¹ Decidedly this was a severe reproach to the community. It implied the bitter disgrace of unrepentant guilt—the inveterate habit of sin. Accordingly, about the same time, a letter, subscribed by eighteen of the captive clergymen, the friends of Weston, was addressed to Garnet. This letter denounced the conduct of the other prisoners, charged them with the grossest violations of morality, and requested such counsel and assistance from the chosen adviser, as would best enable them to avoid the scandal that must attach to the disorders of their companions.²

A few days later the same parties subscribed the

¹ Dodd, iii. 40 ; Tierney's note, *ibid.* 42, *et seq.*

² Parsons, Brief Apol. 71 ; Tierney, *ubi supra*, 43.

rules for their future government, and elected Weston for their superior. The Jesuit accepted the appointment provided the consent of his superior, Garnet, should be obtained. The whole machination was, of course, well known to Garnet, and his consent, with certain politic restrictions as to Weston's authority, soon gave completeness to the scheme. All had been done in secret : and as soon as the affair was discovered, Bagshawe, the leader of the dissidents, wrote to Garnet, complaining that Weston and his friends, by withdrawing from their society, were reflecting on the character of the other prisoners. He called upon Garnet, as the author of the separation, to exert his influence in re-establishing the harmony of the place. Garnet's reply is still preserved, and is published by Mr. Tierney. In this paper, he assured his correspondent that no censure was intended to be cast on the conduct or reputation of the other party ! Weston and his friends had mistrusted their *own* virtue : they had associated for their own improvement ; and had confined their accusations to their own frailties ! As for himself, he was neither the author, nor the approver of the separation. He had merely yielded to the entreaties of those who must have understood their own necessities ; and he could not now venture, without further information, to disturb the arrangement which had been already made. "Let me exhort you, then," he continued, "by the charity of your Redeemer, though separated in body, to be united in affection. Suffer your brethren to adopt a rule which no law forbids, no vow has rendered criminal ; and in the meantime, continue to pursue your own course, regulate your actions according to your own views, and live *as you hitherto have lived*, in a manner worthy

of the learning and piety of the priesthood : *Vos interim vivite ut vultis ; id est, ut presbyteros doctos ac pios decet, quod hactenus fecistis.*" "Garnet forgot, when he wrote this," observes Mr. Tierney, "that in the preceding July, he had not only declared the opponents of Weston to have been habitually guilty of almost every species of immorality, but had concluded his report significantly, reminding the general of his order, that the very man whom, he was now addressing as his 'dearest and most loving' friend, had, in earlier life, been '*deservedly* expelled from the Roman college!" Nay, this most desperate prevaricator actually told Bagshawe that Weston's party "had not written a word to him, whereby the reputation of any one might be injured"! Hereupon Mr. Tierney very properly says :—"If this was true, upon what authority did Garnet advance the serious charges contained in his letter to the general? The fact, however, is, as the reader already knows, that Weston's friends *had* written the most serious accusations against their opponents : but, because these accusations were general against the whole body, and not directed against any individual *by name*, Garnet seems to have considered himself justified in asserting that "no *one's* character" had been impeached."¹ This early specimen of the Jesuit's equivocation is somewhat interesting. Nor is his duplicity of heart less striking, for he tells this Bagshawe, whom he scoffingly represented to the general, as a man deservedly expelled from the Roman College, that he "embraces him in particular with due charity and affection, and that he has ever desired, to the utmost of his heart, to be dear to him!"²

¹ Tierney, iii. Append. cxiii. note ; Parsons, Briefs Apol. 71 b.

² The two sentiments, with the interval of only three months between them,

Disputes and contradictions, charges and recriminations, disorder and violence, for more than nine months continued to distract the unhappy community. The scandal produced by the affair, filled the country, when two of the clergy, hastening from the north, undertook the office of mediators. They failed in their attempt to reconcile the parties; and then they sought and obtained an interview with Garnet. The Jesuit had refused to interfere in the strife; if we may believe his opponents he now repeated his refusal, "and was pleased to observe, that it would conduce very much to the good of the Catholic cause, if the clergy were to be under the direction of their society, not only in the colleges, but also when they returned into England upon the mission." In the course of the conversation, however, he gradually relaxed, came into the views of the pacificators, and finally, he undertook to write to Weston, and prepare the way for an amicable adjustment of all the differences.¹ Every serious obstacle was now

contrast most curiously side by side. *July 12th* (to Aquaviva), "Quamvis qui inter tredecim illos caput esse vult, olim ab Urbano collegio jure expulsus fuerit." *Oct. 8th* (to Bagshawe himself), "Equidem omnes vos eâ charitate atque amore complector quâ par est—te imprimis, cui me semper charum esse summis votis expetivi." See both the documents in *Tierney*, iii. *Append.* xix.

¹ Tierney, iii. 44. Respecting the declaration attributed to Garnet, touching the necessity of subjecting the clergy to the Jesuits, Mr. Tierney says: "I am not disposed entirely to reject it. When the students at Rome petitioned for the removal of the fathers from the English mission, Parsons undertook to oppose the prayer, and to assign the reasons for its rejection. The Society, he assured the pontiff, was essential to the existence of religion in this country. To the laity its members were necessary, to counsel, to strengthen, and to protect them;—to the clergy, to support, to correct, and to restrain them. Already the latter [the clergy], by their vices and their apostacy, had become objects of aversion or of distrust to the Catholics. Were the fathers to be removed, the people would be left without advisers, the clergy without guides; the salt would be taken from the earth, and the sun would be blotted from the heavens of the English Church! 'Certè, quisquis infelicissimo illi regno Societatis operam aufert, ille plane totius illius terræ salem, imò et afflictissimæ illius ecclesiæ

removed : a new code of rules was drawn up and signed : the prisoners again assembled at the common table ; and Garnet received the thanks and congratulations of all parties. 'Tis the old song of the Jesuits : they strove and resisted as long as they could ; and when they found the thing impracticable, they "split the difference," and beautifully made "a virtue of necessity"—one of the best virtues made by man.¹

Three years after occurred the contention for the establishment of an episcopal superior to the English mission. The last Catholic bishop, Dr. Watson, of Lincoln, died in 1584 :—during the interval Allen was the general inspector over the missionaries, though materially "unserviceable as to the immediate parts of the episcopal character," being a simple priest : he died in 1594, and the English Catholics became a flock without a pastor. The clergy applied to the pope for one or more bishops ; and Parsons, then "the chief person in credit at Rome," seemed at first to enter into the project : but he soon altered his conduct. Reflection

solem tollere videtur' (*Domest. Diff.* 166—169). When Parsons could deliberately express or quote such an opinion of the relative merits of the two parties, the sentiment attributed to Garnet, and, perhaps, uttered under the excitement produced by opposition, ceases to be improbable."—*Ibid.* and *Append.* clxii. note.

¹ Animadverting on the conduct of Garnet in this affair, and remarking the peculiar expressions which the Jesuit has used in endorsing the different letters he received from the priests, Mr. Tierney observes : "How strangely do these few simple words contradict the whole of the studied assurances in the letter to Bagshawe, and how painfully do they reveal the fact, that, whilst those who were supposed to have been his enemies, had thrown aside every embittering recollection, and were pouring out their hearts in thankfulness to him, Garnet himself was, in private, recurring to the memory of the past, for the very purpose of pronouncing an implied censure upon their conduct ! Yet, addressing Bagshawe in another letter, only nine days later, he says : 'When the blessed souls in heaven did sing, with one consent, † Glory be to God on high,' you at Wisbeach preached and restored comfort, † and in earth peace to men of goodwill.'"—*True Relation*, 43 ; *Tierney*, iii. *Append.* xx. note.

persuaded him that the paramount object of his party—the choice of a successor to the English throne—might be more surely promoted by a different arrangement. If the secular clergy could be subjected to the control of a single superior, and if that superior could be made entirely dependent on the Company, it was clear that, when the proper moment should arrive, the influence of the whole body might be exerted in support of his favourite design—the Spanish succession. The Jesuit's scheme, accordingly, was that the clergy should be under the government of a simple priest, bearing the title of archpriest, and enjoying episcopal jurisdiction—an institution especially directed to the promotion of the designs of the King of Spain against James of Scotland.¹ It was necessary, however, that the Jesuit's scheme should be clothed with a specious pretext, in order to get it accepted; and this pretext was that the appointment of Catholic bishops would offend Queen Elizabeth—who, with her ministers, positively *favoured* the design, because she was perfectly aware of the political object which Parsons concealed under the holy institution of an archpriest. And then, the “comprehensive mind” of the crafty Jesuit turned the political approbation of Elizabeth to his purpose; and “the known wishes of Elizabeth and her ministers, *in favour* of the episcopal appointment, was the reason assigned to the pope for the establishment of a different form of government.”² By such methods of low cunning how could any

¹ “La stessa institutione [del arciprete] fu drizzata specialmente alla promotione delli disegni del re di Spagna contra quel che allora era il vero pretensore, ed adesso è il possessore, di nostra corona.”—*Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. iii. 38*; *apud Tierney*, iii. 47.

² Tierney, iii. 47. Plowden, Remarks on Berington, 123; and the Memorial of Parsons against the appointment of more than one archpriest.—*Apud Tierney*, iii. *Append. xxxiv.*

project be carried out with permanent success and edification ?

Cardinal Cajetan was the appointed protector of the English mission : he gave into the scheme of Father Parsons ; and in 1598 he named Blackwell, a clergyman, to take the title of archpriest, who, with a certain number of assistants, was to manage the concerns of the clergy. The whole transaction was carried on privately, and without the knowledge or advice of the chief persons of the clergy. They were, consequently, hugely provoked at the concoction, "and took the liberty to stand off, till they had been heard at Rome." Nor is this result to be wondered at, since even according to Parsons himself, out of four hundred clergymen then in England, the whole number, exclusive of Blackwell and the assistants, who subscribed in favour of the appointment, was only *fifty-seven*.¹

Loud were the just complaints of the seculars against the scheme, whose practical deficiencies were certainly not supplied by its political and selfish object. Every possible objection might be made to it in the episcopal point of view, whilst the method and source of its concoction immensely aggravated the indignation of the seculars. "It was a contrivance of Father Robert Parsons and the Jesuits, who had the liberty to nominate both the archpriest and his assistants."²

The result may be expected. The seculars resolved to contest the appointment, and sent two agents to Rome

¹ Briefe Apol. 106 ; Tierney, iii. 49. Yet Garnet, with his usual falsehood, in a letter enclosing the names of seventeen priests in Wisbeach, who approved of the new institution, gravely affirms that the opposition to it was nothing more than the schismatical hostility "of a few turbulent youths—*juvenum quorundam inquietorum*."—Tierney, *ubi supra*, referring to the modern Jesuit Plowden, 336.

² Dodd, iii. 49.

to lay their case before the pontiff. But the Jesuit-party bestirred themselves in the usual way. Before the two agents arrived at Rome, care was taken to send injurious characters before them, which, in short, were that they were the heads and ringleaders of a number of factious priests, who arrogated to themselves the name of the English clergy. Barret again interfered, and dispatched to Cajetan a paper which he signed as president of Douay College, together with three doctors, "foreign" Englishmen abroad, who took an interest in the triumph of the Jesuit-vultures, or rather catered for their meal on the carrion of the English mission and clergy. This paper was written in the most offensive style of the time, and expressed a hope "that some example of severe coercion would be used upon the deputies, to the end that others of the same faction and boldness should be held in their duty." Of the effect produced by these defamatory reports on the mind of the pope, we may judge from the fact, that Bellarmine, in a letter to Parsons, informed him that the pope had already determined, if the agents came to Ferrara, where he then was, to commit them to prison.¹ Their departure excited the anger of Blackwell. He denounced their conduct as rebellious, their party as abettors of schism, and the leading men among the "appellants," as they were called, he constantly branded with the most opprobrious epithets. In vain was the promise to acquiesce in his authority; in vain was the complaint against his injurious language; in vain was their request to be informed of the precise nature of his accusations. They were answered only by suspension from the arch-priest, and by angry invectives from the press. The

¹ Tierney, iii. 50; Parsons, Briefe Apol. 125.

Jesuit Lister, in his "Treatise of Schism," boldly proclaimed them to have "fallen from the church and spouse of Christ," to have become "irregular and excommunicate—a scandal to the good—infamous to all." Subsequently Parsons published his elaborate Apology in defence of the archpriest's pretensions, and to give it authority, and, of course, to injure the cause of the appellants, he pretended, in the title-page, that it was written "*by priests united in due subordination to the archpriest!*"¹ It is as sport to a fool to do mischief: but these mighty men of old were men of "understanding," men of "wisdom," the so-called holy fathers of "the Church," venerable by age, learning, and prerogative! If the heretics had acted thus by them, what a pitiable case it would have been! But here we have a set of religionists, proscribed by the state, ever in danger of "martyrdom," and yet brimful of rancour, unquenchable hatred against their brethren, and not hesitating to resort to the guiltiest means of "putting down" their opponents—by calumnious imputations. Nor did they stop there.

Whilst the excitement produced by these proceedings was at its height, the agents arrived in Rome. They were at first received by Parsons in the college, but afterwards expelled, to seek a lodging in the town. About three weeks after, and in the middle of the night, they were suddenly arrested by a company of the pope's guards, conveyed under escort to the English college, and committed to the custody of Parsons, who placed them in separate apartments. For nearly four months, they were thus confined: their papers were seized: they were debarred from all communication

¹ Dodd, iii. 51; Tierney, ib. 52, with authorities.

with each other, secluded from the counsel and intelligence of their friends, and subjected to a series of insulting and harassing examinations—conducted by Parsons, and registered by Tichbourne, another member of the Company. Two cardinals then arrived at the college, and the agents, instead of being allowed to discharge their commission as such, were in reality placed on their defence as prisoners—as criminals ; and a process, bearing all the characteristics of a trial, immediately commenced. The previous depositions were read : new charges of ambition, and of a design to procure mitres for themselves, were urged against the deputies : the procurators of the archpriest were heard in aggravation : and the accused, having been permitted to reply, were remanded to their confinement, there to await the decision of the court. This decision was pronounced about two months after : the deputies were released,—but they were ordered to leave Rome within ten days : they were forbidden to return either to England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the express permission of the pope, or the cardinal protector of the English mission—they would incur the penalty of suspension if they presumed to disregard this prohibition.¹ Now, all this statement, all this injustice and oppression are *Catholic* facts ; and we may fairly ask how the Jesuits could complain subsequently of the proceedings against Garnet by the Protestants, whose king their faction intended to blow to atoms, with the utter destruction of their opponents ? Indeed, the principle on which Mr. Tierney's elucidation of the affair is based, may serve, in the eyes of the politician, to excuse King James and his party, as

¹ Tierney, quoting the account drawn up under the eye of Dr. Bishop, one of the deputies, iii. 52.

well as the pope and his Jesuits. "It is evident," says he, "that these proceedings were adopted, principally, if not entirely, as a matter of precaution. A great political object was in view. Had Bishop and his companion, (the deputies) been permitted to approach the pontiff, or to converse freely with his officers, a new impression might have been created as to the wants and wishes of the English Catholics ; and, in that case, the institution of the archpriest, which, in the minds of its projectors, was to determine the future destinies of the throne, might have been overturned. By first sequestering, and afterwards dismissing, the deputies, this danger was avoided. The pontiff heard nothing but what might be prudent to lay before him : his impressions were left undisturbed, and he willingly subscribed the breve, by which Blackwell's authority was confirmed."¹ This attempted and, perhaps, excusable defence of the pope might be permitted to pass, if we did not know that the pope in question is no other than *Clement VIII.*, so completely compromised in the scheme against the British succession—the same pope, precisely, who lent himself to all the mean tricks of Aquaviva's rebellious subjects—not even hesitating to countenance the last disgraceful betrayal concocted by a Jesuit against his general, and promoted by the Spaniards—as I have related at large. On the other hand, what are we to think of this Parsons and his faction, who scrupled not to commit the most flagrant injustice, in order to advance the scheme which they had vowed to execute ? And thus it was ; and thus it ever will be, when the leaders of men conceive and concoct some promising scheme : a specious name will not be wanting to christen

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 53.

the bantling—and under that name will it go, though it will never be anything but the child of its parent—exhibiting its family-vices at every stage of its development.

The appellants at first submitted to this papal decree against them : but once more exasperated by the conduct of the archpriest, who persisted in denouncing them as schismatics, they appealed to the Sorbonne of Paris. This faculty, so famous or infamous for their decision in favour of rebellion against their king, kept up the disgraceful agitation in England by an unbecoming, though invited, interference in the strife of the factions ; and declared that the appellants were “ free from the sin of disobedience or schism, till the pope had confirmed the archpriest’s power in a more canonical way” than was vouchsafed by the breve in question. In a violent paper, the archpriest condemned the Sorbonne’s decision, and followed up his desperate indignation with measures of severity against the leaders of his opponents. Thereupon, thirty-three clergymen, in a regular instrument, solemnly appealed to the judgment of the Apostolic See, which had sacrificed them, on the former occasion, to Parsons and his faction.¹

“ It was not to be expected,” says Mr. Tierney, “ that this contest would escape the notice of the government. Elizabeth had watched its progress. She was aware of its political origin ; and while, on the one hand, perhaps she sought to weaken the body by division, on the other she not unnaturally inclined towards that party, whose loyalty was less open to suspicion. By degrees, the appellants were relieved from many restraints, imposed by the law upon the Catholic clergy. In some

¹ Dodd, *ubi supra* ; Tierney, *ubi supra*.

instances, they were removed from the confinement of a jail, to become prisoners at large. They were permitted to correspond with each other; and were provided with facilities for the publication of tracts, intended to vindicate their proceedings against the attacks of their adversaries. * * * * About the end of June, 1601, Bluet [one of the appellants] was secretly introduced to some of the members of the privy council, and by their means, was admitted to the presence of the queen. Of the conference which ensued we are acquainted only with the result. It was determined that Bagshawe, Champney, Barnaby, and Bluet himself, who were all under restraint, should be forthwith discharged, that they should be permitted to visit their friends, for the purpose of collecting money, and that, as soon as their preparations were complete, they should receive passports, which, *under the pretence of banishing them*, would enable them to leave the country, and proceed to prosecute their appeal in Rome.”¹

It is absolutely necessary to correct the impression, conveyed by the wording of this statement, that this scheme originated with the queen and council. Such was not the fact, however. The desperate Parsons, who “trimmed,” and “swindged” all the world in his glorious fury—as though the memory of his early misfortune at Oxford was ever his incubus—subsequently took Bluet in hand, and gave his precious secret to the winds—having secured an important paper for the construction of *his* Flaming Dragon, with no lack of pitch and brimstone within, and God’s wrath for a superscription. Here is Bluet’s letter to a brother appellant, as published by Parsons, in his *Briefe Apologie*.

¹ Tierney, iii. 53.

“What you do abroad, or what you think, I do not know; for I know not how to write unto you. I spare not my body, nor my purse, in following this matter, &c. These fourteen weeks, I have spent £12; and in dividends I have not received seven shillings. *Sed non in hoc justificatus sum.* The case standeth thus:—I have by opening the cause unto their honours and to Cæsar (*the queen*), obtained that four principal men shall be banished, after a sort, to follow the appeal,—Doctors Bagshawe, Bluet, Champney, and Barnaby, all prisoners. They shall be here with me on Wednesday next. A month they shall have, within the realm, of liberty, to ride abroad for money amongst their friends, and then choose their port [of embarkation], to be gone with some countenance.

“I hope no man will be offended with *this plot of mine*, but with their purses assist us. It hath cost me many a sweat, and many bitter tears ere I could effect it.

“I have, in some sort, pacified the wrath of our prince conceived against us, and of her council, and *have laid the fault where it ought to be, and proved that the secular priests are innocent for the most part*, &c. Be cheerful and hope well—*in spe contra spem*; and keep this secret to yourself.

“I have made Mr. Watson’s peace, if he will himself. When I come down, I will tell you more. You are well thought of, &c.

“Yours,

“THOMAS BLUET.”

“*Pridie visitationis B. V. Mariæ, 1601.*”¹

What a strange, humiliating conviction must be forced by these facts, upon the mind of those who even at the

¹ Briefe Apol. 210; Tierney, Append. xxxi. It is only fair to give Mr. Tierney’s very interesting note on this letter. “I print this letter as it is given by Parsons in his Briefe Apologie; and, as far as it concerns the particular point for which I have cited it, it is sufficient. It is right, however, to remark, that it is confessedly only an extract; that there is an omission at each of the places marked by an ‘&c.’; and that, as Parsons has inserted it for the express purpose of attacking Bluet, it is not improbable that only so much is given as seemed best qualified to answer this purpose. Parsons, in fact, was never scrupulous in his mode of dealing with these papers. Three instances of his infidelity the reader has already seen; a fourth, not less remarkable than the others, at this moment occurs to me. With a view to set forth the importance of his own services in the pacification of the Roman College, he prints, among other documents, a portion of a letter, addressed to him by the general

present day, would fain persuade the world that the leaders of that "religious" movement of Rome and Jesuitism, were different to the other Pharisees and Scribes whom Christ denounced so bitterly! Still worse convictions will follow.

All was ready for this extraordinary expedition of the liberated confessors; but, almost at the moment of their departure, a papal breve came upon them, confirming the archpriest's appointment, but still condemning his irritating conduct. It suppressed the Jesuit Lister's Treatise, and all other publications connected with the controversy—for pamphlets had, as usual, swarmed like *wasps* at midsummer. But the appeal of the appellants was rejected, though the breve seriously admonished the archpriest on the intemperance of his

of the Society, only a few days before matters were arranged with the students. In it Aquaviva looks forward to a speedy termination of all differences; tells Parsons that, in appeasing the tumults, and reforming the disorders of the college, he will have all the merit of a second founder; and then concludes—so Parsons at least assures us, with the following invitation to Naples. 'This lord viceroy desireth much to see you here shortly; and I have committed the matter to your own consideration for the time, what will be most convenient.'—(*Briefe Apol.* 58). To avoid the possibility of doubt or mistake, a marginal note is affixed to this passage; and we are there distinctly informed that the viceroy alluded to is 'the Counte Olyvares.' Now, the original of the letter here cited, which is in Spanish, is at this moment before me; and will the reader believe that it not only does not contain the passage in question, but that it makes not the most distant allusion to anything of the kind: that neither the viceroy, nor any other person whatsoever, is mentioned; and that what is here represented as the anxiety of a great man to see him, is, in reality, nothing more than the expression of a hope on the part of the writer, that he (Parsons) will continue to employ his piety and prudence in the affair with which he is intrusted, that he will see every necessity as it arises, and will apply such remedies, at such time, and in such manner, as shall be most conducive to the great object in view? I subjoin the words of the original. 'No tengo que decir en este particular, sino esperar que vuestra reverencia, con su religion y prudencia yra viendo todos los particulares, y applicando los remedios quales, quando, y como conberna [converndrá]' (Original in my possession). As almost all the worst charges against the appellants rest originally on the authority of Parsons, it is necessary to point out these things."—*Tierney*, iii. *Append.* xxxii.

proceedings, and exhorted all parties to live henceforth in a constant interchange of every brotherly aid and comfort.¹

The archpriest suppressed the breve for the space of four months! By that time the four deputies were on their road to Rome. They stopped at Paris, and got letters of protection from Henry IV. They reached the city of the pope. They found that the procurators of the archpriest had won the race, whilst they were amusing themselves and the crafty Huguenot-papist at Paris. Bitter was the fact when they discovered that the efforts of their adversaries were employed in circulating reports, alike injurious to their character and detrimental to the cause in which they were engaged. But the pope received them with kindness, and heard them with attention; for they sagaciously brought letters from the interesting "*convert*" of France, Henry IV., who, of course, befriended them, having no reason to humour Parsons in his scheme, by way of "good" for evil, in return for the brave words which the Jesuit had bestowed upon him, in his reply to Elizabeth's edict, as we have read with due "edification" and positive enlightenment. Meanwhile, however, the appellants "were opposed by a series of defamatory memorials, ostensibly from the agents of the archpriest, but really *from the pen of Parsons*; and, for nearly eight months, the period of their negotiation, they were constantly assailed with accusations of the most serious and offensive description."²

A specimen of these choice spirits is worth a whole book of mere description. Thus, the appellant Mush writes to a friend, on the 31st of March, 1602: "We

¹ Tierney, iii. 54.

² Tierney, iii. 54.

are safe under the protection of the King of France : otherwise we had been fast at the first. Parsons is very badly disposed, and strongly backed by his Society and the Spanish ; yet, I hope we put him to his trumps. He hath defamed us with the pope, cardinals, and all the town : but his credit weareth out apace, and he becometh to be thought a very Machiavelian, and not worthy of credit in any thing he railleth against us. Yet none list to displease him. We have no dealing with him, nor can he entreat us to come at the college ; which grieveth him much. Thomas Heskett, Haddock, Baines, Thomas Fitzherbert, and one Sweet, are his mercenarii, to deal against us, and spread calumnies We hear that Father Parsons writeth many lies abroad ; but trust nothing unless you hear from us. We hope very well ; for the French ambassador is a father to us Indeed, Parsons's credit decayeth, and ours increaseth : the most he doth is by lying and deceit ; and he beginneth to be spied on all hands. The great controversy between the Jesuits and Dominicans is hotly in hand now here. Will all our brethren to be of good comfort, and to stand fast together, and no doubt but we shall prevail, specially if you assist us with your daily prayers and otherwise, as every one can It goeth not well with me, that every day I must attend in courts, and yet profit little ; for all goeth *piano, piano, and friends do more than the equity of a cause*. The cardinals will scarce believe us when we tell them the last breve not to have been published in the beginning of January last. We hope shortly to have another of better quality for those points in controversy. Jesu keep you.”¹

On the other hand, “to comprehend the full force

¹ Original in Mr. Tierney's possession, iii. Append. xxxiv.

of the bitter and unscrupulous animosity with which Parsons pursued the appellants, it is necessary to turn for a moment to a memorial written by him, about this time, and still preserved at Rome. It is drawn up professedly for the information of the pope and cardinals, and is entitled, 'An account of the morals of some of the principal appellants.' After a pathetic declaration of the unwillingness with which he enters on so painful a topic, he proceeds to state the reasons that have induced him to sacrifice his feelings to the public good—calls God to witness that he has no enmity to gratify, no intention to injure the unfortunate subjects of his address; and then at once passes to the immediate object in view—the lives and characters of his principal opponents. The parties here noticed are Cecil, Bagshawe, Bluet, Watson, Clark, Colleton, Charnock, Calverly, Potter, Mush, and Champney. Among these, however, the first place in infamy is assigned to the present deputies of the appellants. Cecil is a swindler, a forger, a spy, the friend of heretics and persecutors, and the betrayer of his own brethren. Bagshawe is a sower of sedition, and expelled and degraded student of the Roman College, a man of suspected faith and unchaste living, the author of the opposition to Blackwell, and the corresponding agent, at the present moment, between the appellants and the English government. Bluet's qualifications are of a different order. A drunkard and a brawler, he has, at one time, hurled a priest down stairs, and, at another, fallen intoxicated into the Thames. In one instance he has been prevented from murdering a fellow-prisoner only by the interference of his companions, and, in another, has attempted, but in vain, to administer the sacraments whilst reeking and staggering from the

effects of a drunken debauch. Champney and Mush—though treated with less virulence than their companions—do not entirely escape. Both, says Parsons, have been candidates for admission into the Society, and both have been rejected, on account of their impracticable tempers. Hence the enmity of each to the fathers ; and hence Mush, in particular, yielding to the suggestions of an impetuous and resentful disposition, has been led to join with the heretics against his brethren, and to assist in writing those books, which have at once defamed the Society, and scandalised every orthodox Catholic. Such is a brief outline of the principal parts of this extraordinary document, copied from the original in Parsons's handwriting, under the inspection of the late Right Rev. Dr. Gradwell. That it justifies the assertions of Mush and the other deputies, there can be no doubt : that its charges were deemed 'unworthy of credit,' we want no better proof, than that they were suffered to pass unnoticed by the pope."¹ Parsons had charged the appellants with "heretical propositions contained in certain English books." He was required to name the books in question. Thereupon he drew up a list of fourteen printed works to be censured by the cardinals. One of these was entitled, "A Sparing Discovery of the English Jesuits, lately imprinted, 1601." The following is the peroration of his remarks on this book with such a significant Catholic title :—"And here now the very multitude of these outrageous libels, with the immensity of hatred, hellish spirit, and poisonous entrails, discovered therein, do force us, against our former purpose, to cut off and stay all further passage and proceeding in this horrible puddle of lies, slanderous invectives, and devilish

¹ Tierney, iii. Append. xxxiv.

detraction ; for that the very looking them over doth weary the heart of any true Christian ; and consequently, whereas, before, we had determined with ourselves to give you some tastes or examples out of them all, yet now, finding the multitude to be without end, and the quality so base, vile, and malicious, as the venom of any lost or loose tongue, armed with audacity, and defended with impudency, stirred up with envy, and enraged with fury, and bounded noways by any limits of conscience, piety, or fear of God, can vomit or cast out, to defame their brethren,—finding this, we say, we have thought good to cease here, without further stirring the loathsome rags of so filthy a dunghill.”¹ This was written and published *after* the pope, by his breve of August, 1601, had expressly prohibited all such writings, under pain of excommunication, to be incurred *ipso facto!*² Such is a specimen of the “writings of Father Robert Parsons, which are,” says his admirer, Dr. Oliver, “characterised by masculine vigour, lucid order, and purity of diction.”³ Characteristic is this sample unquestionably—far more so than any other that might be given—because it exhibits the quality of the “fierce-natured man,” without that disguise of “piety” and “devotion” which beseeemed an Aretino as well as a Father Parsons.⁴ In his “Story of Domestical

¹ Manifestation, 94 ; Tierney, *ubi supra*.

² Tierney, *ubi supra*.

³ Collections, 162.

⁴ Whilst on this subject of the books published for the edification of the poor Catholics in England—poor in every sense of the word—I may state that they were paid for at enormous prices. Whilst the government robbed them by iniquitous taxation on their conscience, their “religious” teachers fleeced them by a tax on the very instruction which eventuated all their other miseries. Thus, for “The Anker of Christian Doctrine,” by Dr. Worthington, they had to pay “fourteen shillings”—though “it might be afforded for five shillings.” It was “sold by him at his lodging in Turnbull-street.” “The Protestant’s Apologie,” demanded “seventeene shillings”—though it “might be afforded for six shil-

Difficulties," published in 1596, Parsons had told the scandal-loving world of heretics that "the Catholics, terrified by the many and grievous moral wrecks of the seminary priests, would scarcely hold any intercourse with them, unless the latter were specially recommended by some member of the Company :¹ and now, in 1602, in his memorial against the appellants, he iterates the charge, superadding "sedition" and "ambition" to "dissoluteness of morals." "The dissoluteness of some of them," says he, "is proved by the most manifest arguments and attestations—nay, this fact is presumed to have been the very cause why many of them so stubbornly resisted the superior appointed by your Holiness—namely, lest their licentiousness should be curbed or punished by his authority, or be removed, at the request of the laity themselves, from their houses,

lings, or lesse." "The Author and Substance of Protestant Religion," sold for "six shillings"—though its trade value might be "twelve pence." "Luther, his Life and Doctrine, a railing booke," fetched "eight shillings—worth two shillings." At similar prices circulated "An Antidote against the pestiferous Writing of English Sectaries"—"The Guide of Faith"—"The Pseudo-Scripturist—a booke of some twelve sheets of paper, and sold for five shillings." And lastly, out of a numerous list of "religious" rubbish, "the lowd lying Pamphlet, termed *The Bishop of London's Legacie*, written by Musket, a Jesuite, the booke containing about sixteene sheetes : they squeezed from some Romish buyers, six or seven shillings apiece. A deare price for a dirty lie. Yet I wish they that have believe in it, might pay dearer for it." Whether this book suggested to Cobbett his *Legacy to Parsons*, I know not ; that Legacy had the advantage in its price, if no other. For their Bibles the Catholics had to pay "forty shillings," though the trade value might be "tenne." "Sixteene or twenty shillings" they paid for the New Testament alone—though it "might bee afforded for a noble or less." See John Gee's *Foot out of the Snare*, 1624, p. 97. It certainly would have been some comfort if "the incendiary Pharisees and bellows of sedition" had worked *gratis*—or, at least, at less wages for excessively bad work, in every sense of the word.

¹ "Qui etiam (Catholici) tot, tantisque seminaristarum naufragiis perterriti, nullum fere cum illis usum, consuetudinemque habere volunt, nisi à patribus Societatis vel voce, vel scriptis, vel denique aliquo signo, fuerint comprobati," p. 167.—*Apud Tierney*, iii. Append. p. clxi.

where they lived as they liked,—of which fact we might bring forward not a few examples, if we be expressly ordered to do so by your Holiness, although we would very unwillingly touch such unpleasant topics.”¹

When Parsons penned these charges against “some,” and then “many,” of the seculars, with the view of involving the whole body in one sweeping condemnation, perhaps he should have remembered that none complained so loudly against that method as the Jesuits themselves, only a short time before, when they were condemned and expelled from France, for the crimes of individual Jesuits merely, as it was made to appear. Be that, however, as it may: still, without for one moment countenancing Parsons’s bad motive in exhibiting the shame of his own church, there is unfortunately sufficient evidence to show that the seminary scheme was as disastrous to the morality of its agents themselves as it was calamitous to the Catholic subjects of England. The account even of an apologist painfully attests the result—not less conclusive from the summary of the *causes* of that most pitiable prevarication.

“If some priests have fallen, yet can it not be much marvelled at, considering the rigour of the persecution: but, sure, it is a manifest miracle, that, among so many, so few scandals have risen; especially, these things considered:—First, there is no superior over any;

¹ “Dissolutio demum vitæ in nonnullis eorum manifestissimis argumentis ac testimoniis convincitur; imò, causa præcipua fuisse præsumitur cur multi eorum adeò obstinatè superiori à vestrà sanctitate constituto resisterunt, ne, scilicet, hæc ipsorum vivendi licentia ejus auctoritate carceretur aut puniretur, aut ex laicorum sædibus, in quibus pro libito vivebant, petentibus ipsis laicis, subinde mutarentur; cujus rei non pauca exempla proferre poterimus, si id facere sigillatim à sanctitate vestrà jubebimur; licet inviti admodum hæc tam ingrata referre velimus.” Rough draft, in the handwriting of Parsons.—*Stonyhurst MSS.; Tierney*, iii. *Append.* xxxiv.

every one being equal with other, and in none more power to control than in other; and, therefore, more than the law of conscience and fear of God, here is neither censure, nor other temporal or spiritual penalty, that can be, according to the ecclesiastical discipline, practised upon any (which hitherto, God be thanked, hath little needed); and so, men not standing in awe of bridles, it is marvel they keep so happy a course as they do:—Secondly, their attire, conversation, and manner of life must here, of force, be still different from their profession; the examples and occasions that move to sin, infinite; and therefore, no doubt, a wonderful goodness of God that so few have fallen:—Thirdly, the torments to priests most cruel and unmerciful, and able to daunt any man, without singular grace: and this also increaseth the marvel. In sum, where only vice escapeth unpunished, and all virtue is suspected and subject to reproach, the very use and liberty of sinning being so common, and all opportunities so ready, it is the finger of God, yea, and his strong hand and high arm, that keepeth so many and so young priests, in the flower of their age, from infinite scandals.”¹ In spite of the evident effort to “extenuate” *something*, the account of this “marvellous” writer is, perhaps, but too painful and pitcous an attestation of the dismal fact in question. The account was written about four years before the period of Parsons’s animadversions. I know not whether “it increaseth the marvel,” to state that there were about four hundred secular priests in England at the time—and only five or six Jesuits to recommend the most worthy of them to the faithful, “by a hint, a letter, or a wink—*voce, vel scriptis, vel denique aliquo signo.*”

¹ Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. i. 70, c. ix., apud Tierney, *ubi suprâ.*

That was indeed a dismal epoch of "religious" history ; and throughout the whole range of that most impious of all histories, few passages, if any, can be referred to as more humiliating to humanity. Not more than a month after Parsons, in his Memorial, thus denounced the seculars, he penned a letter to Mush, the leader, with whose curious proceedings and sentiments we are acquainted.

"MY OLD FRIEND MR. MUSH.

"For that this is the vigil of the Holy Ghost, which came as to-morrow upon the first professors of our Christian religion, giving them that true divine spirit, whereby only men may be saved ; and for that no spirit is so opposite and repugnant to this, by the testimony of Christ and his apostles themselves, as the spirit of disunion, contention, envy, emulation, anger, and enmity, as St. Paul, you know, in particular, setteth down to the Galatians (*at the very cogitation whereof I confess unto you truly and sincerely, in the sight of Almighty God, that my heart trembleth whensoever I consider the danger*) ; and for as much as you and your company, having been now full three months, I think, in this city, have fled, as it were, our company and conversation, that are of the same religion and communion with you, and have been your old friends and brethren in times past, and have invited you divers ways, since your coming to the city, to more friendly and charitable meeting and dealing together, than you have hitherto showed yourself willing to embrace ;—for all these and some other considerations, which here in particular you will perceive, I have thought good, at this time (though in most men's opinions, *I be the man of all other most injured by you and your brethren, in their books and speeches*), to break this long silence, by occasion of this high and holy feast, putting us in mind what spirit we must put on and follow, if we mean to arrive to eternal salvation, and what spirit we must fly to avoid perdition, according to the plain denunciation of the apostle, *Si quis spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus* [if any one hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is not of him]. And whether this be the spirit of Christ, to contend in this sort, to emulate, to envy, to fly company one of another, and to raise such scandals in our new planted English Catholic Church, that lieth so grievously under the hand of the persecutor, yea, and to join with the persecutor himself,

to help out our passionate pretences against our brethren, this, I say, is easy to consider to all them that are out of passion, for the present, and will be, at the day of judgment, to all the world, but especially to the doers themselves. Alas! Mr. Mush, is it possible that priests, illuminated once with God's grace, and brought up, for many years, in the exercise of meditation of spirit and spiritual courses, should come now by passion into such darkness, as not to see or discern these so damnable things, which every common and ordinary Catholic man, understanding the cause, doth condemn, and cry shame to our whole nation for the same.¹ . . . Neither doth it take away your obligation to lay down that passion, especially now, after so long time, and to come to some moderate and reasonable atonement with your brethren, by staying matters at home, and by discussing your controversies friendly and charitably here,² *as Christ*

¹ "With what feelings must the reader, who bears in mind the contents of the last few pages, peruse this and other similar passages of this letter! That Parsons wrote under the supposition that his practices against the deputies and their friends had escaped observation, is, I think, clear; but that he should have drawn up the charges contained in the preceding document, that, within a few weeks or days from the moment at which he was writing, he should have deliberately committed to paper the appalling accusations described in a former note, and that he should nevertheless have been able to pen such a letter as the present, carries with it something so painful, and, at the same time, so humbling, to our nature, that the mind gladly, and almost instinctively, turns from the contemplation. Yet this is not all. Only fifteen days later, we find him, under the disguise of the archpriest's agents, returning to many of his former charges, declaring, on mere suspicion, that the very men, whom he is now addressing as brothers, had instigated the late executions in England, and, in terms that can scarcely be misunderstood, entreating the pope's permission to deal with them in such a manner as to make them feel the enormity of their crime, and be thankful for any future indulgence:—*ut cum illis qui Romæ sunt appellantes, quique totum hoc in Angliâ incendium literis suis sustentare creduntur, sic agi permittatur, ut errata sua videant saltem ac confiteantur, quò magis inde fiant idonei ad agnoscendam quamcumque Sanctitas vestra in eos postea exercuerit indulgentiam.*"—*Tierney, ubi supra*, quoting Rough Draft of Memorial, in Parsons's hand-writing, Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. iii. 17.

² "Notwithstanding Parsons's disclaimer, in a subsequent part of the letter, I am inclined to suspect that these words betray his real motive for writing. It was already evident that the government of the archpriest would be retained: but the questions of reprimanding Blackwell and prohibiting his communication with the Society were to be discussed: Parsons felt, on these points, he was likely to be foiled; and, of course, it became an object of importance to conciliate the minds, and, if possible, to neutralise the opposition of the deputies."—*Tierney, ubi supra*.

commandeth all men so to do, but especially such as *offer at his holy altar daily* : and you cannot but remember the dreadful threat of his apostle against them that receive there his body unworthily ; which unworthiness both himself, and St. John, and other saints, so hold, as you know, to be in the highest degree in him that is *in hatred, enmity, contention, envy, or emulation with his brethren*. Wherefore, I do most heartily beseech you, Mr. Mush, and the rest of your fellow priests there with you, even for the love of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, giver of all good spirits, and for reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose happy and blessed coming is celebrated to-morrow, that you consider well with yourselves what spirit leadeth you and yours in this contention, whither it tendeth, what lamentable effects it hath wrought already, and doth work daily, in England, by the breach there made among Catholic people, what scandals have fallen out and do fall out continually, *beyond your expectation or wills, I am sure* ; this being the nature and condition of divisions and contentions once begun to break out farther and to fouler effects, than the authors, at the beginning, did imagine ; whereof, notwithstanding, they remain culpable both before God and man, if they seek not to stay them in time : and you must remember that *it will be but a small excuse to posterity for so great mischiefs, to say you were put in anger or rage by others, and much less defence and excuse can it be with God, at his tribunal, whose just dread ought to possess us all*.¹ Neither must you think or say, as men are wont to do that love not peace, that this is written for any other end, but only *to put you in mind of this present holy feast*, and of all our duties therein, to look to the spirit whereby we are guided, and to take the course which Christian Catholic priests ought to do. . . . God's holy spirit inspire you to take and use it, to his glory and your own good ; to whose holy benediction I commend you and yours, and myself to all your prayers.

“ From the English College, this Whitsun-eve, 25th of May, 1602.”²

¹ The preceding italics are Mr. Tierney's, to exhibit Parsons's *verbal* attestation in favour of his opponents, I suppose :—the present italics are mine, and are meant to draw attention to the important fact that these “religious” leaders always “had eyes but saw not”—that they knew their duty well enough, but perversely chose the *worse* part. Away, then, with the usual and absurd excuse about “the times in which they lived.” It was their duty to reform by example, not to confirm by imitation, the worst features of the times. Unquestionably their conduct excused the same manifestations in the vulgar herd of men—their wretched scapegoats the people ; but these leaders knew good and evil as well as the devil who practised on Eve.

² “When, in addition to what has already been said, it is further stated that,

Meanwhile the pope and the cardinals, to whom the matter was committed, began, as was likely, to "be full weary thereof, to see so great clamours raised upon so small grounds, and so obstinate contention about things of no substance," as Father Parsons expresses it, in another letter, written on the same day as the foregoing—but, of course, in quite a different strain—being intended for the eyes of a partisan. Although written on the very same day on which he penned the foregoing adjurations, this "religious" man found a conscience to misrepresent the whole affair—in a strain that proves anything but the sincerity of the aspirations with which he celebrated his Whitsun-eve.¹

The first demand of the seculars was the appointment of bishops—doubtless as much to conciliate Elizabeth as to save themselves from the Jesuits. Then they petitioned for six archpriests, with other officers, to be annually or biennially elected by the clergy; but neither of these plants could possibly take root, or if they did, they were soon starved by the contact of noxious weeds: the "enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat," or, as Mr. Tierney expresses the fact, "in both these points they had been foiled by the superior address

almost at the very moment when Parsons wrote this letter, he was publishing his 'Manifestation;' that, in that work, the deputies, who are studiously confounded with Watson, are assailed with the most unmeasured abuse; and that the very person who is here addressed in terms of friendship, is there sneered at as having been originally 'a poor rude serving man,' received and educated by the Jesuits in the English College, out of charity, and afterwards by the appellation of Doctor Dodipol Mush, the reader will scarcely be surprised to learn that the present epistle, as well as two others, subsequently addressed, the one to Mush, the other to all the deputies, in the same strain, was suffered to lie unnoticed."—Tierney, *ubi supra*.

¹ See the letter *apud* Tierney, *ubi supra*, and Tierney's annotations, which last never represent Parsons in any other light than that deserved by an arrant dissembler, and unscrupulous machinator.

of Parsons." Nevertheless, in their complaints against the administration of the archpriest, and in their efforts to vindicate themselves before the pontiff, they were more successful. Another breve was issued, condemning the conduct of the archpriest, and justifying the appellants from the charges of schism and rebellion. It declared that the archpriest Blackwell, by his censures and decrees, had exceeded his powers; that the appellants, by their resistance to his authority, had never forfeited their spiritual faculties. It limited the archpriest's jurisdiction to the priests educated in the foreign seminaries; forbade them, in future, and for the sake of peace, to communicate either with the superior of the Jesuits in England, or with the general of the Company at Rome, on the concerns of his office. It commanded him to supply the first three vacancies that should occur in the number of his assistants, with persons selected from amongst the appellant priests; and, having ordered him to receive and transmit all appeals to the cardinal protector, it concluded by condemning the past, and prohibiting all future publications, in any manner connected with the present controversy.¹

¹ Tierney, *ubi suprâ*. The intercourse between the English government and the appellants, and the assistance afforded by the former to the latter, in the prosecution of their appeal to Rome, soon attracted the observation of the Puritans; and the ministers were openly charged with abetting popery. "To remove the scandal," says Mr. Tierney, "Elizabeth published another proclamation for the banishment of the Catholic missionaries," Nov. 5, 1602, which I have before stated: but surely this proclamation was rather caused by the plot concocted by Catesby, Tresham and Winter, under the auspices of Garnet, to induce another Spanish invasion at the close of the year 1601, as I have related, quoting Mr. Tierney himself—iv. 7, *et seq.* And the probability is enhanced by the fact, that she permitted the appellants to remain, provided they would present themselves "before a lord of the council, the president of Wales, or the bishop of the diocese, and shall there *acknowledge sincerely their allegiance and duty to her.*" I have before enlarged on the subject.

“Thus terminated this unhappy contest,” observes Mr. Tierney, “leaving behind it, however, a rankling feeling of jealousy and dislike, which cannot be too deeply or too lastingly deplored.” To which we can but say Amen! Still we must not fail to observe likewise that this result, so painful to Parsons and his faction, was most probably owing to the patronage of the French king, by the intervention of his envoys: so that the “credit” may fairly be awarded to Parsons and his men, that their calumnious machinations failed of their bad success, by reason only of royal patronage. In effect, D'Ossat was then at Rome: we have read his interesting letter to Henry IV., respecting Parsons and his scheme: it was actually written during the struggle. Unquestionably D'Ossat saw nothing in these machinations to make him more “enamoured” of the Jesuits than he had ever been; for it was very shortly after this contest that he wrote to Villeroy, alluding to their recall into France, saying:—“Now, however, after having considered many things which I have read and heard of them, I declare to you that I will meddle no more in their affair; and I resign it once for all, to what his majesty and council will judge for the best,”—as a very bad piece of business.¹

The denunciation of the plot with which the secular priest Watson was connected, was a sort of loyal vengeance, as well as a piece of political dexterity on the part of the English Jesuits. They consigned that guilty secular priest to the scaffold; and working out their own punishment, connected themselves with an

¹ D'Ossat wrote these sentiments in January, 1603, and the breve in favour of the appellants, was issued by Clement VIII. in October, 1602. I have quoted D'Ossat's letter before, p. 53 of the present volume.

infinitely more atrocious conspiracy, with which their name will be branded for ever, and with justice.

As may be expected, the penal result of the Powder Action was redoubled persecution for the wretched Catholics of England, who assuredly had no share in the transaction. It may be little to the purpose to state, that the pope then reigning, Paul V., discountenanced that conspiracy, and endeavoured to avert its horrible inflictions ; for the principles whereon that plot was based, were essentially papal, had been upheld by all his immediate predecessors, were too deeply rooted in bad hearts by the pangs of persecution on the one hand, and by the exhortations of fanaticism on the other, to be uptorn by a prohibition at the last hour, when all was ready, or in a state of energetic preparation. Glorious, indeed, would it have been for papal integrity, had there been made to the English government, a papal denunciation of that "great blow" which was to render the Catholic cause triumphant. Doubtless the conspirators knew, as was the fact, that the pope had been induced to imagine, that a negotiation would succeed with the Scoto-English monarch in the midst of his hungry partisans, and that by such "peaceful and safer events," (as spoke the pope by Aquaviva) the wretched condition of the Catholics might be bettered. They also knew that the attempt would be futile, and went on stuffing their flaming dragon with powder and the "wrath of God." Garnet, as we have read, announced something like a fixed resolution in certain parties, to right themselves in spite of papal prohibition ; there was enough in that fact, if no more had been communicated, to induce a Christian sovereign, not to say the "father of the faithful," to notify the impending danger

to a royal brother. There may be much to extenuate, much to excuse this indirect participation of the pope and Aquaviva in the Powder Action; but those excuses—that extenuation—when thoroughly sifted, still leave behind the numberless abuses of the religious sentiment—the chaff that covers them—and among them we must assign the first place to papal supremacy, the leading “idea” in the Catholic movement. Indeed, this idea was so prominent among the Catholic divines then most in vogue, that we need not wonder to find James I. making it the excuse for his dreadful measures against the Catholics; for I do not believe that the discovery of the Powder Action was necessary to eventuate *his* persecution. His cruel, as well as ungrateful treatment of the Catholics before the plot, was certainly a natural cause, co-operating with the spiritual “idea” of Allen’s priests and the Jesuits, to produce those desperate results whose only end was redoubled calamity to the Catholics,—a bitter thought, that whilst, as a body, they were loyal, they were made to atone for the crimes and principles of those who had constituted themselves their leaders. I have here coupled the priests with the Jesuits, because, although possibly less guilty, they nevertheless contributed to the general proscription of catholicism in England, as essentially the source of treason to the sovereign and the realm. And assuredly no pagan tyrant ever surpassed, nay, ever equalled James I. and his government, in their unspeakable atrocities against the Catholics.

How ferociously did the “Protestant” mind then invent its lucrative precautions against popery! As soon as the Parliament assembled after the Powder Action, all was animation—that animation which prevails

amongst the vultures of the desert over carrion. The first demonstration was entitled "An Act for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants." "Assuming that, amongst the Catholics, there were many who, to conceal their real principles, occasionally repaired to church, it began by ordaining that all recusants convict, who should already have conformed, or should hereafter conform, should, under a penalty of twenty pounds for the first, forty for the second, and sixty for every subsequent, omission, be bound, in addition to their attendance at divine service, to receive the sacrament, once at least every year, in the parish church. It then gave to the king the right of refusing, if he should think proper, the usual fine of twenty pounds per lunar month, for absence from church, and of taking, in its place, the whole of the personal, and two-thirds of the real, estate of the offender."¹ Then an oath was framed, to be taken by Catholics, as a test of their allegiance—against all the doctrines connected with the leading idea before mentioned—papal supremacy in all its ramifications. This oath was contrived chiefly by Archbishop Bancroft and Christopher Perkins, a renegade Jesuit. It had its intended effect, which was, to divide the Catholics about the lawfulness of taking it—to expose them to daily prosecutions in case of refusal—and endless misrepresentation, as disaffected persons, and of unsound principles with regard to the government.² Eighteen was the prescribed age for taking the oath: women who refused to swear it, if married, were to be imprisoned in a common gaol—all other individuals were subjected to the penalties of premunire, or anything and everything short of the penalty of

¹ Tierney, iv. 67.

² Dodd, iv. 70.

death. It was treason to give or receive absolution in confession—even beyond the seas! It was a penalty of 10*l.* per month to receive a visitor, or keep a servant who neglected to attend the service of the church. And another bill went forth, exceeding in cruelty all that had hitherto been devised for the oppression of the devoted Catholics. Pursuing them from the cradle to the grave, it entered into all the walks of life, it cast its shadow on the sacred privacies of every home, and, affecting its victims in all their varied capacities of husbands, wives, parents, children, patrons, executors, guardians, and members of the learned and liberal professions, in all and each it subjected them to penalties of the most grievous and inhuman description. Catholics were banished from the precincts of the Court: they were forbidden to remain within ten miles of the liberties of London, or even to move more than five miles from their residence, until they had made oath as to the cause of their journey, and obtained a written license from the neighbouring justices, the bishop, and lieutenant of the county. Catholics could not be lawyers, physicians, apothecaries, judges, clerks, stewards—in a word, they were debarred from every office of trust or emolument in the commonwealth. If the Catholic wife of a Protestant husband was convicted of not having received the Protestant sacrament in the parish church, during the year preceding the death of her husband, she was condemned to forfeit two-thirds of her dower—was deprived of her interest in two-thirds of her jointure—and rendered incapable either of acting as executrix to her husband, or of claiming any portion of her husband's property. If the child of a Catholic was not baptised by a Protestant minister, its parents were fined 100*l.*

All children sent abroad, all Catholics going beyond the seas, without special license, were, by the very fact, divested of all their rights of inheritance, legacies and gifts included—until they returned and swore the oath of allegiance:—meanwhile the next *Protestant* heir enjoyed their property. And the Solomon of England goaded the cruelty of this so-called Protestant parliament by his “meditation” and suggestions against the “papists, old, rooted, and rotten,” as he called them—who were “to be sifted by oaths.” “Take care of marriages and christenings,” he said—“Nip them in the bud—the beginning of procreation, the action—priests in hold [in prison] to be banished within a time—after that, the law to be executed with all severity.”¹ Such was the tail-piece of the Powder Action, to the Catholics—a product scarcely less horrible—a worthy child of the “monstrous, rare, nay, never-heard-of treacherous attempt,”—for, when we contemplate the ramified iniquity of those enactments, it requires no casuistry to decide the preponderating guilt of those who, under the pretext of a crime intended by a few desperate wretches, inflicted such frightful vengeance on the whole body of Catholics, whose innocence of the plot the king had acknowledged.

Then ensued the famous contest amongst the Catholic leaders, as to the legality of taking the oath of allegiance, concocted by the Protestant archbishop and the renegade Jesuit. Father Parsons, ever on the watch for his prey, seized the opportunity for vengeance. As soon as the oath was mentioned—before it had been adopted by Parliament—and consequently before he could have known what it really contained, Parsons addressed a

¹ Journals of the House of Commons, i. 265 ; Tierney, iv. 67—69.

memorial to Bellarmine, declaring that the oath was actually taken from the writings of *the appellants' priests* ! He requested the cardinal not only to compel Cecil and Champney, two of the appellants then at Rome, to subscribe and send to England a written protestation against the oath, but also to exert his influence in procuring a formal sentence, declaring the doctrine which denied the temporal authority of the pope, to be false and heretical. And this unprincipled man went further still : he blushed not to state his reasons for advising these measures against Cecil and Champney. It is not the doctrine contained, or supposed to be contained, in the oath ; it is not the necessity of counteracting the effects of the alleged writings on the subject ; but actually that the king may be induced by this forced or entrapped demonstration of the appellants, to withdraw the partial indulgence which he is supposed to have conceded to some of the seculars—in order that, on this subject at least, the king and his council should have an equal motive for *unsparing severity against all*.¹ In effect, however, Blackwell himself, the archpriest, “submitted to the oath” or “pronounced in favour of its

¹ Tierney, iv. 70. “ Accioche, visto [il scritto] del rè e delli suoi consiglieri, intendessero che tutti sacerdoti sono del medesimo parere in questa materia, e così non potrebbero perseguitare l'uni più che l'altri per questa causa.” See the Memorial apud Tierney, iv. Append. xxiii. Parsons actually states that the identical oath was presented by the agents of the archpriest in 1602, to the Inquisition, and that the appellants had promised to condemn its doctrine—had failed to do so—nay, had spread the doctrine “in the thousand books in the hands of the Catholics, making an impression on many.” He presented the memorial in the name of Harrison, the archpriest's agent, and had the conscience to conclude with saying that “the poor, most afflicted Catholics would feel obliged to Bellarmine for this *good office*”—and states that he has named in the margin the eleven or twelve books containing the doctrine alluded to—and, of course, the substance of the oath to be denounced—though he knew nothing of its nature. His letter is dated at Rome, May 18th, and the bill containing the oath was not passed until nine days after, in London.

lawfulness," and took it in the following year. Several of the clergy and laity followed his example. But when a copy of the oath was sent to Rome, two breves, or apostolic letters, were directed by his Holiness to the English Catholics, condemning the oath as unlawful. Several recanted upon this intimation; but still there was a party that not only stood to their former resolution, but confirmed the practice by learned treatises, which they published on the subject. These called forth replies, both at home and abroad, from the missionaries and foreign divines, who opposed the oath of allegiance, or its peculiar denunciation of the papal prerogatives. Bellarmine, Parsons, and other Jesuits, were the leading manufacturers of arguments against the test, whilst the Catholics in England literally "knew not what to do," in the confusion of their leaders and guides unto destruction. Some of them prepared to leave the kingdom, flying from the rushing storm of persecution—whilst many, roused to energy by the cruelty intended to oppress them, flung aside the indifference which had hitherto concealed their belief, and boldly avowed their religion to the world. Still, "there wanted not individuals, who, to escape the new penalties, were willing to comply with many of the provisions of the new statutes."¹ The lawfulness of the oath was the grand contention. The clergy were divided in their opinions. Some maintained that it might be taken as it stood—others that reservations or protestations might be adopted to save the pope's authority—whilst a third party denounced it unconditionally. And, of course, there was not wanting a Jesuit, Father Nicholas Smith, who "held that the whole oath might be taken with

¹ Thus, according to Boderie and Mr. Tierney, but stronger avowals are forthcoming on this important *time of trial*.

equivocation, because he thought no part of it was against faith.”¹ What is most curious in this lamentable confusion of tongues, is, that the archpriest was, at first, amongst the most violent opponents of the oath—resisted every effort, whether of reason or persuasion, in its favour, until “suddenly a new light flashed upon his mind, and he at once became as zealous in its advocacy, as he had before been vehement in its condemnation.”² New lights are always admirable ; but their construction and chemical analysis should always be given, in order to enhance our admiration of the beautiful result. It appears, then, that the archpriest was completely worn out by his troubles and the contentions, with which he was surrounded in his venerable old age. “Some more effectual order were needful,” wrote the Jesuit Holtby to Parsons, “to stay so many wanton and presumptuous wits, as, upon a conceit of learning and sufficiency where it is not, do attempt and set abroad their errors and scandalous inventions at pleasure. Neither will or dare the archpriest deal with such ; his powers being so limited, as he saith, and himself disgraced by former proceedings, that they bear no respect unto his office or person : whereby I do think him so discouraged that he list not to meddle with any belonging to his charge ; but rather live in obscurity, and suffer all to run as they list—albeit in the oath I found him too forward.”³ And in point of fact, the archpriest seems to have made a virtue of necessity ; for only listen to the same Jesuit urging that “our humble suit must be directed unto Signore Paul [the pope], in the greatest scandal and

¹ Letter of Mush, apud Tierney, iv. Append. xxxiii. ² Tierney, iv. 73, note.

³ Stonyhurst MSS. Ang. A. iii. 71, apud Tierney, *ubi supra*. Holtby writes under the assumed name of North, Oct. 30, 1606.

downfall that, this many years, hath happened, or could come unto our nation, or have blemished the glory of our springing revived church." "So it is," says he, "that, partly by the doctrine of approving the oath, and much more of allowing and *defending* our long-abhorred church-going, we are brought into that estate, that we fear, in short time—*ne lucerna nostra prorsus extingatur* [lest our lamp be completely put out]. Neither let our friends think that we speak this, to amplify the matter; for, no doubt, the case is more lamentable than we could have imagined or expected; for now, not only weak persons here and there, upon fear of temporal losses, do relent from their constancy, but whole countries and shires run headlong, without scruple, unto heretics' churches to service and sermons, as a thing most lawful; being emboldened thereunto by the warrant of their pastors and spiritual guides, who, upon a sudden, it seemeth, voluntarily, and presuming upon their own wits, daily degenerate into false prophets or wolves,—*quorum Coripheus est ille Thomas Carpentarius, vel Wright, de quo jam aliàs sæpè* [whose ring-leader is that Thomas Carpenter, or Wright, concerning whom I have often elsewhere enlarged]. And lest that his doctrine might be suspected, for want of authority, he is contented to authorise and confirm the same by his own example:—and it is verified among them,—'*si videbas furem, currebas cum eo; et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas*'" [when thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers].¹

This is certainly no very favourable account of Catholic orthodoxy in England, after the boastful operation for

¹ Apud Tierney, iv., Append. xxiv.

so many years, by Allen's preservative priests and the Jesuits. In effect, all the Catholic peers, with the single exception of Lord Teynham who eluded it, repeatedly and spontaneously took the oath in the House of Lords ;¹ and in the first year, there were only 1944 recusants out of the whole Catholic population—the vast majority of whom were of the lower ranks (to their honour be it recorded, in their conscientious refusal, if such it was)—there being among them only two knights—one of whom afterwards conformed—three esquires, and forty-five gentlemen.² These last facts bear hard upon the Jesuits, for it was their boast that the gentry and nobility were exclusively under *their* guidance.³

We must, of course, remember that the Jesuit, Father Nicholas Smith advocated equivocation in the very delicate matter. And here we may pause—and be permitted to ask this important question—of what moral or “religious” advantage have these missionaries and Jesuits been to the Catholic cause in England? The lamp which they had lighted up—or rather, the incendiary strife they had roused—with incalculable calamity to the scape-goat Catholics, was likely to be utterly extinguished in the moment of vigorous persecution. What the desultory severities of Elizabeth could not effect, the money-screwing, persevering Scotchmen achieved without difficulty—driving the scape-goats of the priests, monks, and Jesuits, to abjure the grand idea, papal supremacy—yea “whole countries and shires, headlong, without scruple,” to the churches and sermons

¹ Tierney, *ubi supra*, and Lingard, ix.

² Recusant Papers, No. 437 ; Tierney, *ubi supra*.

³ Tierney, *ubi supra*, referring to Parsons.

of the Protestants—perhaps the most humiliating feature of this general prevarication. But, in excuse of these wretched Catholics, I ask, how could it be otherwise? Their “pastors and spiritual guides” led the way: they who started originally with fervid opposition to this very “long-abhorred church-going” now give a “warrant thereunto,” and that, too, “voluntarily”! Thus did that selfish, rash, bad scheme eventuate its own humiliation—its own retribution. And it is very pleasant to behold the result. It is very pleasant to see proverbs come to pass—saying that “Confidence in unfaithful men in a time of trouble, is like a broken tooth, and a foot out of joint.” In fact these men “troubled their own house,” and consequently, they “inherited the wind,”—a most appropriate portion for the roaring bellows of sedition.

Meanwhile, the English Jesuits in Flanders, feeling quite secure in their snug colleges, resolved to speculate on the vocations for martyrdom that might still be lingering among the dying lamps of the church in Britain. They urged the pope, Paul V., to lay aside his forbearance towards the English monarch. Henry IV. of France, on the contrary, admonished the pope to cling to conciliating measures, to refrain from every exasperating demonstration, to give no pretext to James for the adoption of measures which might ultimately prove fatal to the existence of the Catholic religion in England.¹ Under the disguise of messenger from the Duke of Lorraine, a secret envoy was dispatched by the pope to England, with letters to the archpriest, prohibiting all seditious and treasonable practices, and to King James, soliciting his interposition between the indiscri-

¹ Tierney, iv. 74; Boderie, i. 150.

minate vengeance of the legislature, and the unoffending body of the Catholics. James affected a kind reception to the envoy, gave him the gratuity usual on such occasions, but dismissed him with words signifying nothing for the pope.¹ So far the pope had complied with the request of the Roman Huguenot ; and when he found that James had his reasons for pursuing his scheme against the Catholics, the pope should have still kept the politician's advice, or if he wished to be doing something, he should have resorted to masses, fastings, scourgings, litanies, and Jesuit-novenas ; in short, to anything rather than "make bad worse." But unfortunately, as the evil genius of the English Catholics would have it, almost at the very moment when the envoy returned to his master, two Jesuits, the deputies of the Belgian province, arrived at the Roman court. They brought an address to the pope : they came "to rouse him to the adoption of some speedy and energetic measures against the English king."² Paul was not disposed to resist the stirring appeal. He struggled a moment—human nature got the better, or, rather, the worse of him—and, in that evil hour, "he yielded to the clamours by which he was assailed." He signed a breve, forbidding all Catholics to attend the Protestant churches, and pronouncing the oath to be unlawful—"containing many things contrary to faith and salvation."³ So far Mr. Tierney : but this unconscionable Jesuit-ridden pope actually delivered himself as follows to the Anglo-Catholics :—"Wherefore we admonish you, altogether to refrain from taking this and similar oaths—which conduct we the more intensely exact from you, because,

¹ Lingard, ix. 76 ; Tierney, *ubi supra*. ; Boderie, 284, 300, 327.

² Tierney, iv. 74.

³ See the breve, apud Tierney, iv. Append. xxv.

having experienced the firmness of your faith, which, like gold in the furnace, hath been proved in the fire of your perpetual tribulation, *we know* that you will cheerfully endure more atrocious torments whatsoever, yea, will firmly seek death itself, rather than offend, in anything, the majesty of God. And our confidence is confirmed by the daily reports which we receive of your great virtue and fortitude, which, not otherwise than at the beginning of the Church, shine forth in these times, in your martyrdoms." Now, compare this arrant balderdash with the Jesuit Holtby's account of affairs, written about nine weeks before the pope made himself the mouthpiece of this most unreasonable and cruel misrepresentation. Recall to mind "the greatest scandal and downfall that, this many years, hath happened," "the blemished glory of our springing revived Church," "approving the oath," "defending our long-abhorred church-going,"—in fact, "the lamp put out,"—"whole countries and shires running headlong, without scruple, unto heretics' churches, &c.,"—through "fear of temporal losses," "without scruple,"—yea, "as a thing most lawful," "emboldened by the warrant of their pastors and spiritual guides,"—the "false prophets or wolves." Now, was it not too bad to call upon men who had the good sense, at least, to eschew martyrdom on the fair principle that "When doctors disagree, their disciples are free,"—to call upon such men, I say, "cheerfully to endure more atrocious torments whatsoever, yea, firmly to seek death itself, rather than offend, in anything, the majesty of God,"—which majesty was nothing more than the despicable pretensions and prerogatives of the Roman pontiff? The whole affair was evidently the contrivance of the religious demoniac Parsons, whose

implacable hatred of the appellants made him reckless of means to involve them in the general ruin of the English Church. What he wished Bellarmine to do, even before he knew the nature of the oath, is now achieved by his faction, and the result was according to his heart's desire.

The breve was conveyed to the archpriest, Blackwell, by the very Jesuit, Holtby, whose description of the English church has just been contrasted with its foreign misrepresentation. Blackwell would not publish the instrument, for, as he candidly said, "he would not thrust his head into the halter wilfully."¹ His caution was a back-wind to the Jesuits in England—"I would to God," wrote one of them to Parsons, "that the customer [the archpriest] would inform of all such matters as belong to him: for his silence doth argue a kind of neglect of the points; and our information maketh us more hated of the estate and secular priests."² Thus was their wicked craft punished by itself. It was, doubtless, by *their* "information" that the government heard of the breve's arrival. From the first, James had been made acquainted with the fact that the Jesuits were the machinators of the instrument; and he now proceeded to manifest his resentment by ordering the oath to be indiscriminately administered to all Catholics.³ This proceeding was downright, unjust folly:—he should have confined his indignation to the priests and the Jesuits, but mostly to the latter—not, indeed, by the horrible penalty of death, but simply by ejection—by a positively universal, incessant, scouring of the land,

¹ See his Fifth Examination, Tierney, iv. Append. xxvi.

² Blount to Parsons, Dec. 7, 1606, apud Tierney, *ubi suprâ*.

³ Boderie, i. 201; Tierney, iv. 74.

driving out the pernicious incendiaries back to their pope—meanwhile lavishing every kindness on his Catholic people—raising them from their crime-generating degradation—and encouraging that tendency to sensible loyalty, which they had begun to exhibit. The penalty of death should have been utterly discarded. He might be sure that it would be styled “martyrdom,” and would generate a positive necessity for the repetition of the criminal absurdity. Utter contempt is the most effectual extinguisher of calculating rogues under the cloak of religion. Had Elizabeth or James published an edict menacing to brand the incendiary Pharisees, with the initial letter of Rogue on their foreheads, a single sample would have had the effect like that of letting loose a tarred rat in a barn infested with the vermin. James resorted to the usual Roman and Spanish method—for two bad reasons, bigotry and *want of money*.

As the King of France had predicted, the persecution raged with renewed fury. Two priests were apprehended and condemned to death, for returning into the realm ;—but they were spared at the intercession of the French ambassador and the Prince de Joinville. A third, who happened to have in his pocket a letter written by Parsons against the oath, was executed on that account, without mercy—in spite of the entreaties of the French ambassador. Was that fact a pang, or a consolation to the ruthless Jesuit hectoring afar? He probably shrugged his shoulders—and wrote another letter :—for his jackall in England wrote to him, saying : “These naughty priests afflict us very much ; for, besides Skidmore, the Bishop of Canterbury’s man, Rouse, Atkinson, Gravener, and other relapsed, which openly profess to

betray their brethren, others are no less dangerous, which persuade a lawfulness of going to sermons and to service, by which means many worldlings, to save their temporals, are contented to follow their counsel ; and not only that, but justify the fact also.”¹ It is necessary to state that this letter was written to Parsons by Blount, about three months after the date of the papal breve, i. e., the Jesuit breve, Parsons’s breve with the pope’s sanction. And in the council of Father Parsons, it was woe to “these naughty priests !”

As the Jesuits had stirred up this new pretext for the Scotchman and his people, to persecute the Catholics, so were they the first to wish for peace once more, being in constant peril of their lives. The plan they devised for propitiating the king, seems to have been suggested to them by a fable of Æsop misunderstood, the one in which a man tries to propitiate a savage dog by throwing him a bone :—of course it proved but a premium on the dog’s ferocity—but the ferocity of the government was attributed to the right motives, when the Jesuits offered to buy exemption from martyrdom, with a sum of money. Humiliating as is the imputation to the government, it is, nevertheless, most gratifying thus to find that these Jesuits and others perfectly knew that the religion of Protestants had nothing in reality to do with the persecution. By offering a bribe, they showed their estimate of the base motives which led to the lucrative persecution. “You shall understand,” writes Jesuit Blount to Parsons, “that the Lord William Howard and Father Blount are now busy with the ambassador of Spain for money, upon condition of some kind of peace with

¹ Blount to Parsons, *ut antea*.

Catholics : whereunto we are moved by *the lord chamberlain and his wife*, promising faithfully that some good shall be done for Catholics. The ambassador is willing to concur with money. What the end will be is very doubtful ; because *Salisbury* [of Garnet-notoriety] will resist : *yet such is the want of money* with the chamberlain, at this time (whose expenses are infinite), that either Salisbury must supply, or else he must needs break with them, and trust to this refuge. Besides, the chancellor doth much desire to thrust out all the Scottish, of whom they begin to be afraid ; seeing now by experience that, if the Catholics go down, the Scottish step into their place ; for which cause, the very Puritans in the Parliament say plainly, if they had thought the Scottish should have had *the forfeitures, the laws should not have been passed.*" (!)¹ Little more is wanting to display in all their bearings the policy and attitude of the "Protestant" party, at the time, as opposed to the "Catholic" party—both actuated by precisely the same motives—utter selfishness varnished with their respective "religion." "All heats about prerogative and privilege were now laid aside : the pulpits and our universities rang with declamations against the heresies and usurpations of the Church of Rome ; and now the king gave himself wholly to hunting, plays, masques, balls, and writing against Bellarmine, and the pope's supremacy, in arrogating a power over kings, and disposing of their kingdoms But whilst the king was thus wallowing in pleasure, he wholly gave himself up to be governed by favourites, to whom he was, above any other king of England (except Henry VIII.) excessively prodigal, not only in honours and offices, but of the revenues of

¹ Blount to Parsons, *ut antea*.

the crown, and aids given in Parliament, and these being of both nations, Scotch as well as English, made them to be the more intolerable:—all things being at peace abroad, public affairs were neglected or scarce thought of, whilst the Dutch still grew more powerful at sea, and without any aid from the king, were matches for the King of Spain by land; and Henry IV. of France was accumulating incredible treasure at home, and laying the foundation of vast designs abroad, whereof the king took no notice—his genius lying another way,”—namely, “hunting, plays, masques, balls, and writing against Bellarmine and the pope’s supremacy.”¹

Of course the Jesuits took care to notify the general disregard paid to the papal breve. No one doubted its origin, and many suspected its authenticity in consequence: if many refused, many consented to take the obnoxious oath. Another breve was expedited. What a contrast in the wording! The pope is made to pretend to think that he was quite astonished at the result—*perturbavit sanè nos hic nuncius*. And, as a matter of course, he shifts the blame from the good sense of Englishmen, to the everlasting devil, to whose “craft and fraud” the papal breve attributes their transgression.² And the pope confirmed the preceding instrument, and enjoined all Catholics to accept and abide by the previous prohibition—one of those spasmodic perversities for which resisted churchmen have ever been so famous.

Ere the breve reached England, the archpriest had fallen into the hands of the pursuivants, and was in prison; and he had not only taken the oath, but had

¹ Coke, Detection, i. 49.
VOL. III.

² See the Breve, Tierney, iv. Append. xxviii.

also, by a public letter, recommended his people to follow his example, in the plainest terms of earnest exhortation, saying:—"So shall we shake off the false and grievous imputations of treasons and treacheries: so shall lay Catholics not overthrow their estates: so shall we effect that which his Holiness desireth, that is, to exhibit our duties to God and our prince,"—which last was evidently not the result literally flowing from the papal breve. Bellarmine and Parsons pounced on the poor old gentleman, urging upon him "the grievousness of his transgression." All to no purpose whatever. "He had sworn," he said, "in the sense of the law-giver: he had sworn in the sense avowed by himself, and accepted by the magistrate: he had denied, not the spiritual authority, but the temporal pretensions, of the pontiff, and, in so doing, he was warranted as well by the decisions of divines, as by the necessity of alleviating, if possible, the sufferings of his persecuted flock." He was consequently deposed from his office, and Birkhead was appointed archpriest of the distracted Catholics. Blackwell, now in his seventieth year, languished in prison till his death, in 1613.¹

Then it was that *Maitre Jacques*, the Solomon of England, sailed into the Babelmandeb of controversy. By the help of his divines, he got up a tract, entitled "An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance," and, by way of fortifying the argument, six priests were condemned and three of them executed at York and Tyburn.² Parsons and Bellarmine betowed answers to his Apologie, and distracted his royal brains with their buzzing controversy. Again he closeted himself with his divines, revised his lucu-

¹ Tierney, iv. 75; Lingard, ix. 77; Boderie, ii.; Butler, ii.

² Lingard, ix. 78; Boderie, iii.: Challoner, ii.

bration, prefixed to it a "Premonition to all Christian Princes;" but, changing, improving, disputing, debating with his theological oracles, he could come to no satisfactory result, capable of fronting the two Jesuits on the contemptible field of controversy. Henry IV. pitied Master Jacques, and advised him, for the sake of his dignity, to desist from a contest so unworthy of a royal head. The King of Denmark offered the same respectable advice; but, whilst the pedant was sagacious enough not to insult the King of France for his admonition, he presumed to administer castigation to the little King of Denmark, telling him to blush for his folly in offering advice to a prince so much older and wiser than himself. The queen tried to check the royal infatuation of her husband, but in vain, and turned her displeasure against Salisbury, whom she suspected of encouraging her husband in this pursuit, that he might govern the kingdom at his pleasure. No doubt, however, that James's notion that he knew more theology than all the doctors in the world, was sufficient without the least encouragement from his crafty flatterers. Difficult was the parturition, however; and, at the moment of birth, the new "princely gift" was suppressed; a new light had shot through his brain—he called in the copies, again revised, corrected, and altered the trifle,—after softening down the argumented assertion that the pope was Antichrist, which title he now declared contingent on the continuance of his pretensions to temporal dominion over princes. To various princes of Europe he sent copies of his book, by special messengers:—most of them accepted it as a compliment: but the King of Spain and the archduke peremptorily refused the royal platitude—which their political

bigotry should have permitted them to receive with a smile of commiseration.¹ How different was the beautiful gratitude of Matthews, the Archbishop of York, who actually threw himself upon his knees to receive his copies from the messenger, kissed them, promised to keep them as the apple of his eye, and to read them over and over again—a memorable display of devotion which he probably never vouchsafed to his Bible. And then began the mighty battle of croaking frogs, singing their old and everlasting war-song in the swamps of controversy. Protestant divines, Romish theologians, Jesuits and seculars, scribbled their foolscap with astonishing vigour and fertility—the former under the wing of the royal bird—not the *eagle*—the latter under the cloak of Bellarmine and Parsons. The controversy continued to agitate the Catholics during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and still left the ridiculous question about papal supremacy, to die that natural death which, in the course of time, never fails to extinguish, or at least to render innocuous, the pernicious or absurd concoctions of ignorance and craft.²

But James had to do with crafty antagonists—veteran controversialists, who never scruple to resort to every and any expedient for the subversion of an opponent. The reader is aware of James's early connection with the Catholics, the Jesuits, the King of Spain, and the Pope of Rome,—a connection as insincere and crafty on *his* part, as it was crafty and calculating on the part of those who thought they could entrap the Scotchman into

¹ It was full of dissertations on the vials in the Apocalypse, which made the French ambassador declare that the book was "the silliest and most pernicious that was ever written on such a subject."—*Boderie*, iv. 302; *Lingard*, ix. 79.

² *Lingard*, ix. 78, *et seq.*; *Boderie*, iv. 319; *Winwood*, iii.; *Birch*, 298, *et seq.*; *Dalrymple*, Memorials, p. 13; *Tierney*, iv. 75.

their treasonable scheme against Elizabeth. The intriguers were first punished, as we have seen—by the utter failure of all their schemes and machinations. This was precisely as it ought to be :—but the craft and tricks of the Scotchman deserved punishment, no less ; and it was now inflicted, the more intensely because in the very exultation of his despicable vanity. Bellarmine published a letter written by the king himself, to Pope Clement VIII., in 1599, in which he solicited the dignity of cardinal for a Scottish Catholic, and subscribed himself—*Beatitudinis vestræ obsequentissimus filius. J. R.*—“Your Holiness’s most obedient son. James R.” This was a stroke for which James was not prepared. At first he sank under it,—convicted of duplicity or perfidy in the eyes of all Europe. As his only resource he determined to deny the fact. Balmerino, his secretary at the time, was summoned before the council ; and after several examinations, at the last of which the king attended unseen, yet within hearing, he consented to acknowledge that he had artfully procured the royal signature to the letter, but at the same time had kept his sovereign in ignorance both of its contents and of its address!¹ Such was the deed, and such was the infinitely more disgraceful artifice resorted to, in order to cover the humiliation of the “Protestant” King of England, now undertaking to prove the pope to be Antichrist.

¹ Lingard, ix. 398. “He (Balmerino) confessed simulatly, as was thought by those that best understood the court, and how matters then went, to liberate the king of such grossness.”—*Balfour*, ii. 29. See Lingard’s conclusive remarks and facts against the credibility of the king’s denial, and the artifice contrived for his exculpation. Of course there is nothing wonderful in the original application to the pope : we shall soon find a much more modern Protestant king of England lending himself to a similar transaction.

Meanwhile the great body of the Catholics smarted for this madness of their spiritual and temporal rulers. Blackwell's example, in taking the oath, had been followed by several among the clergy, and by numbers in all parts of the kingdom. By the majority of the clergy these persons were regarded as schismatics, and were refused the benefit of the sacraments ; they applied to Blackwell and the other prisoners in the Clink, and obtained what the opponents of the oath had withheld. Thus a schism was formed in the suffering remnant of the Catholic church in England. The new archpriest, Birkhead, threatened to inflict the penalties of disobedience to the papal mandate : he was disregarded by the dissidents : their resolution remained unshaken. "Obedience was not the question, they said : the oath was lawful in itself : the declaration of the pope was insufficient to render it unlawful. Irritated by the publication of the breves in his kingdom, the king enforced still more vigorously the oath of allegiance : three priests who refused to take it, were condemned to the gallows. The archpriest naturally shrunk from the responsibility of aggravating the resentment, thus awfully manifested against his brethren. Yet the zealots of his communion urged him to proceed. The more violent charged him with abetting "the Clinkers," or prisoners in the Clink ; the more unscrupulous, or reckless, hesitated not to carry their accusations to Rome, and denounced both him and his assistants, as the approvers of the oath ; and, in spite of all his representations, deprecating the horrible consequences to the Catholics, he was compelled to proceed against the dissidents, and to declare that they were deprived of their faculties."

The pecuniary penalties for recusancy were rigidly

enforced ; but this did not satisfy the fanatical Protestants, and in 1610, all Catholics were ordered to quit London within a month, and all priests and Jesuits were commanded to leave the kingdom within the same period. The Oath ! The Oath ! or your money ! was the universal summons of the legal footpads and highway robbers. “If matters proceed in execution as the Parliament hath defined, there will be no means for a Catholic to live in this realm. They must now pay for their wives 10*l.* a month. Every fortnight the justices are to offer the oath ; which I fear, will cause a number to stagger. All justices must be sworn to execute the laws against us. Men must bring in their recusant wives (noblemen to the bishops, and all other to the justices) ; and so be put in prison, and *their husbands shall have free liberty to relinquish them !*”¹

Strongly as we must abhor and denounce these iniquities on the part of the government, still, can we be blind to the remorseless iniquity of Rome and the Jesuit faction, for *their* share, their instrumentality in pouring these vials of wrath on the wretched Catholics of England ? They appealed to the pitiless Moloch. “In the most affecting terms,” says the Catholic Tierney, “eight clergymen, prisoners in Newgate, described the sufferings endured by themselves and their people, for the refusal of the oath. They spoke of the gaols crowded with inmates, the scaffolds flowing with the blood of victims. They implored the chief pastor, by the blood of the martyrs and by the bowels of their Redeemer, to take pity on them in their affliction, and to specify those parts of the oath which rendered it unlawful to be taken.

¹ Fragment of an original letter by Birkhead, apud Tierney, iv. 77.

To this appeal, so touching, so just, so reasonable, *no answer was returned.*"¹

The Jesuit Gaston Pardies describes an experiment which consisted in cutting up a certain insect into various pieces, in order to prove the independent and organic vitality of each separated portion, which still continued to move, after the cruel dissection; and the Jesuit tells us that "he has often tried a similar experiment with much pleasure."² I believe that the case exactly applies to Pope Paul V., to Parsons and his faction, in their pitiless conduct towards the Catholics of England. And did they "think they had a good conscience," the while? *God* only knows; but I doubt the possibility. They, "with necessity, the tyrant's plea, excused their devilish deeds."

Nor was it only in making trouble in eventuating calamity for the Catholics and their clergy, that the bad

¹ Tierney, iv. 78. "The court of Rome, as Bossuet observes, was afraid lest explanation might overthrow its claims to temporal jurisdiction (*Defens. Declar. Cleri. Gallic. lib. viii. c. xxiii.*); and James, therefore, was still left to upbraid the pope for a silence, as unwise in regard of the government, as it was injurious to the interests of the Catholics:—"In this respect," says the monarch, 'he hath dealt both indiscreetly with me, and injuriously with his own Catholics;—with me, in not refuting particularly what special words he quarrelled with in that oath; which, if he had done, it might have been that, for the fatherly care I have, not to put any of my subjects to a needless extremity, I might have been contented in some sort to have reformed or interpreted those words: with his own Catholics, for either, if I had so done, they had been thereby fully eased in that business, or, at least, if I would not have condescended to have altered anything in the said oath, yet would thereby some appearance or shadow of excuse have been left unto them for refusing the same; not as seeming thereby to swerve from their obedience and allegiance unto me, but only being stayed from taking the same, upon the scrupulous tenderness of their consciences, in regard of those particular words, which the pope had noted and condemned therein.' (*Apologie for the Oath*). Whatever may have been the insincerity of James, it is painful to reflect on the truth of these remarks."—Tierney, iv. 78.

² *De la Connoissance des Bestes*, p. 90. "J'ay fait souvent une semblable expérience avec bien du plaisir." Ed. Paris, 1678.

passions of the rough-natured Parsons were displayed : the rival missionaries of England, the Benedictine monks in Spain, experienced the jealous rancour of his heart, in ceaseless opposition, and he found eager abettors in his Company. So determined was the opposition made to these monks in their design of establishing a mission in England, that they found it necessary to appeal to the doctors of Salamanca, for a declaration that they were competent, as monks, to preach salvation to the Catholics of England—a prerogative which the Jesuits would confine to themselves and those whom they hoped to govern as they listed. It was decided in favour of the monks : but this only tended to increase their opposition, and made them louder in their complaints. They appealed to the nuncio. They addressed the people. They called on the council of state to interfere and prevent the establishment of the proposed mission ;—and it was not until the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, after a careful examination of the several charges made by the Jesuits, had pronounced the allegations to be false, and the design of the mission to be meritorious, that they could be induced to suspend their hostility, and permit the scheme to be carried into execution.¹

Parsons was sinking into the grave ; but he was himself to the last ; and his last public displays against his own religionists was strikingly similar to the treatment he experienced at Oxford, out of which he emerged a Jesuit. The Benedictines of Douay awakened the jealousy of the Company, and Parsons resolved to “swindge” and “trim” them in his usual style of unmeasured abuse and imputation. Like the wolf in the fable, he said, “they hated the Jesuits—that they had

¹ Tierney, iv. 88.

slandered the Company.” The fact was, that Parsons and his Jesuits coveted a monopoly of the mission. The monks appealed to the pope in a memorial, proving that the statements of Parsons were either false or frivolous ; and they were fortunate enough by their patronage, at least, to get a verdict from the pope, who issued two decrees, confirming their establishment at Douay,—enjoining both parties to lay aside the memory of past dissensions, forbidding the Benedictines to withdraw the students from the seminaries, and prohibiting the Jesuits from dissuading or hindering them from joining the monks—the two everlasting bones of contention among these martyr-making evangelists.¹

It must be remembered that, with the exception of Douay College, all the seminaries for the sacerdotal supply of the English mission, were under the direction of the Jesuits. A certificate from the rectors was required to attest the qualifications of the candidates, and thus the clergy were placed in subjection to the Jesuits. Those rectors were frequently changed, and

¹ Tierney, iv. 88. By way of a specimen of the spirit which actuated these men, take the following in a letter written by a Dr. Singleton, a partisan of the Jesuits, on the affair of Douay : “ You must understand that the Benedictines in England receive, as they call them, many *donates* in England, and omit nothing to make themselves populous and a great multitude, *imagining to do by numbers what they cannot by virtue*. There is, at this time, come over about bishops, Dr. Smith and Thomas Moore, and another who went away by Rouen to Father Bennet, a Capuchin, to draw him to their bend . . . They are desperate ; for they give out that they will not return homeward to England again, unless they prevail. It is thought that they are accompanied with my Lord Mountacute’s letters (and God grant not others !), to deal for the removing of the fathers [the Jesuits] out of England ; and are to make large offers, from those which never intend to perform any of them, to compass what they desire. These men are yet but at Paris, in their journey : with them Mr. Doctor Norton is to encounter [*i. e.* the appointed opponent on the Jesuit side], who, for that purpose, is either gone, or to go presently, from Pont-a-Mousson towards Rome. We, here in Flanders, provide to prevent their intended plots, by our letters with the first post.”—*Apud Tierney*, iv. Append. xl.

thus certificates were obtained from persons attesting the fitness of candidates whom they had never seen. Even at Douay, though ostensibly under the clergy, the Jesuits contrived to give the law. It was governed by a Dr. Worthington, well known as a blind and unyielding partisan of the Jesuits—a man who had placed himself by a vow at the absolute disposal of Parsons,¹ and therefore was promoted to the government of that seminary by the interest and direction of that Jesuit. It was a significant prelude of the usual consequences when this new president proceeded at once to discard the actual confessor of the house, and to substitute a Jesuit in his place. By degrees, the old professors were removed, by the direction of Parsons: the ancient institution of theological lectures was abolished: youths, only just emerging from their studies, were taken from the schools and thrust into the chairs of divinity; and, whilst men, notorious for their party predilections, were associated with the president in the management of the

¹ This Dr. Worthington, writing to Parsons, in 1597, thus announces the fact on which he doubtless speculated for advancement: "I appointed myself two years for probation, to the imitation of your Society, meaning and purposing, in the end of the same two years, to bind myself by like vow unto your reverence, as before I had done to the good cardinal [Allen]; which vow, this last feast of the same St. Thomas, I have confirmed (I thank God for it) by vow and promise to God—in *manu confessorii*—[in the hands of my confessor], who was the rector of your college in Louvain, who only knoweth this my vow as yet, and no other mortal creature And as for your accepting of this charge over me, I told my said ghostly father that I would now signify it unto you, and desire you so to accept me, and that I trust that, of your charity, you so will; if not, I will, notwithstanding, for lack of your direction, endeavour to follow your inclination, so far as I can learn it, in all mine actions of importance. He advised me to write my vow, and keep it with myself; which I have done, and here declared to you the sum and substance thereof. Now, in all dutiful humility, I beseech you, for God's sake, thus to accept me into your particular charge, to direct, command, and govern me, as your subject in God."—*Original, apud Tierney, v. Append. v.* During the dispute concerning the Jesuit Holt, this Worthington "acquired some unenviable notoriety," says Tierney, v. p. 5.

house, a negotiation was actually opened, or believed to have been opened, with a view to surrender the establishment to the Company.¹

In the meantime, the effects of these and other innovations, introduced under the authority of this clerical Jesuit, were already exhibited in England. Subjected to no probation, trained to no discipline, the scholars were, in many instances, dispatched "with the hasty gleanings of a few weeks' or months' instruction, to enter on the duties of the mission."² As they came without learning, so they not unfrequently came without virtue and without religion. Scandals of course ensued. The enemies of religion looked down with triumph on what was passing: the *adversaries of the clergy* pointed to the weaknesses or delinquencies of their brethren, and, mingling truth with falsehood, exaggerating some things, insinuating others, carefully omitting to specify the names of the accused, sought to create a prejudice against the whole body of the secular priesthood." Thus writes the Catholic historian, but I must inform the reader that by "the adversaries of the clergy" he means the *Jesuit* faction in England. "Unfortunately," he continues, "they were but too successful. The Catholics, filled with a vague suspicion of danger, gradually closed their doors against every member of the clergy, with whom they were not personally

¹ Tierney, v. 5, with authorities.

² Tierney, v. 6. He says that the diary of Douay College furnishes abundant instances of this, and subjoins a few. "John Farmer received the sacrament of confirmation on the 22nd of March, 1605; three days later, he was admitted as an alumnus of the house, and received the four minor orders: on the following day he was made sub-deacon; on the 9th of April, deacon; on the 24th of the same month, priest; and on the 16th of May, he was dispatched to England on the mission."—*Diary*, i. 80, 82, 83. The other instances are precisely similar.

acquainted. To increase the evil, Dr. Worthington, from Douay, still continued to pour in his illiterate recruits. During the four years ending at Christmas, 1608, no less than forty-one priests were sent on the mission from the single college of Douay alone. It was in vain that the archpriest remonstrated; it was in vain that he pointed to the misery with which he was surrounded, to his inability to relieve the necessities of his present subjects, and to the danger of exposing men to want, in the midst of the persecution with which they were encompassed. Month after month fresh supplies of useless labourers arrived. Idleness and destitution, the necessity by which they found themselves compelled to live in the public hospitals, amongst the most dissolute characters, were now added to their other misfortunes. A feeling of recklessness grew up among many of them: apostacies and immoralities followed; and all the evils, resulting from the degradation of its ministers, seemed about to descend upon religion.”¹

¹ Tierney, v. 7. “*Coguntur vivere in publicis hospitaliis, inter dissolutissimæ vitæ personas.*”—*Mem. apud Tierney*. One of these hasty recruits, who was admitted at Douay in June, 1605, was ordained priest in the following December, and soon after sent on the mission, fell into the hands of the pursuivants, apostatised, became a servant in one of the cathedrals, committed an “odious felony”—and perished on the gallows. “A monstrous scandal it was,” says Birkhead, the archpriest, “yet known to very few in these parts. If he had been relieved at the first, he had never played that part; but finding no relief at all, he conversed at the first with heretics, and amongst them was debauched, and protested at his death that he was never infected with that abominable sin, until he joined with them.”—*Orig. apud Tierney*. But surely it was not necessary in those days to go and learn that “odious felony” and “abominable sin” among the *heretics*. The most modern curiosities on the subject will be found in Potter’s “*Mémoires de Scipion de Ricci*,” i. c. xiv.; and Borrow’s “*Bible in Spain*,” c. xvii.—“Heretics” have nothing to do with these instances. It appears that the Jesuits in England managed to finger “the great gobbets” of the collections made for the missionaries. When the priests applied for aid, they were told that the alms were to be bestowed “only upon the fathers.” This was particularly unfortunate if it led to the above calamities.

Is it possible to conceive a state of affairs more wretched and desperate! The whole body of the Catholics proscribed and tormented by the Protestants—eager to devour their substance and their souls: their spiritual guides blinded by partyism and the spirit of faction—or fettered by the Jesuits in the name of the pope—or sunk into that most dismal state of humanity, when poverty loses its self-respect by consenting unto crime. Yet have all these bitter calamities been entailed upon the Catholics of England by the missionary scheme of Allen, and the introduction of the Jesuits—to restore and “preserve” the religion of Rome in Britain. Step by step, link by link, the Catholic sorrows of England advanced, and were fastened upon the nation, with the progress of the senseless, the infatuated, the cruel speculation. It is now high time to come to a right conclusion—to form a right judgment on these historical facts, so important in the consideration of man’s destiny. In truth, to those who bitterly have asked, and still demand, Why are the results of Christianity everywhere so inconsistent with the example of Christ—the answer must be sought—not in the Christianity of Christ—but in that endlessly involved patchwork of sacerdotal, ecclesiastical, or church-selfishness, which has victimised humanity for ages. Who—which *party* will throw the first stone at *this* adulteress?

Neither persecution, nor poverty, nor vice could reconcile the Catholic parties of England among themselves. There seemed to be the curse of Cain upon the speculation—the curse of endless unrest, bitter enmities, that peculiar rancour which is the immortal child of religionism—irrational, petulant, reckless. Again the idea of getting a bishop among them, and thus getting

rid of Jesuit-domination, rose up to torment the seculars. In 1606 they sent two deputies to Rome to negotiate the transaction, on which they built the most sanguine hopes of deliverance from their woes,—simply because they had not as yet tried the experiment. “To Parsons,” says the Catholic historian, “to Parsons their arrival seemed to threaten the destruction of all his designs. In the first instance, indeed, he had adopted the scheme of an archpriest, for the purpose of promoting a political object. That object had failed; James had been quietly seated on the English throne; and Parsons, who had since been seeking to propitiate the monarch, might reasonably have been expected to abandon a device, *intended originally to exclude him*. But it is not thus easily that men are inclined to relinquish an advantage. If the project of an archpriest had failed in its political aim, it had, at least, insured independence to the body of which Parsons was a member. To revert now to an episcopal form of government, would have the effect of curtailing this independence. It would place the Jesuits, as well as the other regulars, under the control of the canons; and would thus materially affect their position and their influence among the Catholics of England. It was necessary, therefore, to resist the application, which Cecil and Champney, the two agents, were to make. Instead, however, of discussing their arguments, or debating the subject of their request, Parsons resolved, *as usual*, to assail their characters, and, if possible, to deprive them of the opportunity of executing their mission. With this view, therefore, he began by drawing up a memorial, to be presented to the pope as the address of the archpriest’s agent. In it, he denounced

the two deputies as the enemies of religion, spoke of one, in particular, as the calumniator of the Holy See ; and concluded by praying that Cecil, at least, might be immediately seized by the proper authorities, and compelled to give security for his appearance, to answer the several charges that were about to be preferred against him. Other memorials, in the same style and from the same pen, speedily followed. As students, it was said, the parties in question had been distinguished for their turbulence : as missionaries, they had been known only for their constant and familiar intercourse with the enemies of their faith. They were the friends of *heretics* : they were the agents and the emissaries of heretics : to heretics they had already betrayed the counsels of the Holy See ; and to heretics they would again become the useful instruments of mischief, unless, to prevent it, they were now placed upon their trial, and dealt with according to justice and the laws.¹ It does not appear that Parsons was gratified, in this instance, as in that of Bishop and Charnock, with the adoption of the extreme measures which he here suggests. But his principal object was obtained : the petition of the deputies was rejected ; and, for the present at least, the hopes of the clergy were once more defeated.”²

Still undiminished raged the furies of the mission. It was a night-mare dream fearfully realised—and Parsons was the incubus. The archpriest was placed between his seculars on the one hand, and the redoubtable Jesuit on the other—to the former he pledged himself not to consult the Jesuits in his government, as the papal breve had expressly stipulated—and yet to

¹ Parsons's Memorial to Paul V. The MS. is in Mr. Tierney's possession, and is published in his History, v. Append. v.

² Tierney, v. 10, *et seq.*

Parsons, it seems that he turned as conscious weakness turns to the terrible and remorseless attraction of a powerful but unscrupulous mind, whose will is indeed magnetic, electric, that is, incomprehensible. Entrapped by the fascination, which he could not resist, his conscience, as usual, suggested that the restrictions placed upon his predecessor, with regard to Jesuit-consultation, might not be binding on himself; and he wrote to Parsons stating his "doubt" and demanding *his* decision in the case of conscience. A "probable opinion" sped to the conquest. "Parsons saw that the opportunity had now arrived, for which he had long been waiting. In a letter, filled with expressions of the warmest attachment to his correspondent, he promised him to lay the matter before the pope, and in due season to acquaint him with the result. In the meantime, he exhorted him to dismiss his scruples; assuring him that, by consulting the fathers in the affairs of his office, he would contravene neither the intentions of the late, nor the wishes of the present, pontiff; and finally engaged that, if, by his conduct, he would prove himself a constant adherent of the society, the latter would employ the whole weight of its influence and of its means, to support him against the efforts of his opponents."¹ Now his "opponents" were his own secular priests, so eager to get rid of the Jesuits. "Birkhead gladly caught at the specious assurances of his friend, and instantly agreed to adopt his suggestions. A correspondence on the affairs of the clergy was now regularly opened with the fathers. At home, the superior of the Society was consulted on all matters of moment: at Rome, every letter and application to the Holy See passed *open*

¹ Tierney, v. 14.

through the hands of Parsons, to be delivered, or suppressed, as he might judge convenient,”—just as the Jesuit-pupils and novices are compelled to do, in their little correspondence! “As a confirmation of this fact, it is not, perhaps, unworthy of remark, that the same custom of sending all official communications through Parsons, existed during the administration of Blackwell. I possess many of that superior’s letters, which have all evidently passed through this channel; but one in particular, now before me, too remarkable to be left unnoticed. It is addressed to Cardinal Farnese, and is written for the express purpose of obtaining a reversal of that part of the papal breve, which had forbidden all official communication between the archpriest and the Jesuits. It is dated on the 17th of October, 1603, rather more than twelve months after the prohibition had been in force; and yet, to show how daringly the commands of the supreme pastor could be defied, the seal is actually that of the secretary of the Society, and its address is in the handwriting of Parsons himself!” Again, “About the year 1606, Lord Montague had forwarded an address to the pope, praying for the appointment of bishops. This paper had been entrusted to Parsons, but had not been presented. Montague afterwards heard and complained of its suppression; and Parsons, who had not only suppressed, but had also opened the letter, declared, in justification of the fact, that he was consulting the safety of Montague (!) and had only withheld the document itself, in order to lay its contents more briefly and more effectually before the pope. It is singular, however, if this were the case, that Parsons should have suffered two years to elapse, without communicating the matter to Montague, and that the latter,

who received no answer from the pope, should have been left accidentally to discover what had occurred.”¹

The clergy remonstrated against the connection between the archpriest and the Jesuits : they reminded him of his engagements, and the mischiefs that would ensue from their infringement—but their remonstrance and their predictive suggestions were in vain. “Secure in the protection of the fathers, he thought that he might defy the expostulations of his own body ; and, for some time, the mission seemed to have been placed at the absolute disposal of the Society.”²

Soon, however, the archpriest was again afflicted with doubts ; but now their object was the pit into which he had fallen—Parsons and the Company, who said unto him, “All these things will I give thee, if, &c.” His conscience told him he was “led by the blind.” The clergy resolved once more to “try” for a bishop. Parsons foiled them again : after a variety of small skirmishing, he induced the pope to decree that “until every member of the clergy should concur, not only in petitioning for an episcopal superior, but also in recommending the particular individual to be preferred to that dignity, no proposal on the subject would be entertained.”³ If the end of the world depended on such conditions, it would certainly be doomed to roll for ever with all its “imperfections on its head.” Nevertheless, a mission to Rome from the clergy was resolved, touching the whole state of affairs—the abuses prevailing in the seminaries, the ignorance, incompetence, and the multitude of missionaries, who only disgraced the clerical body. A great-grandson of the venerable More, the

¹ Tierney, v. 14, *et seq.* I need not state that Mr. Tierney publishes documents in attestation.

² Tierney, v. 15.

³ *Ibid.* 19.

celebrated Chancellor of England, was associated with the secular agent. When Parsons found that he could not prevent the mission, he resolved to play another game, which consisted in "playing off" the miserable seculars, who could never "cope" with Father Parsons. "He now came forward to greet the envoy on his arrival, and to offer him, for the usual term of eight days, the accommodation and hospitality of the college. Smith, the envoy, accepted the offer, and availed himself of the opportunity to unfold the nature of his commission. He exhibited his instructions: he explained the different points on which he was about to negotiate; and he besought the father to co-operate with him in the prosecution of a suit, as essential to the interest of religion, as to the establishment of harmony among the several members of the English mission. But it was soon evident that Parsons, though he engaged to support, was really determined to counteract, the efforts of his guest."¹

Smith obtained an interview with the pope, and pleaded the cause of the afflicted Church of England, with great truth as well as earnestness; made some impression on the holy father, and easily obtained, on the spot, the confirmation of the prohibition against Jesuit-interference in the government of the archpriest. Parsons was alarmed: but he expressed satisfaction at the decision, and resolved to set it at defiance, "with feelings of deep and unqualified mortification." "Albeit I perceive . . . that you esteem yourself bound to have less intelligence with me and mine than heretofore, in respect of the late order, procured from hence by your agent; yet do I not think that I am ANY WAY restrained from writing or dealing with you thereby."

¹ Tierney, v. 21.

Thus wrote Parsons to Birkhead, the archpriest.¹ And he kept his word : he “proceeded at once, with renewed and undisguised energy, to counteract the efforts of the two envoys. *As usual*, his first step was to assail the character of the principal agent. With this view, he began by composing two sets of letters, both addressed to Birkhead, but one framed for the purpose of being communicated to the clergy, the other written under the strictest injunction of secrecy. The first spoke of his attentions to Smith, and of the harmony in which he was living with the clergyman : the second described the agent [the same man] in the most unfavourable terms, represented him as the friend of the appellants, and as a person already tainted at Rome with a suspicion of heterodox notions, and, finally, endeavoured to impress the archpriest with the belief, that, in selecting this man for his representative, he had committed himself to the hands of one who would readily sacrifice him to his own passionate conceits. The object of these and other letters was evidently to induce Birkhead to recall Smith, and thus to terminate the present negotiation.”²

The man who was acting this deceitful part had only a few months more to run ere he would appear for his final judgment : in about six months more and Robert Parsons would be dead.

His scheme did not succeed : the obnoxious agent was not recalled. “Another, and it was hoped a more effectual, course was now adopted. A body of slanders, written from England by Holtby, the resident superior of the Society, was eagerly collected : parties were employed to watch the conversation, and to register every unguarded expression of the agent ; and, while

¹ Tierney, v. 24, note.

² *Ibid*, 24.

his writings were searched for matter of cavil and denunciation, memorials, charging him with maintaining unsound opinions, and with holding secret intercourse with the enemies of religion in England, were drawn up and presented to the pope.”¹

Whilst Parsons was thus treasuring up his future merits for the laudation of the biographers, his men “in England were actually offering a bribe to the archpriest for the purpose of detaching him from the cause of his clergy! Writing to Smith, on the 14th of December, 1609, and speaking of the slanders with which he has been himself assailed, Birkhead says: ‘Yet, for all this, I am not dejected; for I have no intention but for peace. You will not believe what fair offers have been made me of late, to *relinquish you all*; and how *well I should be maintained, in greater estate, &c.* This hath been offered to me, this last term, by a lay gentleman whom I will not name: but, God willing, all the gold in the world shall not remove me from the course I have begun, unless Paul (the pope) will have it otherwise.’”²

And yet, the general of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, had *expressed* to Smith an unqualified approval of all the demands in litigation—and *none* of the Company made “show of resistance”—even Parsons himself still preserved his impenetrable hypocrisy—and the duped agent continued “to advise with Parsons on the several points to be submitted to the pope.”³

¹ Tierney, v. 24. Here is a specimen by the Jesuit Holtby to Parsons May 6, 1609. “Poor recusants are still ransacked by the bishops’ pursuivants. One Finch, a priest, is joined with them; and some four or five more, *not yet discovered*, are said to be intelligencers for the bishops, and to give notice of all they know: whereof Leak is named for one, a *principal factor* for bishops, with Mr. Colleton, Mush, R. S. (Smith) Bishop, and others. My Lord of Canterbury looketh daily for news of R. S.’s negotiations.”—MS. in Mr. Tierney’s possession.

² Tierney, v. 26.

³ Ibid.

At length the bitter conviction flashed through his mind—that conviction which should be felt but once in a man's life—deception on the part of those in whom we have confided without reserve. “He saw that, in private he was opposed, in public he was crossed and disappointed: he felt that the object of his pretended counsellor was to obstruct or defeat his mission; and he resolved, at length, to adopt the letter of the papal mandate, and abstain entirely from their conferences. For the same reason, Birkhead, also, by a formal instrument, subsequently relieved him from his connexion with Fitzherbert [the Jesuit-jackall of Parsons], and thus left him free to pursue his negotiation immediately with Paul himself. But, unfortunately, the power of his opponents was too active and too daring to be successfully resisted. Supported by Blanchetti, the vice-protector, they were enabled, as it were, to surround the papal throne, and thus to frustrate every appeal, which he addressed to the consideration of the pontiff. It was to no purpose that he invoked the aid of the supreme pastor: it was to no purpose that he described the miseries of the clergy, and the ruin of their colleges, and the disgrace and the scandals that were hourly falling upon religion. Even to a request that no presentations to the seminaries should be valid, unless made with the joint consent of the archpriest and the superior of the Jesuits in England, *no answer* was returned—month followed after month; memorials and audiences succeeded each other; but the art or the misrepresentations of his enemies perpetually intervened; and when, at length, a tardy decision was pronounced, it was only to stigmatize the subject of his entreaties as an innovation—to tell him that, although a trifling modification in the manner of

obtaining certificates for degrees might be permitted, the other and more crying evils, resulting from the ignorance of the clergy, and from the reckless haste with which they were poured into the country, would still be maintained.”¹

Only one remark need I append to this disreputable transaction—and it is this :—What we have read—all *these* “awful disclosures,” are not items of the *Monita Secreta*, or secret instructions of the Jesuits so famous and infamous,—but undeniable facts, which, however, *no* item in that book is too bad to represent or suggest.

I believe that Robert Parsons has been faithfully described in these pages, thanks to the truthfulness of the Catholic historian who has given the damaging documents to the world. Nor has Tierney failed, on any occasion, to express that natural indignation, which must be felt at the discovery of unblushing falsehood, and that foul iniquity which shrinks not from the blackest calumny, to crush an opponent. Whatever further disclosures this historian may have to make, in the last volumes of his history, may confirm, but they cannot deepen, the disgust which we have been compelled to feel with the character of Robert Parsons. “To the services of Parsons,” says Tierney, “to his comprehensive mind, and indefatigable energy in the foundation and management of many of the foreign seminaries, the world will continue to bear testimony, in spite of all his failings. Yet his existence was not necessary to the greatness of his Order. Its glory needs him not : and, without detracting either from his merits or his powers,

¹ Tierney, v. 26, *et seq.* Again, let it be remembered that Mr. Tierney upholds every statement with its documents.

the disciples of Ignatius may still assure themselves that their body hath many a worthier son than he."¹ And so we must, in charity, hope and desiderate.

Early in the following year after the transaction which we have just read, this terrible man of religious war expired. Death summoned him away quickly. No scene is given by the Jesuits—excepting that Aquaviva and other members of the Jesuit-aristocracy paid the veteran a visit ere he breathed his last. Had he lived just a month longer, he would have seen that king whom he had denounced, *Henry IV.*, murdered by a fanatic.

It cannot be doubted that the murder or the deposition of Elizabeth was ever the desire of his heart.² There may be critics who will excuse the man by "assuming" his zeal in the cause of his religion. By

¹ Tierney, iii. 55.

² Winwood wrote to Cecil from Paris in 1602, stating that Charles Paget (the *Catholic*, but an opponent to Parsons, as we have read) had acquainted him "that he had received an information, that about the 11th of August there departed from Rome an English Jesuit, whose name he knoweth not, of the age of thirty years, a man of good fashion, of a sanguine complexion, a yellow beard, of a full quick eye and middle stature; who furnished by the Spanish ambassador with a sum of money, did take his course towards England, with purpose there to attempt against her Majesty's person. He [Paget] made much difficulty to name his author; but because I urged Sir James Lindsey, who within these two days arrived to this town from Rome, he acknowledged him to be the man, but so that I would promise to conceal his name. As he saith, Sir James Lindsey hath seen the man, who passing by him on a time, when he was walking with Parsons the Jesuite, Parsons willed him to behold him well, and asked him whether, if he should meet that man in England, he would take him for a Jesuite." . . . In another letter, dated October 20, 1602, Winwood writes as follows:—"By the means of the ambassador of Scotland, I have spoken with the partie [Lindsey] this morning, from whom he received the advertisement which I sent. . . . He averreth the same, by many protestations, to be true, and addeth moreover, that Parsons did very earnestly and often deal with him to receive that man into his company, whom above all other marks he noteth to have a high nose, and to pass through Scotland into England."—*Winwood Memorials*, i. 442, *et seq.*

this assumption, they overlook the fact that they shift the weight of iniquity from the man to his cause, which could suggest such atrocious and utterly unscrupulous means to achieve its triumph. The zeal of Robert Parsons was displayed in endless endeavours to foment and keep up an irreconcilable enmity between the kingdoms of Spain and England, and thus to incite the Spaniard to invade England and Ireland. It failed in the issue. He damaged the Catholic cause in England. He damaged the reputation of his Company. Amongst the wisest men of his own communion—Cardinal D'Ossat, for instance—he passed for an impostor, as reckless and desperate, as his scheme was ridiculous. And his scheme may be said to have ruined the kingdom of Spain. When the Almighty's elements, and the fleets and the veterans of Britain in the days of Elizabeth, had crushed the power, extinguished the glory, and humbled the pride of the Spaniards, of what consequence was it to the Catholic cause, that "their malice had neither bottom nor brink?"

On the other hand, it is well known that much of the disreputable conduct of Parsons was instigated by the other Jesuits of his faction. They "stirred" him incessantly, by reporting the obloquy which he had merited among his opponents of the other Catholic faction.¹ The world has been frequently the maker of bad public characters: friends and foes combine to fashion those portents who, "by necessity, the tyrant's plea," have desolated humanity. Unfortunately, in Robert Parsons, there were, originally, precisely the very elements adapted for such a creation. The spirit of his faction "brooded"

¹ See Tierney, iv. *Append. cxl.* for an instance of this, and Tierney's apposite reflection thereon.

over that chaos : it said, "Let there be *darkness*"—and all was dark accordingly. And, as usual, his faction helped to make him ridiculous as well as guilty. At the death of Allen, they resolved to make a cardinal of Robert Parsons. Headed by the Jesuit Holt, they set on foot a petition to the King of Spain, signed by the "common soldiers, labourers, artizans, and pensioners, nay, scullions, and laundresses, as well as by those of better rank and quality. Upon this, Father Parsons makes haste out of Spain to Rome to hinder it, as the Jesuits say for him. When he came thither, upon a day set him, he waited on the pope, and acquainted him how the city was full of discourse of his being shortly to be made a cardinal ; and that Spain and Flanders rung with it too ; and therefore begged of him that he would not think of making him a cardinal, who might be more serviceable, in the condition he was now in, to the affairs of England. The pope told him, that the King of Spain had not written a syllable to him about any such thing : and that he must not mind foolish reports ; and bid him go and mind his studies."¹ The reader remembers what he has already read on the subject. Parsons was probably a consenting party, at least to the scheme, and only "overdid the thing," as is usual with overcrafty leaders. Pope Clement VIII., however, was more in the secret than he fancied. The truth appeared that the pope had received many complaints of him from the secular clergy, and instead of introducing him into the sacred college, had some thoughts of stripping him of the posts which he already possessed.² In fact he was

¹ Gee, *Introduction*, 54 ; Watson, *Quodlibet*, 120 ; Bayle, viii. 153. The pope's reply is given even by the Jesuit More, *Hist. lib. 6*, but is sagaciously omitted by the other Jesuit, Bartoli.

² Chalmers, *Biog. Parsons*.

virtually banished to Naples by the pope, or by his general, as we have seen, and he vainly petitioned for permission to return to Rome, remaining in exile until the death of Clement, a few years after. This result was certainly a bitter humiliation to the pride of his heart; "the cardinal elect" was overwhelmed with gibes and scoffing, and doubtless the pang tended immensely to aggravate that rancour which he ever felt and exhibited against his secular brethren of the English apostolate. The pope embraced his scheme, but, as it appears, had cogent reasons to reject its designer: these reasons were never imparted even to Parsons himself—though he earnestly craved the information—"who are the causes, to wit, Spain, France, the pope, &c.,—how long it is meant,—what I may answer to them that do urge me in that point."¹ There were, doubtless, many reasons—and none of them in the least creditable to Father Parsons.

Berington, the Catholic priest, calls Parsons "the calamity of the English Catholics."²

The same Catholic authority gives the following forceful summary of the Jesuit's "merits and powers."

"To the intriguing spirit of this man (whose whole life was a series of machinations against the sovereignty of his country, the succession of its crown, and the interests of the secular clergy of his own faith) were I to ascribe more than half the odium under which the

¹ Stonyhurst MS., apud Tierney, iv. Append. cv.

² Mem. of Panz. Introd. 83. "So obnoxious was Parsons to the government, that on some of the trials it was considered as a criminal act, to have been abroad, and have treated and conversed with Parsons. The laws themselves under an idea that his disciples would escape their application if described by the common name of priests, distinguished them by the appellation of *Jesuits*, as in the Act of the 27th Eliz."—*Ib.* 68; *Mem. of Mis. Priests*, i. 348.

English Catholics laboured, through the heavy lapse of two centuries, I should only say what has often been said, and what as often has been said with truth. Devoted to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman court, he strove to give efficacy to those pretensions in propagating, by many efforts, their validity, and directing their application.¹ Pensioned by the Spanish monarch, whose pecuniary aids he wanted for the success of his various plans, he unremittingly favoured the views of that ambitious prince, in opposition to the welfare of his country, and dared to support, if he did not first suggest, his idle claim or that of his daughter to the English throne.² Wedded to the Society of which he

¹ See *Further Considerations*, 120. "I shall signify to his Holiness," he says, "how necessary it is that he seriously apprehend this business of England, lest at the Queen's death the country fall into worse hands and into greater inconveniences, should an heretical prince, *whosoever he may be*, obtain the succession. He shall know that the English Catholics desire a king truly Catholic, be he an Englishman, a Scotchman, or a Spaniard; and that in this business, they consider themselves as principally dependent on his Holiness."—*MS. Letters*. This he wrote to Father Holt in 1597, on his journey from Spain to Rome, six years before the death of Elizabeth.—*Berington*, 26. Parsons flattered himself that this grand result would come to pass by his machinations, and had even written a work for the organisation of the kingdom of England on the glorious event, entitled *A Memorial for the Reformation of England, gathered and set down by R. P.* 1596. "It contains certain notes and advertisements, which might be proposed in the first parliament and national council of our country, after God, of his mercy, shall restore it to the Catholic faith, for the better establishment and preservation of the said religion." These are the author's own words. "He had foreseen this event," says Berington, "as likely to happen at no distant period, and in confidence of his own superior lights, had prepared for it a system of general instruction. His system comprises what may regard the whole body of the people, then the church establishment, and finally the laity, in the king, lords, and commons. But there is little in it that attests any enlargement of mind or just comprehension of the subject. They are the ideas of such a mind as Father Parsons will be understood to have possessed—narrow, arrogant, monastic."—*Ut antea*, 83.

² See *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, published by R. Doleman*, 1593. "There is sufficient proof," says Berington, "that Parsons was the author of this work, written with a view to establish the Spanish succession against the claim of the Scottish king. It appears to have been

was a member, he sought her glory and pre-eminence ; and, to accomplish this, it was his incessant endeavour to bring under her jurisdiction all our foreign seminaries, and at home to beat down every interest that could impede the aggrandisement of his Order.¹ Thus, having gained an ascendancy over the minds of many, he infused his spirit, and spread his maxims ; and to his successors of the Society, it seems, bequeathed an admiration of his character, and a love of imitation, which

read in manuscript by Cardinal Allen and many others, who highly approved the contents, subscribing to the doctrines, "that, as *the realm of England was a fief of the Holy See*, it principally regarded the pope to settle its succession ; and that it was never lawful for a Catholic, under any pretext, to support a Protestant pretender to the throne." Thus wrote Sir Francis Englefield in 1596, who had been formerly secretary to Queen Mary, but who now resided in Spain, and was the confidential friend of Father Parsons. He gives his judgment on the Book of *Succession*, assigns the motives for the publication, and replies to objections."—*MS. Letters*.

¹ In his "Memorial for a Reformation in England," Parsons having first insisted on the restitution of abbey-lands, as a conscientious obligation, afterwards proceeds to maintain that it would not be "convenient to return them again to the same Orders of religion that had them before." "It may be so," he says, "that many houses and families of that Order of St. Bennet or St. Bernard, or of the monastical profession, though in itself most holy, will neither be possible nor necessary in England, presently upon the first reformation ; but rather, in place of many of them, good colleges, universities, seminaries, schools for increasing our clergy, as also *divers houses of other Orders* that do deal more in preaching and helping of souls. . . . By this manner of restitution, the Church of England would be furnished again quickly of more variety of religious Orders, houses, abbeyes, nunneries, hospitals, seminaries, and other like monuments of piety, and to the purpose for present good of our whole realm [more] than ever it was before the desolation thereof there might be planted now, both of these and *other Orders*, according to the condition of those times, lesser houses with smaller rents and numbers of people, but with more perfection of reformation, edification, and help to the gaining of souls than before ; and those houses might be most multiplied that should be seen to be most profitable to this effect," pp. 57, 63, 64. Instead of the knights of Malta he would have "some other new Order erected in our country of religious knights," p. 79.—*Tverney*, iv. App. cxx. The drift of all this into the gulf of *Our Company*, is amusingly evident. Parsons is said to have been twenty years in compiling this book, which was finished in 1596, but it was not published till some years after his death. Gee published it in 1690.—See *Bayle*, viii. 156.

has helped to perpetuate dissensions, and to make us, to this day, a divided people. His writings, which were numerous, are an exact transcript of his mind—dark, imposing, problematical, seditious. To confirm the foregoing statement, and to prove its truth, I select the following passage from a contemporary author, and an honest man :— ‘ Father Parsons,’ he says, ‘ was the principal author, the inceptor, and the mover of all our garboils at home and abroad. During the short space of nearly two years that he spent in England, so much did he irritate, by his actions, the mind of the queen and her ministers, that, on that occasion, the first severe laws were enacted against the ministers of our religion, and those who should harbour them. He, like a dastardly soldier, consulting his own safety, fled. But, being himself out of the reach of danger, he never ceased, by publications against the first magistrates of the republic, or by factious letters, to provoke their resentment. Of these letters many were intercepted, which talked of the invasion of the realm by foreign armies, and which roused the public expectation.¹ Incensed by his work on the Succession, and by similar productions on the affairs of state, under the semblance of a cause that now seemed just, our magistrates rise up in vengeance against us, and execute their laws. They exclaim, that it is not the concern of religion that busies us ; but that, under that cloak, we are meditating politics, and

¹ “ Among those Jesuits, thus suddenly hot and cold,” says Watson, “ one, who calleth himself Darcy, having of long time been together with Gerard, another Jesuit, often tampering underhand, and by messages, with a worshipful knight to have won him to *their* ‘ Bye’ [Plot], to have stood for the lady Infanta ; promising great and many honourable advancements unto him, if he would, on the Spaniard’s behalf. . . .”—*Watson to the Lords of the Council*, Aug. 9, 1603, State Paper Office ; apud Tierney, iv. App. i. See *antè*, p. 155, of the present volume.

practising the ruin of the state. Robert Parsons, stationed at his ease, intrepidly, meanwhile, conducts his operations; and we, whom the press of battle threatens, innocent of any crime, and ignorant of his dangerous machinations, undergo the punishment which his imprudence and audacity alone deserve.' These are the words of John Mush, taken from a work published by him in Latin, and which, in the name of the English clergy, was addressed to Pope Clement VIII."¹

Nor must we forget how true to its beginning was the whole career of this extraordinary man. If the doctors of Oxford sent forth the exasperated serpent, it certainly did not depend upon them, that he did not utterly demolish the Church-establishment. It did not depend upon their efforts or powers of resistance, that his schemes failed in the issue. To the last he bitterly stung his opponents, and "by continual publication of books he did no great good to the Church of England and the noted professors thereof;"² and it is a curious fact, that the first part of his Book of Succession, namely, that which treats of the "Chastising of Kings and proceedings against them," was reprinted just before the time when King Charles was beheaded;—the reprint, by Robert Ibbotson, being entitled "Several Speeches made at a Conference, or Several Speeches delivered at a Conference, concerning the power of Parliaments to proceed against their king for misgovernment."³ And by another curious after-stroke, the same

¹ Berington, *ut antea*, 26, 29.

² Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 68.

³ Wood, ii. 71. Dr. Barlow's note on a spare leaf before the title, says:—"This base and traitorous pamphlet is, verbatim, the first part of Doleman (Parsons was the man under that name) touching succession to the crown. These nine speeches (as here they call them) are the nine chapters in Doleman. And this was printed at the charge of the Parliament, £30 being paid by them

book was reprinted in 1681, "purposely to lay open the author's pernicious doctrines, in that juncture of time when the Parliament was zealously bent to exclude James, the Catholic Duke of York, from the Imperial Crown of England."¹ Thus, to friends as well as foes, long after he sank to his rest, was Robert Parsons an affliction—himself "naught advantaged, missing what he aimed."

Nevertheless, in spite of the wicked deeds of the man—in spite of the still enduring dissensions amongst the Catholic parties of England, so recklessly aggravated, if not begun by Parsons—in spite of the just denunciations which he has received by all who have not been blinded by that "necessity" which will induce men to praise their most unprincipled leaders—Parsons is complimented extravagantly in an epitaph—the last sentence of which is *per omnia virtutis exempla transegit*—"he was a pattern of virtue,"—and Dr. Oliver, a strong, or rather, a weak partisan of the Jesuits, scruples not to apply to Robert Parsons that text of the Bible which says: "The eye of God looked upon him for good, and lifted him up from his low estate, and exalted his head; and many have wondered at him, and have glorified God."²

to the printer *in perpetuum eorum infamiam*."—Wood, *ut antea*. The title to the first part of the original is, in its "more particular" form, as follows: "The first part declareth, by many proofs and arguments, that the next propinquity or ancestry of blood alone, though it were certainly known, yet it is not sufficient to be admitted to a crown, without other conditions and circumstances requisite to be found also in the person pretendent."—Ed. 1681.

¹ Wood, *ut antea*.

² Collections, *Parsons*, p. 162. Parsons was buried in the church of the Roman College, near "his bosom friend" Cardinal Allen, and a very long epitaph was engraved on his tomb, celebrating his exploits, as to the erection of colleges, and his books; stating that he was "always ready, always erect, always rushing through the midst of the flame of the most dangerous conflict—a man utterly reckless of his mighty soul." In 1667, the floor of the church fell in, and

Certainly if Parsons was the author of the infamous libel called "Leicester's Commonwealth," though many may wonder at him, few have any reason to glorify God thereanent—among the latter, however, Dr. Lingard seems disposed to be classed. Speaking of Leicester, the doctor says: "In 1584, the history of his life, or rather of his crimes, was published in a tract entitled, at first, 'Copy of a Letter,' &c. ; but afterwards known by the name of 'Leicester's Commonwealth.' It was generally attributed to the pen of Parsons, the celebrated Jesuit: but whoever might be the author, he had woven his story with so much art, had descended to such minuteness of detail, and had so confidently appealed to the knowledge of living witnesses for the truth of his assertions, that the book extorted the belief and the applause of its readers. Edition after edition was poured into the kingdom, till the queen herself came forward to vindicate the character of her favourite. She pronounced the writer 'an incarnate devil,' declared that of her own knowledge (*it was a bold expression*) she was able to attest the innocence of the earl; and ordered the magistrates to seize and destroy every

Parsons's skull and bones were uncovered. His skull was found to be remarkably larger "than that of others ordinarily be, and there were all his teeth—not one wanting."—*Oliver*, p. 162. In truth, he was a savage biter. Oliver calls Allen the bosom friend of Parsons, as above: but Berington qualifies the "soft impeachment;" he says: "the misfortune was that, naturally easy and unsuspecting, Allen permitted the artful Parsons to gain too great an ascendancy over him, an ascendancy which the crafty politician took care to cement by rendering his *pecuniary services* absolutely necessary to Allen (!). Yet before his death Allen had forfeited the goodwill of the Jesuits. 'Beginning to leave the road in which he had long walked (while devoted to the Society) the thread of his designs and of his life was at once cut.' Thus writes Agazarius, the Italian rector of the Roman College, to Father Parsons, relating similar judgments on others who were alienated from the Society, *MS. Letters*."—*Berington*, 37, *et seq.* The reader remembers a similar judgment-dealing by Parsons, against Cardinal Toledo, for not being hearty enough in the cause of the Jesuit faction of England.

copy which could be discovered.¹ But, if the will of the sovereign could silence the tongues, it did not satisfy the reason, of her subjects. The accomplished Sir Philip Sydney took a different course. He attempted a refutation of the libel. But with all his abilities he sank under the task ; he abused the author, but did not disprove the most important of his statements ; and the failure alone of so able a scholar and contemporary will justify a suspicion, that there was more of truth in the book, than he was willing to admit, and more of crime in the conduct of his uncle than it was in his power to clear away.”² The book was commonly ascribed to Parsons ; and it was said that he received the materials from Lord Burghley. Dr. Thomas James expressly affirmed that Parsons was the author.³ The Jesuit

¹ Dr. Lingard gives a note on this :—“Such interposition,” he says, “in favour of a subject, may appear extraordinary ; but the queen’s letter of thanks to Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, for the attention which they had paid to Leicester at Chatsworth, is still more so. In it she *almost acknowledges* him for her *husband*.” “We should do him great wrong (holding him in that place of favour we do) in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but to our own self, reputing him as another ourself.” This is the doctor’s proof for the three words, “almost,” “acknowledges,” and “husband !” So that a queen who, like Elizabeth, should throw such beautiful heartfulness in her complimentary thanks to her subjects, becomes “almost” convicted of marriage on every occasion : so, when Alexander the Great used the same compliment respecting his friend Ephestion, he “almost acknowledged him for his husband !” The queen copies King Alexander the Great, and the doctor thereupon represents her like *Pope Alexander VII.* worshipping his mistress under the figure of the Virgin Mary ! When Anne Vaux, writing to Garnet, signed herself “Your’s, and not my own,” does the doctor think “she almost acknowledged him for her husband ?” The incident above alluded to, was when the mother of Darius saluted Ephestion, mistaking him for Alexander. In her confusion at the error, Alexander reassured her, saying, “It matters not, for *he* also is *Alexander*.”—*Val. Maximus*, lib. iv. c. vii. For Anne Vaux’s letter, see *antè*, p. 164, note. Certainly the Queen’s anxiety, on the present occasion, to defend a servant whom she believed innocent, should not be imputed to her as a crime or a sign of guilt.

² Lingard, viii. 288, *et seq.*

³ Jesuits’ Downfall, 55 ; Bayle, viii. 155.

denied it : but he also denied the Book of Succession, and everything else that he did not think proper to own amongst the monsters of his brain. The outside leaves of the libel were green, and hence it was generally called Father Parsons's *Green-coat*.¹

Such was Father Parsons : but the Jesuits are lavish in their praise of him, notwithstanding. They worship the arch-deceiver himself—*viridem colubrum*—and glorify his cheats and disguises—*meritamque vestem*. According to the Jesuit-ed Oliver, “Father Robert Parsons crowned a life of usefulness by a death precious in the sight of God. From his dying bed he dictated letters to his brethren of the Society in England, and to the archpriest, Dr. George Birkhead, breathing *seraphic peace and charity*. In sentiments of melting piety, he surrendered his soul into the hands of God, on the 15th of April, 1610.”² And yet, the truth is, that the letter which Parsons wrote to Birkhead is precisely in the usual style of the specious and calumniating deceiver, and not without the usual samples of “falsehood or equivocation, or both,”—words which Mr. Tierney justly applies to passages in that letter of the sinking Jesuit, to the archpriest, his “very good friend.”³

It may be expedient for “religious” partisans to represent the death of their leaders in the best possible light :—but, in the face of the facts which we have read, to apply Oliver's praise to Robert Parsons, is to consecrate falsehood, duplicity, equivocation, and the most unscrupulous injustice in calumny—it is to exalt vice, and verily to leave virtue to “its own reward.”

¹ Bayle, *ut antea*.

² Oliver, Collect. 162.

³ See the letter, in Tierney, v. Append. xi., March 20, 1610. Parsons died on the 15th of April.

His age was sixty-four : he had been in the Company six-and-thirty years, during which period he was incessantly machinating against the peace and freedom of his country, and at daggers drawn with the rival missionaries of his own communion, as fiercely as with the abominated heretics, connected with those who had originally "swindged" and "trimmed" him at Oxford—*simplex duntaxat et unum.*

Parsons left his flaming mantle to his brethren : if his "expectation perished with him," his followers still continued to "work mischief." Nothing, perhaps, more plainly evinces the opinion entertained of the man than the fact, that the pope thought peace was likely to prevail "now that Father Parsons was dead ;" "but the spirit which he had created," says Mr. Tierney, "still survived."¹ His faction still "prosecuted matters as hotly as ever :"—the Jesuits aimed at complete domination, and never would they cease to stir up strife as long as there was an obstacle to be removed, or a boon to be gained. Tedious beyond measure would it be to enlarge on the contention, bitter animosities, disgraceful machinations, which worried the English missionaries. For ten more years, amidst general relaxation of discipline throughout the mission, the clergy continued vigorously to press the appointment of a bishop, but they were as vigorously opposed by the Jesuits, who would have no bishop in their "snug little farm" of England. At length, in 1620, the clergy gained the upper hand at Rome, and the pope was pleased to signify his consent that a bishop, or something like one, should be given to the English Church. Thus foiled in their opposition at Rome, the Jesuits and their partisans resolved, as a last

¹ Tierney, v. 28.

resource, to appeal to the fears of the English monarch. Through the agency of Toby Matthews, perhaps also of Gage, who was strongly attached to the Jesuits, they contrived to frighten James with a false and exaggerated account of the jurisdiction about to be established in his dominions. It was said that a large number of bishops and archbishops was immediately to be appointed ; that they were to bear the titles of the ancient sees of Canterbury, York, London, and other appropriated localities not *in partibus infidelium* ; and that, thus invested with the distinctive appellations, they would soon encroach on the more substantial prerogatives of the national prelacy. The Scotchman shrewdly penetrated the Jesuit-manceuvre, and his chancellor said he was “ afraid that Toby would prove but an apocryphal, and no canonical, intelligencer—acquainting the state with this project for the *Jesuits*’, rather than for *Jesus*’, sake ;”¹ nevertheless, the scheme took effect ; and he denounced the proposed measure as an infringement of his prerogative, solemnly declaring that, under such circumstances, a Catholic bishop should never be admitted into the country. The Spanish ambassador was earnestly requested to interfere : he complied to humour the king, and wrote to Spain’s ambassador at the court of Rome, stating the royal objections to the measure. The Jesuits and their partisans, always on the alert, were ready, on the arrival of this letter, to follow up the machination with a memorial. They covered the deception already practised on the king, with additional misrepresentations, among the rest, that James had solemnly pledged his royal word, in case the measure should be carried into execution, not only to pursue

¹ Cabala, 292 ; Tierney, v. 90.

the bishop himself unto death, but also to revive every former severity, to which the Catholic religion and its professors were obnoxious. Thus they frightened the pope, in his turn, after stirring the conscience of the king's prerogative ; but the pope acted more wisely than the king : he ordered inquiries to be made as to the truth of the representations. Still, so confident was the faction as to the success of their scheme, that the Spanish ambassador in England was requested to nominate a person for the office of archpriest. Meanwhile, however, the clerical party made representations to the chancellor, for the information of the king, as to the real nature of the proposed appointment. The Archdeacon of Cambridge, who was attached to the Spanish legation, obtained an interview with the chancellor, pleaded the cause of the clergy, and, to the dismay of the Jesuits and their faction, who had calculated on the hostility of James, an assurance was at length obtained from the minister, stating that the monarch had spoken from misinformation, pointedly alleging the Jesuit-representations before given ; but declaring that, "should a prelate, without pretensions of this kind, and intent only on a discharge of his spiritual duties, be privately commissioned by the pope, no objection would be raised, and no notice would be taken of the appointment." Dr. William Bishop was forthwith appointed "Vicar-Apostolic" of England and Scotland, but nominally "Bishop of Chalcedon, *in partibus infidelium*." ¹

¹ Tierney, v. 90, *et seq.* The Latin words above mean "among the infidels," and constitute the Roman fiction to get rid of the incongruity in appointing a bishop or "vicar-apostolic" (which is something like a bishop) to a See which, in reality, does not exist, according to the law or custom or prerogative of parties in the land. It was an ingenious invention ; and nothing could exceed in elegance the fine sounding titles of the vicars-apostolic, titles which were

This actual reception of one of the biggest limbs of Antichrist, by King James, is apt to startle the reader without explanation. The fact is, that for some time before, James was eagerly striving to marry his son to a daughter of the King of Spain—of course a downright papist and follower of Antichrist. A “dispensation” from the pope was absolutely necessary to join in holy matrimony a Catholic to a heretic. It had first been stipulated that the orthodox opponent of Antichrist should not himself appear in the negotiation: but James was so impatient of delay, by reason of the political advantages in view, that he dispatched George Gage, a Catholic gentleman, to Rome, with letters to the pope and two of the cardinals, whilst his favourite, Buckingham, employed, for the same purpose, Bennet, the very same priest who was negotiating for a bishop, as agent of the seculars.

selected from the classic map of the *Orbis Veteribus Cognitus*, or the World as Known to the Ancients. Chaldeon, Trachis, Melipotamus, and other invisible “towered cities” of the olden time, might entitle their episcopal bearer to the very laborious honour of governing a district in the Anglo-Catholic Church—choap titles well befitting men whose “honours” brought them no pay whatever beyond the usual pittance of the mission. In my youth, I heard of such a poor, but most worthy and laborious bishop, who frequently carried home in his pocket a pennyworth of *potatoes* whereon to make his meal. And he did not think that any better lot than he enjoyed was necessary to “maintain the dignity of religion”—though, assuredly, much might have been superadded to the “revenues” of that worthy bishop, without in the least *diminishing* “the dignity of religion.” Since then, things have somewhat changed. Our Catholic “vicars-apostolic” now call themselves *bishops* of this and that “district” of England, and there is, or was very lately, much talk of a Catholic “archbishop”—all signs of certain decay—yea, the very prophecy of doom. In connection with the old foreign titles, I may state that, once upon a time, there applied to the pope a certain inhabitant of some village in Greece, or Asia Minor, craving a “dispensation.” The “rule” required that he should apply to “his bishop.” Now he had no bishop to apply to, until it was found that an English Catholic bishop was *en-titled* to his village—in *partibus infidelium*: so the pope sent him to England, and the modern Telemachus found his Ulysses somewhere in the “Northern District”—the worthy Dr. Penswick, I believe. This is a “tradition.”

This was, indeed, a fortunate coincidence; and it was made the most of, as may be imagined—and very properly too:—the pope insisted on the mitigation of the penal laws by way of compensation for his dispensation—and never was a dispensation more charitably bartered. James at once complied—pardons for recusancy were granted for a term of five years—and the remorseless prisons gave up their dead, to attest that the most vigorous orthodoxy sometimes expires—crucified by expediency, the most unscrupulous Jew that ever existed. Disgusting as was the cause, still the result was delightful. It was a breathing time for all. The agreement of the marriage between the heretic son of England, and the Catholic daughter of Spain, was actually arranged in the same month of the same year that a “vicar-apostolic” was first wedded to the forlorn lady of the Catholic Church of England. It was on that very memorable occasion that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham—assuming the names of John Smith, and Thomas Smith—went on a pilgrimage—like the obedient son of Isaac from Canaan—in quest of a wife in the Padan-aram of Spain—as though his canonical father had said to him: “Take thee a wife thence of the daughters of Laban, thy grandmother’s brother of *the faith*.” It proved a failure, as all the world knows—but with that same pilgrimage, as far as the future Charles I. was concerned, began that chain of events which ended with giving a martyr to the “Protestant” calendar and Church-service of England. In truth, the Puritans were, and had been, long wide awake, and they shook their heads when they heard of this transaction—and well they might, according to the flinty principles they grasped and inculcated—when they heard that

the young prince and Buckingham had induced King James to write another letter to the pope, styling Anti-christ, "Most holy Father"—and when they were told "that the pope, being informed of the duke's inclination and intention, in point of religion, sent unto him a particular bull in parchment, for to persuade and encourage him in the perversion of the prince."¹ These rumours were prospective, the "shadow of coming events:"—but their immediate result was soon apparent. No sooner was the expedient match broken off, when a petition knocked at the door of the king's conscience, denouncing the Catholic clergy as the "professed engines of Spain," the laity as a body of traitors, and praying for instant execution of the laws against the miserable scapegoats, ever fooled or torn by the wolves of faction, Catholic and Protestant. Formerly the king had said: "As for a toleration of the Roman religion, as God shall judge him, he never thought nor meant, nor never in word expressed anything that savoured of it"—but still was toleration agreed upon for the sake of the expedient marriage. And now, in the present squall, he said that "the increase of popery was as thorns in his eyes and pricks in his sides"—and promised strictly to enforce the infamous laws, in deference to the clamours of party:—the latter expediency was more imperative than the former, but it was not in the least more respectable. And the second state of the Catholics was decidedly worse than the first, precisely because a bitter disappointment, sanguine hopes frustrated, gave an additional pang to the stern realities of grinding oppression. What a lesson! And there let us leave it.²

¹ Coke, i. 152.

² Tierney, v. 152; Coke, i. 162; Rushworth, f. 101; Lingard, ix. 219.

The sons of the Catholics, sent abroad "for their education," fared little better than their parents at home. These youths were sent abroad in spite of the laws which inflicted such severe penalties for the transgression. They paid a stipend for the support of their children, varying from 30*l.* to 100*l.* yearly. When these youths departed they changed their names, and ever after adopted an *alias* whenever expedient:—at first to evade the law, and afterwards to mystify their proceedings and correspondence in those times of peril.—The Jesuits, as we have seen in the trial of Garnet, followed the example of Parsons and Campion—and taxed their invention to the utmost in the application. "What's in a name?" was a very important question in those days—particularly as conscience might be taxed to select one which would require the fewest falsehoods to keep up the deception.

The English Seminary at Rome had been, as we have seen, transferred to the Jesuits. Jealousy and dissatisfaction were the result among the seculars, who naturally considered the transaction as a reflection on the clerical body—an undue elevation of a rival Order at their expense,—as a step which would ultimately tend to convert both the institution and its funds into a fruitful source of aggrandisement to the Company. Without recapitulating what has already been narrated, suffice it to say, that the usual irregularities crept *in*, expanded unchecked, and were suffered to creep *out*, when the burly Parsons went to his last account, leaving no one equal to himself in the whelming art of browbeating, whereby the cry for reform is sometimes "put down." The Jesuit Owen succeeded Parsons in the rectorship of the house. He was a man of considerable experience,

but of strong predilections, of lofty notions, and, of course, of an ardent attachment to the various interests of his Order.¹ To these qualifications we must add, the spirit of speculation, traffic, and that misappropriation of the funds which Mariana long before lashed so severely. He made the English Seminary a tavern for his Company, where the members might always make themselves comfortable, for months together. A procurator of their missions had free quarters in the establishment, or, at all events, it did not appear that he "paid his fare:" he kept his horse in the college-stable, had his cellars in the college-vineyard, to store his vintage. Father Owen paid his husbandmen out of the college-fund, and very often treated them to dinners and suppers.² "In 1611, Owen purchased and stocked a large farm on Monte Porzio, near Rome, from which he was enabled to supply the markets of the city with cattle, corn, wine, and fruit, to a considerable extent. The whole property was vested in the fathers of the English mission, of which Owen was the prefect: but, to avoid the duties payable to government, this was partially concealed; the stock, when brought to market, was represented to belong to the seminary; and the horses and servants, employed in its conveyance and sale, were lodged in the college, and entertained at its sole expense."³ This abuse was attended with vast expenses—to the English Seminary; and the result was embarrassment, insolvency. Legacies had been obtained: the number of scholars had been diminished by more than one-third—

¹ Tierney, v. 94. *et seq.*

² "Summarium de corruptâ Collegii Anglicani administratione."—*MS. apud Tierney*, v. 96.

³ Tierney, *ut antea*. He gives a valuation of the expenses, from an original document.

yet in the course of a few years, it was found that a debt of no less than nine thousand crowns of gold was pressing upon the resources of the house.¹

The Jesuits did not stop there : there was a necessity upon them, which they could not shake off—though ruin manifestly impended. “Intent on the advancement of their own body, it became the constant endeavour of the superiors to secure it amongst the scholars entrusted to their care. With this view, the more promising members of the establishment were invariably selected as the objects of their attention. Every art of favour and flattery was employed to win the affections of these parties ; and every means of obloquy was adopted to depress the clergy, and to exalt the Jesuits, in their estimation. Prayers and spiritual exercises were then brought into action : doubts and scruples on the subject of vocation were suggested ; and an invitation was at length given to them to abandon the present object of their pursuit, and to inscribe their names in the lists of the Society.² If they withstood these solicitations, neglect and persecution followed them through the remainder of their course :—if they yielded to the wishes, and engaged to join the ranks, of the fathers, distinctions and privileges were sure to mark their career :—impunity for almost every transgression

¹ Tierney, *ut antea*, with documental vouchers.

² “Hac ratione anno transacto, et novitiorum animis, per commensationes et blanditias, per scrupulos et animi anxietates, per societatis laudes aliorumque religiosorum et sæcularium sacerdotum vituperia, ad vocationem capessendam dispositis, integrâ septimanâ in spiritualibus exercitiis detinentur, quæ cum optima et piissima sint, eâ tamen ratione dantur, ut ad Societatis ingressum plurimos inducant . . . nam electio novi status vitæ proponitur ; imò, *ad eam hanc novam deliberationem urgent, ut meditationes quasdam et orationes propositas nemo sincerè peragere possit, nisi religionum statum amplecturus.*”—*Narratio de Corruptelâ Collegii Anglicani*, &c., 1623, c. i. p. 6. Orig. MS. formerly belonging to the college, and now in the possession of Mr. Tierney.

was ensured to them, and facilities in the prosecution of their studies were accorded, from which their less compliant brethren were carefully debarred. The lay-brothers of the Company employed about the house, were permitted to insult them: they were the butt of general contempt—oppressed, abused, shunned, excluded on all occasions.¹ Even in their studies they were thwarted—almost always excluded from the public disputations. Expulsion may be supposed to have been an easy process in such a government—judging from the fact that a student of Douay was expelled by the Jesuits merely for exhorting his associates to become secular priests, rather than Jesuits, contrary to the destination of the seminary.² It will easily be imagined that, under such circumstances, few would be found to resist the temptations by which they were surrounded. Of forty-seven persons who left the college, during the seven years immediately preceding 1623, fourteen only, of the *most incompetent*, were added to the body of the clergy: the remaining thirty-three, after obtaining the whole, or the greater part, of their education at the expense of the establishment, passed at once to the novitiate of the fathers.”³

¹ “Patrum Societatis coadjutores, qui famulorum officia obeunt, permittuntur clericis insultare . . . Illud quod maximè clericos dejecit, est dedecus summum quo in collegio hoc afficiuntur clerici: illos enim, levissimis de causis, non solum verbis et factis deprimunt, uti jam dictum est, sed ita etiam contemptos reddunt, ut ab ipsorum consortio omnes in collegio abhorreant,” &c.—*Ut supra*, 46, 53, 95, 24, 25, 32, 33.

² Extract from the Douay Diary, 15th Dec., 1622.—*Apud Tierney*. The matter was actually brought under the notice of the Inquisition, and the Jesuits were compelled to give the student a testimonial of good morals in *other respects*. See Tierney, v. 98, note.

³ From a memorial, presented by the agent Rant, to the protector of the mission, in 1625,—Rant’s own copy in Mr. Tierney’s possession. “I have,” says Mr. Tierney, “five other lists, all agreeing, in almost every particular, with this; and all giving the most melancholy account of the qualifications, corporeal

Was it, therefore, to be wondered at, that long before, in 1619, the clergy had memorialised Pope Paul V. on the subject, boldly and plainly denouncing the practices of the Jesuits, their cruel spoliation of that Naboth's vineyard—the support of the English mission. “On the other hand,” they said to the pope, “we have found by long experience, that the Jesuits rather had regard to domestic convenience, and were far from being serviceable to the clergy in that office; which plainly appeared from their continual practising upon the students, to withdraw them from the institution, wherein they *were engaged by oaths*, and bring them over, either to the Society, or to some other religious order. This kind of practices being detected by St. Charles Borromeus (of pious memory), among the Jesuits, to whose care he had committed his seminary at Milan, he removed them, and gave the whole government up to the clergy. But, we, alas! not a little unfortunate on this account, have been obliged, now several years, to submit to all the inconveniences of that economy, not only in the seminaries of Rome and Spain (which, though instituted for the benefit and propagation of the clergy, are now become, as it were, only *noviceships for the Society*), but even in that seminary, which was founded and carried on by the labours and blood of the clergy.”¹

and mental, of most of the fourteen who became members of the clerical body [priests of the English mission]. Three were incapacitated for labour by want of health; one was epileptic; one had been rejected by the fathers, on account of an impediment in his speech; three others, besides one of the preceding, were utterly disqualified for learning; and two, whose abilities were of a better order, were not intended for the English mission, but were beneficed in France and Belgium. Thus there remained but four in seven years, whose services were really available for the purposes of their original destination.” Of course the whole extract in the text is from Tierney, v. 97, *et seq.* I have added to his text from his notes in the original, which I have also quoted.

¹ See the whole Memorial in Tierney, v. Append. xxxv. All these proceedings,

The English students reluctantly submitted to the systematic oppression of the Roman Seminary. When Bennet, the agent of the clergy, went to Rome, the scholars who were suffering from the partiality or the resentment of the Jesuits, waited upon him, stated their complaints, explained the condition of the college, and resolved to seek redress by an appeal to the pope. The pope entertained their petition, and decreed a visitation of the college. A prelate was appointed and authorised to inquire into the state of its administration.¹

It was not likely that the gathering storm should burst on the Jesuits unprepared, or without an effort on their part to avert destruction. A consultation ensued at the Tusculan villa, where the general resided, and the first resolution was to induce the protector of the mission, Cardinal Farnese, to prevent the approaching investigation. When this failed, another scheme was adopted. A paper, extolling the government of the fathers, and asserting the groundlessness of all complaints, was prepared and presented to each student for his signature. As might have been expected, the

perhaps, afford a striking illustration of the adage:—

“ Great fleas have little fleas,
And less fleas to bite 'em,
And those fleas have less fleas,
And so *ad infinitum*.”

Or perhaps better thus: “Wisdom for a man’s self, is in many branches thereof a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats that will be sure to leave a house some time before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears, when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are “*sui amantes sine rivali*,” admit no rival in their selfish schemes, are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.” Thus wrote Bacon; it applies exactly to the Jesuits; the sequel will soon rapidly evolve the decrees of retribution.

¹ Tierney, v. 100, and note.

majority, some from fear, others from affection, at once subscribed the document, and were thus effectually precluded from exposing the abuses of the house. Fifteen of the students, however, out of a total of forty-five, had the courage to refuse their names. These were immediately separated from their companions; a mark of degradation was placed on them; and a resolution was forthwith adopted to destroy their evidence against the superiors, by charging them with sedition. Threats, flattery, or abuse, extorted many of the signatures to the counter-petition: but the most interesting part of the affair was that the Jesuits committed themselves by overdoing the deed of self-approbation. In its original state, the paper made the subscribers express their approbation of the government of the fathers, for *twenty years*, and in each of the two colleges of Rome and St. Omer. Subsequently, it was recollected that, of the students, few had been at St. Omer's at all, and scarcely any could speak of Rome for so long a period:—the passage was, therefore, expunged. The visitation began, proceeded slowly, and was cut short by the sudden and unexpected death of the pope, Gregory XV. In his successor, Urban VIII., the Jesuits had one of their earliest friends and patrons.¹ When the order for the visitation was renewed, an important alteration was effected. At the request of the Jesuits, the former visitor was superseded, and his place was supplied by an ardent friend to the Company—appointed at the nomination of the superiors themselves; and the investigation proceeded exactly as may be supposed when party-reporters undertake a “job.” with eyes and ears expressly contrived for the occasion. This visitor was

¹ Ranke, 137.

required by his duty to stand between the parties :— he at once sided with the Jesuits—and boldly showed the spirit within him. He should have tried to establish peace on the foundation of justice ;—he at once defended the Jesuits and rebuked their accusers. He would listen to no justification whatever—nay, on the most important point—the mission, he said “ If the fathers had enticed the students to the Company, they were warranted in the proceeding : if they had sent only the refuse of the seminary to join the clergy on the mission, the clergy should pray that God would raise up worthier members to the secular body. The abuse which the superiors had constantly lavished on Bennet, Kellison, and others, was deserved :—the revolting slanders, by which they had sought to poison the minds of the students against the clerical body, were a *legitimate* means of reminding them of their own frailty, and cautioning them against criminal excesses.¹ Even the partialities of the fathers were not without their merit—they afforded the scholars an *opportunity of virtue*, and were intended as a *preparation* for that missionary career, in which patience would so often be required.”² This last contrivance was certainly a kind provision in the Jesuits, in order to enable the poor wretches of the clergy to meet the “ providential ” calamities, “ the vials of Wrath ” which the Company poured on the mission. The winding up of the visitation was atrocious. Charge upon charge he heaped on the recusant students. “ Of their turbulent and seditious behaviour, he declared, there could be no doubt. They had complained of the superiors—they

¹ Mr. Tierney quotes the original, and says :—“ I purposely omit the slanders from motives of decency.”—v. 104.

² *Narratio Causee, ut supra* ; Tierney, v. 104.

had condemned the government of the house—they had formed a conspiracy with Bennet, the inveterate enemy of the Company, to eject the fathers from the establishment ; and, however he might otherwise be inclined to spare their character and their feelings, in the present instance he was determined to sacrifice every milder consideration, and to deprive them for ever of the means of disturbing the seminary. It was in vain that they asserted their innocence, and denied the imputation thus cast on their intercourse with Bennet. In the evening, their sentence was publicly read in the refectory. Five were condemned to be expelled : two, though their course was unfinished, were ordered to *join the mission in England* ; and the rest were united in one body, and subjected indiscriminately to a course of penance in the college. On the following morning, the five, one of them only just recovering from a fever, and all without either money, or clothes adapted to the approaching season, took their departure from the seminary.”¹ And lest they should find an asylum in Douay, the protector wrote to Kellison informing him of what had occurred, and cautioning him not to admit them into that seminary.²

This is not the expulsion of the Jesuits from every kingdom of the world, and finally, their suppression by the pope himself :—it is only one specimen of their own conduct towards their own people ; and ere you read of that terrible thunderbolt of crushing retribution which shattered the Company of the Jesuits, you will have been prepared to adore that Providence which must punish, as well as reward,—here below, as well as hereafter.

Appeals to Rome from England ensued : by the pope

¹ Tierney, v. 104.

² Ibid. v. 105.

a new investigation was appointed, and, in spite of the opposition of the Jesuits, the Propaganda, to which tribunal the pope had referred the matter, decreed that the students were to be honourably removed to Douay, and concluded with a serious admonition to the Jesuit-rector, as to his conduct towards the students, particularly in the matter of expulsion. For the future no student, educated on the foundation, was to enter any religious order or company, without special license from the pope : each scholar, on his admission, was to take an oath to that effect, and to be ready, at the command of the protector or the Propaganda, to take orders and return to England on the mission.¹ These mandates corrected, or were adapted to correct, many of the existing abuses ; but what did the Jesuits ever care for mandates ? The crying abuses, peculation, spoliation, and traffic at the expense of the college, were covered with a prohibitory mandate, and the Jesuits went on as usual—though of course the animosities of the English evangelists were considerably expanded by this affair, in order to promote their trials on the mission.

Meanwhile the Company was possessed of immense leverage in the various courts of Europe. They had been compelled to leave Venice in 1606. Paul V. had excommunicated that republic for refusing to give up two priests accused of horrible misdemeanours, and delivered over to the secular arm. This was said to violate the “ecclesiastical immunities,” and the pope came down with his excommunication. The Venetian Senate forbade the instrument to be published in their dominions—declaring the sentence unjust and illegal—enjoining all ecclesiastics to disregard the papal anathema, and

¹ Tierney, *ubi suprâ*.

continue their spiritual functions notwithstanding. The Jesuits upheld the papal mandate, which was affixed to five churches during the night, and they preached up obedience to the censures. The doge summoned them before him : the Jesuits persisted in their determination to comply rigidly with the papal injunction. The consequence was, their expulsion from Venice ; and the fathers took their departure, amidst the execrations of the multitude assembled, according to Fra Paolo ; but with the lamentation of some of their friends, according to the annual letter on the occasion.¹ To have placed obedience to the pope in one balance, and twelve or fifteen thousand crowns, their Venetian rental, in the other, and to have made the former preponderate, seems to be very disinterested conduct in the Jesuits : but whilst their opponents at Venice, with Paolo at their head, congratulated themselves on thus “fixing” the Jesuits by compelling them to be consistent, the Jesuits, on the other hand, knew what they were about, and easily threw up a comparatively small rental, for the sake of hampering and embarrassing the party whom they suspected of machinations for the introduction of Lutheranism into the republic,—which would prove much more disastrous to the rent-roll.

The resolute example of the Jesuits was followed by the Theatines, the Capuchins, and other monks of the republic : the patriarch of Venice retired to Padua ; and other influential ecclesiastics openly proclaimed the rights and prerogatives of the popedom. Such was the force of this calculated example—and, we may add, not without the usual machinations with which, as we have

¹ Storia Particolare, lib. ii. 67 ; Litt. Ann. Soc. Jesu, 1606 ; Cretineau, iii. 135.

seen, the exasperated Jesuits "worked mischief." Considering the admitted suspicion of the Jesuits with regard to the underhand introduction of Protestantism,¹ there was certainly reason to believe that the Jesuits had stirred Paul V. against the senate, just as they hardened him into his cruel conduct towards the Catholics of England in the affair of the oath of allegiance. The result, however, as usual, did the Jesuits no good, though it produced bitterness to all else concerned. The alleged practices of the Jesuits on the wives and children of Venice, to stir up resistance to the reigning will of the state, and all their other machinations as recorded, may have been the exaggerations of less objectionable measures: but, in the given circumstances, there is surely no reason to suppose that the Jesuits remained idle when all their policy demanded that they should be stirring.² Many reasons were subsequently given by the authorities of Venice for the banishment of the Jesuits: the most cogent of which was, doubtless, the great influence they had acquired with the young aspirants to office in the republic, who, confiding in the promised patronage of the Jesuits, were taught to feel independent of the chief magistrates—in other words, that the Jesuits were establishing an "empire in the empire," were building up a political domination in Venice, buttressed with their numberless spiritual contrivances.³

¹ Cretineau, iii. 134.

² Thuan. l. 137, Ann. 1607.

³ Thuana, *Jesuites*. "I remember," says Bayle, "that asking a person who told me numberless profligate actions of the Venetian clergy, what could prompt the senate to wink at them, when they reflected so much dishonour both on religion and government? He answered, that it was necessary those things should be connived at for the public good; and to explain the enigma, he added, that the senate were never better pleased than when the common people held the priests and friars in the utmost contempt, since those were then less able to spirit them up to rebellion. One of the reasons, says he, why the government of

Be that as it may,—but certainly the state was justified in expelling a set of men who were openly resolved to set the law of the land at defiance, and to sow division among the people, with fanatical exhortations. No entreaties could shake the resolution of the senate. Henry IV. of France, mediated and petitioned in favour of the Jesuits, or rather, to bring about a reconciliation between the pope and the republic :—but the objections against the Jesuits were too strong to be overruled, and they were banished in perpetuity—which, however, was only for the term of fifty years, when the Company contrived to achieve a glorious return to the City of the Doge.¹ In fact, the hatred prevalent in Venice against the Jesuits was intense, as may appear from the words of the leader of their opponents. “You will excuse me,” says Fra Paolo, “if I make no difference between a Spaniard and a Jesuit, except this (wherein I agree with you),

*Venice does not like the Jesuits is, because those fathers observe a better decorum; and as the vulgar venerate them, because of their more regulated exterior, they therefore have a greater opportunity of raising seditions. I can hardly believe so horrid a circumstance to be true. At what a wretched pass would things be, was the supreme authority forced to support itself by such expedients; or did a virtuous behaviour render the clergy more formidable than dissoluteness,” &c.—*Dict. v. 163. Of course, nothing can be more absurd than this piece of political gossip, and with the philosopher, we “can hardly believe so horrid a circumstance to be true;” but I quote the passage, merely to point out one of the “rogueries” of “Father Prout,” in his “Reliques.” This amusing writer tells us (p. 298, note of vol. i.) alluding to this expulsion of the Jesuits, that “in Bayle’s Dictionary will be found the real cause of their expulsion; they may be proud of it.” An uninformed reader would naturally suppose that Bayle puts forth some historical fact whereof the Jesuits might be “proud,” whereas it turns out to be a paltry piece of gossip, which he expressly questions with a generous moral sentiment, that “Prout,” with all his theology, could not conceive. Moreover, it must be remembered that the prime cause of the difference with the pope was the punishment of *immoral priests*. That the Venetian priests were bad enough, is doubtless true; but that the Jesuits were expelled because they were better, is, I think, as absurd as it is false in point of fact. See Bayle, however, for the rest of the note: ’tis a curious chapter in Romanism, &c. Abelard, (P).

¹ Cretineau, iii. 132, 150.

that I hold the greatest Spanish rogue in the world to be a better man than the least wicked Jesuit that exists—for a Spaniard hath bowels in his brains, and hath a capacity of learning some good, if he be taught it; but the Jesuits are all flint, and their consciences are darkened, and there is no speaking to them, unless you have a kingdom to embroil, or a parliament to toss up into the air.”¹

At the court of Austria the influence of the Jesuits was paramount. Rodolph II. was reigning. Educated at the court of Spain, under the auspices of Philip, and by the Jesuits, he was, during his whole reign, rendered totally subservient to the court of Madrid. His learning, which, in a person of a different character, might have counteracted the predominant influence, only contributed to rivet the fetters of early habit and education. What is most remarkable is, that he was greatly addicted to alchemy, or its pursuit, and still more to judicial astrology.² The toleration which he found established by his father was soon superseded by the most rigorous measures against the Protestants—the formulary of the Catholic faith had to be signed as peremptorily as the oath of allegiance to King James; no man was admitted to the rights of citizenship without taking an oath of submission to the Catholic priesthood: finally, he shut up many Protestant churches. Thus, whilst the Jesuits were complaining in England against persecution, they were instigating the measure in Austria; and, what is more, enjoying the triumph which accrued on the “restoration of Catholicism,” as it was called by the bigots. The intestinal dissensions amongst the Protestants themselves admirably promoted the systematic

¹ Letters to Father Paul, translated by Brown, ed. 1693, p. 96.

² Coxe, Austria, ii. 63, *et seq.*

assault of their opponents. The Jesuits took advantage of these dissensions, and, with consummate ingenuity, turned the arguments and precedents advanced by the Protestants against themselves. They urged that the "religious peace" was now abrogated, for it was not applicable to the Calvinists, because the Lutherans themselves had disclaimed them as brethren,—nor to the Lutherans, because, by adopting a new creed, they no longer adhered to the confession of Augsburg, which was the basis of the "religious peace." With the same address, they brought forward the mutual persecutions of the Protestants as an argument that Catholic sovereigns had as much right to deprive their Protestant subjects of religious toleration, as the Protestant princes had assumed by forcibly establishing, in their dominions, their own peculiar tenets. In conformity with the suggestions of the Jesuits, therefore, the Catholic body adopted a systematic plan for the gradual extirpation of the Protestant tenets, which they set in operation under the name of "reform." The grand principle of the system was, to force the Protestants to *insurrection*, by rigidly executing the letter of the "religious peace," and other compacts, between Catholics and Protestants, by interpreting in their own favour every stipulation which was left doubtful, and by revoking every tacit concession which had been yielded from fear rather than conviction; and thus to make every new restriction appear not an act of persecution, but a just chastisement of disobedience and insurrection. This project, with other provisions, was carried into execution with uniform consistency and perseverance by the ministers who directed the counsels of the emperor, and was supported by all the weight of the Spanish court under Philip III., who was enabled to detach for its

execution, a part of the great military force which he maintained in the Netherlands.¹

It is impossible to describe the endless division and discord which resulted from this scheme, and the machinations with which it was developed. Rodolph abolished the Protestant worship in Austria, and then operated on Bohemia: everywhere the Protestants were driven to insurrection. Henry IV. of France came to their rescue. Besides political interests, which urged him to humble the house of Austria, Henry had long entertained a personal antipathy to the Spanish branch of that dynasty, whose interference in the affairs of the League prolonged that calamity, as we have seen, and made every effort to prevent his accession to the throne. And now the converted Huguenot, in spite of his Jesuits, comes forward to aid the Protestants of Germany in their battle against the tyranny and nefarious schemes of the emperor and Jesuits of Austria. The Catholics were arming; the Protestants had already commenced aggressions; the United Provinces were preparing to come forward; the march of the French troops, who were ready to move at a moment's warning, would have been the signal for a general war, which would have desolated Germany from one extremity to the other, and perhaps ruined the house of Austria, and with it the Catholic cause of the pope and the Jesuits. Henry IV. was the grand paramount of this portentous design; and there was no one to front the redoubtable warrior. They trembled in Austria: but in Spain they were inexplicably apathetic at the prospect—for *Ravaillac* murdered Henry IV. at the very moment when he was preparing to head his army!

A. D. 1610.

¹ Cox, Austria, ii. 66, 70.

Fail not, in the first place, to consider that this universal ruin of the house of Austria, as threatened with such probability of success by this new war of Europe, was brought about by the plan of the Jesuits for abolishing Protestantism and establishing Romanism. That murder of Henry IV. by Ravaillac was a catastrophe to the Protestant cause : whilst the Catholics, as much encouraged as the Protestants were cast down by the blow, assembled their forces with redoubled zeal and resolution. And now let us turn to the scene of the murder.

It is now generally admitted that the stupendous scheme of establishing a "*Christian Republic*," entered into the brain of Henry IV. He had resolved to divide it into fifteen dominations or states, all as equal as possible in power and resources, with limits specified by the fifteen in council assembled or represented. The popedom was first named in the list, France came in the third place, England in the fifth, and so forth, down to Switzerland. There was to be royalty by succession in five, six electorates, four republics—two of which were to be democratic—the other two aristocratic. A council of sixty heads, deputed from all the dominations collectively, were to settle all the differences of the confederates—and to be called the Senate of the *Christian Republic*,—which senate was to establish such regulations amongst the sovereigns and their subjects, as would hinder, on one hand, the oppression and tyranny of princes, and on the other, stop the complaints and rebellion of their subjects.

To point out the numberless obstacles that would everlastingly render abortive, nay calamitous, such a scheme of domination, would be here out of place and useless anywhere :—but the most absurd and incongruous

part of the plan was, that it was to be brought about by—*War*. After battering all who opposed the scheme, these opponents were to be expected to settle down quietly with an “O be joyful,” in the Christian Republic! *Austria*, above all, was most to suffer from this gigantic creation. She was to be pulled to pieces in order to patch up the “little ones.” She was to be forcibly “trimmed.” Vast was the armament required for the conquest of this desirable Canaan. Henry IV. multiplied his levies of men and filled his treasury with gold—gave his whole soul to the chimæra—as the most Christian king, who was so well adapted to create a *Christian Republic*? But, behold, in the very seed-time of the glorious project, an incident occurred, as if on purpose to show what work the future Senate of the Christian republic would be likely to have in hand, when dealing with the *Dominations*. Henry was in love (if the phrase be applicable) with the young wife of the Prince de Condé. The prince suddenly left the French Court, and took refuge in the Netherlands:—“it was said that Henry had insulted the princess with that adulterous lust which respected nothing—neither the fidelity of race, nor the ties of family, nor political interests.” This may, however, have been only the pretext: it is very probable that the Spanish agents contrived the flight by way of a “distraction.” Their machinations, subsequently, not only with the prince, but with Henry’s cast-away mistress, Henriette, and others in France, were notorious. Spain had spies even in the royal council. The Spaniards had never ceased to pursue their old enemy. Henry IV. had failed to secure himself, as he fancied, by making friends with the Jesuits. If those in France were faithful to him, those

in Spain and in Austria might make their French brethren the cloak of their iniquitous machinations. The horrible remnants of the League still lingered round about that anomalous king—the spies of Spain looked eagerly for chances. Henry hated the Spaniard most bitterly—and now that his enemy had sheltered the husband of the woman he craved—and would not give them up—his resolve to set about the Christian Republic was roused to redoubled activity and frothy boasting. In an angry interview, when Spain's ambassador demanded the object of the mighty armaments, Henry evaded the question and boastfully exclaimed: "If the king your master forces me to mount my horse, I'll go and hear mass at Milan, breakfast at Rome, and dine at Naples." "Sire," replied the ambassador, "going at that rate, perhaps your Majesty might go to vespers in Sicily."¹ But the "Sicilian vespers" were "dispensed" with.

Henry IV. was murdered in his carriage. There were six attendants within. And yet, it was said, no one saw the blow given:—they must have shut their eyes, assuredly. The unfortunate king died nobly: he expired without a groan. The people, in their sudden fury, insulted the hotel of the Spanish Ambassador: but the queen sent him a guard, and thereby gave the Spaniard "a high notion of that princess." Spain and Austria were incalculably "benefited," as they thought, by the catastrophe: they were certainly freed from a very dangerous enemy. And who will believe that Ravailac was not a suborned assassin? The occasion was so well managed that, had the murderer been able to throw away his knife, he would have been unknown—"but he could not let go his hold."

¹ Capcfigue, 497.

But fixed to the spot, there he stood, till they took him, examined, condemned, and executed him with the most excruciating circumstance of torture—in which he evinced the usual fortitude of a “martyr.”

What the assassin said at his examinations, was neither published in full, nor investigated—and every precaution was taken to suppress the evidence.

Public suspicion fell on the king’s discarded mistress, on the Duke d’Epernon, on the queen herself, and on the Jesuits. The enemies of the Jesuits allege as the cause, that Henry had lately inflicted a reprimand on the fathers, for having been overhasty in erecting a novitiate in Paris!¹ Certainly no explanation can be more ridiculous: it is as though they would raise a volcano to boil an egg.

Besides the political scheme in hand, many were the sources of danger which Henry IV. had dug for himself. The jealousies and resentments of his mistresses the Marchioness de Verneuil and her family, the Countess de Moret, Essarts, and the Princess de Condé, involved him in frequent quarrels with his queen.

The queen was a *zealous* Catholic, and entertained the surmises concerning the king’s political schemes against the *church*—though his scheme gave a domination to the popedom. The report was general over Paris, that the proposed war was to overthrow the popedom, and to establish the Protestant faith. The pope’s nuncio pretended to believe it. With this plan the queen associated the proposal of her own repudiation, to make way for the king’s marriage with the Princess de Condé, to whom, though now married, Henry seemed attached almost to distraction.²

¹ Hist. abrégée des Jésuites, i. 302.

² Ranken, vii. 107.

The veil which overhangs the mystery of this murder, will never, perhaps, be torn asunder. Many were interested in the catastrophe:—Spain especially, and the whole house of Austria. It was a dismal epoch of secret murders—stabs in the dark—in narrow streets—even on the gloomy threshold of palaces—how numerous were the assassins whom Spain had hired in her projects against England, in her vengeance against Holland! Ravailac may have been the doomed martyr for Spain. It is certain in Germany, the news of the murder spread so rapidly that it was said to have been predicted, with the day and hour.¹

Unquestionably the murder of Henry IV. cannot be laid to the charge of the Jesuits exclusively,—if at all, in the absence of all proof against them. Considering, however, their position in Spain and Austria, and the well-known opinions of their regicidal casuists, as applied to the peculiarities of the present case, the following incidents are somewhat striking—though of course, inconclusive, even if authentic—for the Jesuits deny everything.

When the news of the king's assassination reached the Louvre, Father Cotton, as if conscious of a coming accusation, instinctively aimed at diverting suspicion from his party; and exclaimed, "Ah! who has killed this good prince; this pious, this great king? Is it not a *Huguenot*?" Afterwards, when he visited Ravailac in prison, he cautioned him against incriminating *les gens de bien*—"honest folks."²

Father D'Aubigny, another Jesuit, who had been consulted by Ravailac, was particularly questioned by the chief president, respecting the secret of confession:

¹ Capefigue, 507.

² Journal de Henri IV. Fev. 1611; Browning, 207.

—but the wary Jesuit answered only by sophisms: he said: “That God, who had given to some the gift of tongues, to others prophecy, &c., had conferred on him the gift of *forgetting* confessions.”¹

The decided expression of public opinion caused Father Cotton to make an effort, surpassing in impudence anything of the kind on record. Accompanied by two other Jesuits, he went to the attorney-general, and, in the name of his Company, entreated him to sanction the publication of an apology, with a prohibition for all persons, of what quality soever, to contradict or reply to it. The application was too monstrous to be received.²

Henry IV. left his heart, by will, to the Jesuit-college at La Flèche.³ It was a barbarous demand for the Jesuits to make: but, in granting it, Henry was doubtless actuated by his usual political finesse. And if, to

¹ Ravaillac said that he told D'Aubigny, in confession, that he desired to strike some great blow, and showed him a knife with a heart engraved upon it.—*Anti-Cotton*, referring to the *Interrogatoire de Ravaillac*. ² Browning, 207.

³ Alluding to this gift of his heart, the following verses conclude the famous diatribe against the Jesuits, called *Anti-Cotton*—

“ Si vous voulez que vôtre État soit ferme,
Chassez bien loin ces Tygres inhumains,
Qui, de leur Roi accourcissant le terme,
Se sont payés de son cœur par leurs mains.”

On the other hand, the Jesuit Alexander Donatus consecrates a sort of lament to his Company's benefactor—

“ At tibi (finitimæ fors ò lacrymabilis oræ)
Henrici ante diem mors astitit. Improba tantum
Ausa nefas ? rogale latus transfigere ferro
Quæ potuit, Gallis nondum saturata ruinis ? ” &c.

Carmin. lib. ii. 249.

Another merely says—

“ Ferri indignantis rabido Rex occidit ictu
Aurea quod revocet, ferrea secla fuget.”

Alois, Cent. Epigram. 21.

the very last, the Spaniards were thorns in his sides, in spite of the mighty hopes he had put forth of being able to play them off by means of *his* Jesuits, the parliamentarians instinctively seized the occasion to denounce their hitherto triumphant opponents. In the absence of all proof, they accused the Jesuits of the murder; and to the latest posterity the name of Ravallac will always be connected with the Jesuits. This is the result of the bad company they notoriously kept, and the pernicious doctrines which they gave to the world; sanctioned by the seal of the Company. When their highest officials are known, by their own admissions, to have associated intimately with such abandoned miscreants as Catesby and Guy Fawkes; when their leaders are known, by proof positive—as in the case of the English Jesuits, headed by Parsons—to have scrupled at no iniquity for the accomplishment of their designs—the blackest calumny and cruelty, with falsehood in every shape; when these men are nevertheless found to be venerated as patterns of virtue, yea, as saints on earth, if not in heaven:—though we may deem the Jesuits not directly incriminated in the guilt of Henry's blood, yet the possibility—nay, the probability—must linger in the mind; and if we may not say, with Fra Paolo, that “the Jesuits are all flint, and their consciences darkened,” still, we have already read enough to prove that not a few of them exhibited these qualities to a deplorable extent. Doubtless it was, and is, apparently unfair to proscribe the whole Company for the crimes of certain leaders; but the world has been, with ample reason, terrified and disgusted by the prominent specimens of leaders sent forth by the Society of Jesus—and howsoever we may lament the notion, it must still cling to us

stubbornly—and the name of Jesuit will always arouse suspicion.

Pierre Rousard wrote the following sonnet to the Jesuits, in the *Satyre Menippée*. I have endeavoured in vain adequately to translate it :—

“Sainte Societé dont on a faict eslite
 Pour monster aux humains les mystères cachées,
 Pour repurger les maux dont ils sont entachés,
 Et pour remettre sus notre eglise destruite ;
 Mignons de Jesus Christ, qui par vostre merite
 Avez desjà si bien amorcé nos peschés
 Que l'on se peut venter que là où vous pêchez
 Pour un petit poisson vous tirez une truite
 Secretaires de Dieu, l'Eglise et les humains,
 Et Dieu et Jesus Christ vous prient à jointes mains,
 De retirer vos rets hors de leur mer profonde :
 Car vous pourriez enfin par vostre feint esprit
 Prescher, prendre, amorcer, et bannir de ce monde
 L'Eglise, les humains, et Dieu et Jesus Christ.”

The ingenious and sensible Capefigue, in his theory of Action, Reaction, and Transaction—his terms applied to the Reformation, the League, and the reign of Henry IV., entertains us with some plausible remarks on the events which ended in the murder of the convert Huguenot ; and he justly observes that “posterity does not ratify the judgments of parties,”—alluding to the implication of the Jesuits in that murder, and affirming that posterity “cannot accuse the Jesuits of Ravillac’s enormity.” He probably means that the Jesuits should not bear the blame exclusively,—for he immediately says :—“When a man, profoundly devoted to a religious or political conviction, sees before him a king who destroys or persecutes that conviction, then there is lighted up within him a parricidal flame ; he perceives ancient examples, he sees posterity applauding the part performed by a republican Brutus or a Catholic martyr. Now

let that idea have full swing—it needs no accomplices—it points out to the dagger the heart it has to strike. Such was, doubtless, Ravailac : he extinguished in the life of Henry IV. the system of toleration and moderation which was irksome to the ardent Catholics.”¹ Alas ! is not this very exposition the whole front of the offending ? Who advanced—who promoted that frightfully inhuman “idea” ? Whom have we seen the bold and whelming paladins of that “idea ?” Who are the men who, even at the very time in question, were exerting themselves to the utmost, in order to abolish that “system of toleration and moderation which was irksome to the ardent Catholics” of Germany ? The Jesuits. And, unquestionably, if we budge an inch from the question of guilt by *actual proof*, to the question of guilt by *doctrinal inculcation* in all its bearings, we may pronounce the Jesuits concomitantly responsible for that murder, as well as all the “religious” iniquity of the Catholic movement.

In the midst of the excitement produced by the murder, there appeared the famous pamphlet entitled, “*Anti-Cotton*, wherein it is proved that the Jesuits are guilty, and the authors of the execrable parricide committed on the person of the Most Christian King Henry IV. of happy memory.” It was put forth in the same year, 1610, and vast was the impression it made. Edition after edition, and in all languages, circulated through the world, everywhere finding readers and approval. Cardinal Du Perron, though a friend of the Company on many occasions, said that “it was well done,” adding, that “no book hitherto written against the Jesuits damaged them so much ;” and superadding, by way of explanation, “They are too ambitious ; they

¹ La Ligue et Henri IV., *in fine*.

conspire against everything.”¹ The publication originated from a letter put forth by the Jesuit Cotton, a few weeks after the murder of the King, and entitled “A Declaratory Letter on the Doctrine of the Jesuit Fathers respecting the Life of Kings, according to the Decrees of the Council of Constance.” It bore his name, and was dedicated to the Queen Regent. It was, of course, an attempt to rebut public opinion, then lacerating the “fame of the Company.” An English translation appeared simultaneously at London. Thereupon the “Anti-Cotton” rushed forth with ruinous assault. It was a significant fact, that the Jesuits had interest enough with the authorities who now swayed the sceptre of the murdered king, to prosecute the bookseller who vended the work, to get him condemned, his copies torn to pieces in his presence, and himself banished the kingdom for five years. The Jesuits had the conscience to hold up this proceeding as a fact which necessarily showed the book to be false and infamous; but they nevertheless put forth numerous “refutations,”—the famous Cretan Jesuit, Eudæmon Joannes, again taking the field, and the illustrious Isaac Casaubon shivering a lance in the glorious skirmish. A slight analysis of the work will show that, at the time in question, it was adapted to damage the Company. It consists of five chapters. The first exhibits the regicidal doctrines of the Jesuits, then before the world,—not without striking and apposite applications to events then rife in the memories of men, particularly the Powder Action in England. Garnet had appointed prayers for the success of “an enterprise of the greatest

¹ “Ce livre est bien fait, et il ne s'est fait livre contre eux qui les ruine tant; ils sont trop ambitieux et entreprennent sur tout.”—*Perroniana*, 19; *Anti-Cotton*.

importance to the Catholic cause, at the meeting of Parliament ;” and the Jesuit Eudæmon said, in his Apology, that Garnet “did not approve of the deed, but liked the result” that might have followed.¹ “As who should say, that he did not approve of the murder of the king and royal family, but was very willing to see that accomplishment. It is by such subtleties and sophisms that they say one thing, and unsay it in the same line. These are the heroic deeds for which Garnet and Oldcorne, executed for the same treason, are called martyrs by Bellarmine, and by that Apology of the Jesuit L’Heureux, sanctioned by the general of the Order, Aquaviva, and by three doctors of the Company ;—and those Jesuits are inserted in the catalogue of Jesuit Martyrs, lately printed at Rome. Hence the kings and princes of Christendom will maturely consider in what security they can henceforward live, since the people are instructed by those doctors to seek the glory of martyrdom by assassination. And all good Catholics will be shocked and justly grieved to see the sacred name of martyr, so honourable in the church, conferred, now-a-days, on the parricides of kings and traitors.”² The second chapter brings the various regicidal attempts in France, in illustration of the doctrinal inculcations, and hits intensely with the fact that “the late king, who never felt fear in war, feared the Jesuits. The Duke de Sully can bear witness, that when dissuading the king from recalling the Jesuits, Henry IV. exclaimed, ‘*Then guarantee my life.*’”³ Their

¹ “Neque vero, ob eam rem, *Factum* probabat, sed amabat *Eventum.*”—320.

² Anti-Cotton, 116, 119.

³ In effect, Du Plessis, the Protestant, writing to De la Fontaine at London, in exculpation of the alleged share of the Protestants in the recall of the Jesuits, says :—“We did not in any way demand it ; indeed, it would not become us so

machinations against our Elizabeth are not forgotten—“and they lacerate her memory with abuse now that she is dead, exasperated because she would not permit herself to be murdered:—the Jesuit Bonarscius, in his *Amphitheatrum*, calls her the English she-wolf; and the Jesuit Eudæmon Joannes, in his Apology for Garnet, styles her *the daughter of her sister, the niece of her father.*”¹ And the keen-witted Anti-Cotton throws out a very striking hint, saying, “The house of Austria alone has the privilege of being exempt from the conspiracies of this Company. The life of the princes of this family is sacred and inviolate to the Jesuits.”² Chapter the third enters into particular antecedents of the late assassination, and Father Cotton is shown to have consulted or put questions to a demoniac girl as to the king’s life—a frivolous affair, but consider the times, and imagine its importance in the question.³ Nay, Father Cotton actually introduced to the king a Spaniard sent from Spain to murder the

to do. But the truth is, that we do not fear them as to their teaching, but only on account of *the king’s person and the kingdom*. Being parties in the measure, we share the responsibility of all that ensues. God grant that his Majesty’s prudence may always rise above these spiritual malignities, which have been so often experienced.”—*Lettres et Mem.* 47, Ed. Amst. 1652.

¹ Anti-Cotton, 127-8, referring to the chapter and page of the works he quotes.

² *Ibid.* p. 130.

³ This is really no joke as to the fact of consultation. The devil was much in vogue among the religionists and politicians of those times. The “History of the Devils of Loudon” is a sad affair; but the great, the learned, as well as the vulgar, gave into the imposture. It was in 1629 that Grandier, curate of Loudon, was burnt alive as a magician, but in reality a victim to private hostility.—See Bayle, *Grandier*. The questions which Cotton, according to the custom of Rome’s exorcists, put to the devil in the girl, were published by Bongars, one of king’s ministers.—See Bayle, *Bongars*.—Cardinal Richelieu sent exorcists to Loudon to free some nuns from the devil in the seventeenth century, and in our own times, within twelve years since, a similar affair edified the devotees at Rome, when a poor girl played the demoniac. Dr. Wiseman was at Rome at the time, and witnessed the performance.

king : when letters apprised the king of the man's intention, and Cotton was required to produce the cut-throat, he pretended that he could not find him anywhere.¹ And when Ravailiac was asked, "If it was lawful to kill a tyrant," he knew all the Jesuitical evasions and distinctions, as all the commissioners who examined him can attest. When they asked him who had stirred him to the attempt, he told them "they might have learnt, by the *sermons of their preachers*, all the causes for which it was necessary to kill the king."² What an extraordinary fact it was, that "at Brussels and at Prague, where the Jesuits are reigning, people spoke of the death of the king twelve or fifteen days *before it happened!* At Rouen many received letters from Brussels, written by their friends, wishing to know whether the rumour of the king's death was true, though it had not chanced as yet;" and a personage is named, who could attest such information beforehand from a Jesuit at Prague. Moreover, "many persons remarked the general disgust and indignation which prevailed when the Jesuits were seen at the Louvre, on the morning after the murder, smiling and

¹ Anti-Cotton, 133, *et seq.*

² It is recorded that suspicions of danger to the king were afloat for several months before the event. Du Plessis informed the King and Sully of a strange book at La Flèche, containing many signatures, several written in blood. The person who procured signatures belonged to the Sodality of the Jesuits. Concluding the letter, Du Plessis says, "the least things in matters of state are not to be neglected, and they very often enable us to dive into the greatest." At the same time, according to the same most respectable authority, and in a document addressed to the Queen of France, we read of "these sermons so licentious of the Jesuits, which are delivered everywhere, and even at Paris, and which, in times past, have been the forerunners of calamities to the realm."—*Lettres*, Oct. 30, 1609, and p. 212. Ed. Amst. 1652. See the *Mercure Français*, tome i., which published the regicide's examination, for his motives : he expressly mentions the seditious sermons he heard.—Bayle, *Mariana*, [K.]

bold, and presented to the queen by Monsieur de la Varenne, their benefactor and restorer.”¹ After the death of the king, two Jesuits exerted themselves to prevent the Maréchal de la Chastre, the general of the forces, from marching to the aid of the German princes—the heretics—as Henry IV. had commanded.²

The fourth chapter is an exceedingly conclusive refutation of Father Cotton’s Epistle to the Queen :—as a specimen take the following :—“ It is in vain that he alleges many Jesuit authors who condemn regicide ; for all these passages of Jesuits speak of kings *whom the pope and the Jesuits acknowledge as kings* :—but we have shown, by very many Jesuit authors, and by their actions, that, when the Jesuits have attempted the life of a king, they advance in their justification, that they do not consider such a man as king, though he bears the name—because he is excommunicated, or because he is an enemy of the Church :—and, in effect, the wretch Ravailiac alleged this as the cause of his crime, namely, that the king intended to wage war against the pope, and that the pope was God, and, consequently, that the king intended to wage war against God—the very words of the interrogatory.”³ Father Cotton, like Garnet, might condemn the deed, but desired its result—the death of the king, which forfended the deprecated calamity.⁴ All Cotton’s arguments are “two-edged swords—cutting at both sides—for he says :—‘ All the

¹ Anti-Cotton, 142, *et seq.* “ To this Monsieur de Varenne, the Jesuits were principally indebted for their recall,” says a note to the Anti-Cotton, “ and for their establishment at La Flèche : nor could De Varenne fail of success, considering his employment of *Grand Fourrier d’Amour*, Postillon Général de Venus auprès de Henri IV., and master or minister of the king’s debaucheries, as the historians of the time designate him.”

² *Ue suprà*, 144.

³ *Ibid.* 146.

⁴ *Ibid.* 148.

Jesuits, in general and in particular, will sign a declaration, even with their own blood, that they hold, in this matter and in every other, no other faith, doctrine, and opinion, but that of the Roman Church.' In this assertion, Cotton speaks against his conscience: for, if the individuals of the Company are of one accord in all things, it follows that Cotton and Mariana are of one accord, and that Cotton is wrong in condemning him"—unquestionably a very home thrust, whilst the Jesuit recoils—a palpable hit. "And as to what he says that all the Jesuits will subscribe to the doctrine of the universal Church, I reply, that the Jesuits will readily subscribe to anything—because they have mental reservations and hidden salvos, which they reserve in their minds: but I am well assured that the universal Church will not subscribe to any of those abominable sentences of the Jesuits, quoted in chapter the first from their books, and will still less approve of their deeds."¹

The last chapter of this ruinous assault levels a terrible cannonade against Father Cotton himself. Admitting that Cotton is exempt from the crime, that the Jesuits Gontier and D'Aubigny had not imparted to him Ravailiac's design, that he was not in correspondence with the Jesuits of Brussels—still his morals and profession render it improper that he should be near the person of the young King Louis XIII.² "I say that Cotton, who calls himself a Religious, even of a Company which assumes the name of Jesus, is a source of scandal to the whole Church—being always at the court. For this is contrary, not only to the regulations of all monks, but particularly to the rules of the Jesuits. . . . It is one of the faults of Father Cotton that he entertained

¹ *Ubi supra*, 152, et seq.

² *Ut antea*, 160.

the pleasures of the late king, instead of restraining them: whilst Henry was such, that if a man who opposed vice, had filled the place of Father Cotton, it would have been easy to restrain him"—an assertion by no means probable to all intents and purposes: but it was a sad blot on the religious fame of the Company, that a Jesuit habitually absolved and saw the disgusting profligacy of the king, and listened to his jests, which he sometimes answered by equivocation—as for instance, when asked by his royal penitent, in the presence of the courtiers, what he would do if placed in a strong temptation, which the king particularised, the Jesuit replied: "I know what I *ought to do*, sire, but I know not what I *would do*."¹ Apparently, in order to varnish this connection, the Jesuits say, that Father Cotton, in the midst of that immodest court, lived in such purity, that he could, by a peculiar sense, discover when such persons as came near him, had violated the laws of chastity. This Jesuit-faculty must have been intensely irritated by the king himself.² It was certainly a miracle if Cotton was an exception to the unblushing licentiousness of that court:—but though we pass over the charges brought against him, a doubt must ever remain, that he who so unscrupulously absolved, did rigidly abstain from, the particular deeds in question. Again, this is the result

¹ Tallement, *Historiettes*, iv. 200. Bassompierre exclaimed:—"Il ferait le devoir de l'homme, et non pas celui de père Cotton."—*Ibid.*

² Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu. See Bayle for other Jesuit-curiosities on the subject.—Art. *Mariana* [C.] With regard to Cotton, these are the words of the biographer:—"Sensus frænabat accuratâ custodiâ, et horrore quodam puritatis, quam etiam in iis qui se illâ fœdâssent, ex *graveolentiâ nescio quâ discernobat*." The reader will probably be reminded of the description usually given of Henry IV. in connection with the *graveolentiâ nescio quâ* of the Jesuit. See Tallement, i. 81, for the facts, which cannot be quoted even in the original. Capefigue also mentions the peculiarity, which seems to have descended to his son Louis XIII.—Tallement, *Henri IV.*, i. 81.

of the fact, that the Jesuits would keep bad company : if birds of a feather do not flock together, the Jesuit Cotton should have been nested somewhere else.

The Anti-Cotton concludes with the quotation, that "The Company of the Jesuits is a sword whose scabbard is France, but whose hilt is in Spain or at Rome, where the general resides." In effect, the Jesuits themselves have, as it were, countenanced all the terrors of mankind, resulting from their supposed regicidal propensities. In their Church of St. Ignatius, at Rome, they painted, in the four corners of the cupola, subjects drawn from the Old Testament ; and these subjects are so many assassinations or murders, committed, in the name of God, by the Jewish people :—Jacl, who, impelled by the Divine Spirit, drives a nail into Sisera's head, to whom she had offered hospitality :—Judith, who, conducted by the same guide, cuts off the head of Holofernes, after having seduced and made him drunk :—Samson, who massacres the Philistines, by order of the Almighty :—lastly, David, who slays Goliath. At the top of the cupola, St. Ignatius, in a glory, darts out flames on the four quarters of the world, with these words of the New Testament, "I came to set fire to the earth ; and what would I but that it be kindled !" —If anything could exhibit the spirit of the Company, with respect to the murderous doctrine imputed to it, these pictures would be a stronger proof of it than all the passages which are quoted from their authors, and which are common to the Jesuits and other doctrinal leaders : but the truth is, that these principles, supported in appearance by the Bible, ill-understood, are the principles of fanatics in all ages ; and we may add, of the greater part of any sect when they believe it to be their interest to propagate

them—and that they can preach them with impunity—as during the age in question. To them a heretic king was a tyrant, and of course a man whom religion and reason order us equally to “get rid of,”—as Ravailiac gave the excuse of his conscience.¹

Although it was evident that the French government did not wish to investigate the question as to Ravailiac’s accomplices: although it was manifest that a fair and public trial would have settled all doubts on the subject—yet it was thought proper to hasten the criminal out of the world, without any further inquiries as to the parties whom he named in his declarations. They needed some of James’s lawyers, or rather, it was well for them that they lacked them—since the highest in the land, as well as the Jesuits, might have been proved to have shared the guilt of the regicide. The Parliament ordered Mariana’s book to be publicly burnt, and the Sorbonne renewed its condemnation of the regicidal doctrines:—but there the matter rested—and the Jesuits went on as usual, scribbling against Anti-Cotton, and consolidating the “result” of the assassination.²

They still remained at Court, in favour with the Queen; and the discarded mistress of Henry IV. continued to smile upon them as fair as ever; whilst their

¹ D’Alembert, *Destruction des Jesuites*, p. 84.

² See voluminous details on the matter in the work entitled *Les Jesuites Criminels de Lese-Majesté*, and all the French histories of the Jesuits; also, Browning’s *Huguenots*, chap. 52. With regard to the guilty share of the Jesuits in the murder, Browning’s remarks are as follows:—“There would be a cruel injustice in contributing to perpetuate this sentiment, in the absence of regular evidence, if the Jesuits had not subsequently been in a situation which enabled them to justify the reputation of their body. The two succeeding kings had Jesuits for confessors; and although everything tended to facilitate the elucidation of this event, not the least effort was made to render public the investigations and statements, which the Parliament in 1610 had consigned to secrecy.”—*Ibid.* 207.

Father Caussin directed his wits to astrology for the enlightenment of the Queen regent, and his own edification. Like Burton, of melancholy memory, he predicted his own death by astrology, and, according to Tallement, on the appointed day, though in health, he laid him down on his bed and died.¹

In the midst of the endless assaults which the Jesuits suffered on all sides—from Catholics as well as Protestants—it was certainly a clever expedient to hold Catholics in check by getting the Company's founder enrolled among the saints of the Church. It would scarcely beseem an obedient child of the Church to find fault with the work of a saint in heaven;—and so the Jesuits had long resolved to get admission for Ignatius into the “Paradise of”—Rome. Had it not been for this clever expedient of the Jesuits, the voluminous denunciations of their modern opponent *Gioberti* would have been much less inconsistent than they are—for, being compelled, for the sake of that “orthodoxy” which he is anxious to display, to venerate Ignatius, and Xavier, and Borgia, he has filled his prodigious volumes with interminable rhetoric, so wearisome, that he tires us into disgust with the Jesuits, simply because they are the cause of the voluminous production—whose

¹ *Historiettes*, ii. 183. The Queen Regent, says Tallement, was a great believer in these predictions, and she was enraged when they assured her that Cardinal Richelieu would prosper and live a long time. She also believed that those large flies which buzz about in summer, hear what is said, and go and repeat it; whenever she saw them, she would never talk secrets. The Jesuits had a man for every fate and office, and position; and Father Caussin was astrologer to the court of France. It was said, but of course denied by the Jesuits, that Cotton invented a certain mirror, or reflector, which conveyed to Henry IV. all the secrets of all the cabinets in Europe. This was probably an allegorical exposition of the *Jesuit-espionage throughout the world of politics*.—See *Bayle*, viii. 617, b.

facts are mere unity, as it were, whilst his frothy, but "orthodox" argumentation is truly infinite.¹

It was in 1609 that the Jesuits induced Paul V. to beatify Ignatius. The pope had not been able to get the Jesuits included in the reconciliation which he had arranged with the Venetians. Glad to find an opportunity for mitigating the disgrace of that banishment, which was the immediate result of their devotedness to the popedom, Paul V. most graciously listened to the humble prayer which his well-beloved sons, Claudio Aquaviva, and all his companions, laid at his holy feet. A breve was forthwith expedited, granting the prayer of their petition, and henceforth mass might be said to the honour of the broken-down Knight of Pampeluna, in all the churches of the Company, as to a confessor of the faith, on every 31st of July, the day of Inigo's departure from his "toil and trouble," as has been related at the end of my first volume, quoting the Jesuits themselves, and with very small edification.

Vast and pompous was the display to celebrate that glorious beatification. Ridiculous panegyrics fed the ravenous devotees to suffocation; and the Sorbonne of Paris cruelly came forward to condemn such harmless absurdities as the following:—"Ignatius, with his name

¹ *Il Gesuita Moderno*, in five vols. demy 8vo. 1847. The Evangelicals have got hold of Gioberti, and given him a splendid mausoleum in *The Christian Observer*, for the present month of June, *quod vide*, 379—

"But who is he, in closet closely-pent,
Of sober face, with learned dust besprent?
Right well mine eyes arede the myster wight,
On parchment scrapes y-fed, and Wormius hight.
To future ages may thy dulness last,
As thou preserv'st the dulness of the past!"

written upon paper, performed more miracles than Moses, and as many as the Apostles." "The life of Ignatius was so holy and exalted, even in the opinion of heaven, that only popes, like St. Peter, empresses, like the mother of God, some other sovereign monarchs, as God the Father and His Holy Son, enjoyed the bliss of seeing him." These propositions were condemned by the quondam regicidal Sorbonne, which pronounced these devotional platitudes "scandalous, erroneous, blasphematory, impious, execrable, detestable, false, and manifestly heretical,"—although the cunning Jesuits got three monks to deliver the sentiments, whilst the French Jesuit Solier piously translated them, as being "very excellent" for the edification of the faithful and the fame of the Company. Solier attacked the censure of the Sorbonne, and the Company went on urging the saint's *canonisation*—which is the second stage of sanctity after beatification—somewhat like the dressing of leather after tanning.

Now, since the year 1232 of the ages of faith, Rome would not canonise any one without attested miracles—a sad decree, for it became the "proximate occasion" of all manner of pious fraud and perjury. Miracles, then, were absolutely necessary for the canonisation of this Catholic, who would perversely die without the sacraments. There was the difficulty; for, in the two editions of his Life, before the world, one sanctioned by Borgia, the other by Aquaviva himself, and considerably enlarged, Ribadeneyra had, as we have read, not only stated the absence of miraculous powers in Ignatius, but undertook to show that they were not necessary, or that the Order and its achievements were equivalents; but these were not precisely the promissory notes by Rome

required—nor could these be found in that chapter of Maffeus, wherein he tells of “certain marvellous things concerning Ignatius.” Difficulties vanish at the command of the Jesuits : they cut the Gordian knot without a moment’s hesitation. And they made Ribadeneyra belie himself as expediently as James I. had done by his secretary, Balmerino, in the sad affair of the letter to the pope. Ribadeneyra published another Life of the founder in 1612, with a great number of miracles, excusing their previous omission, because, said he, they had not appeared sufficiently certain and attested. This was, of course, palpable chicanery : he had positively intimated that Ignatius had performed no miracles at all. But the Jesuits were dominant at Rome—*stet pro ratione voluntas* was the command, and they began to collect miracles accordingly in all parts of the habitable world, where the angels of the Company were at their posts in readiness—

“All in a moment through the gloom were seen,
Ten thousand banners rise into the air
With orient colours waving.”

Japan, China, Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil, Abyssinia, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Flanders, furnished them fifty times more miracles than they needed to set their limping founder on his legs of saintship. More than two hundred miracles are now recorded in the various biographers—which admit of no exception whatever in their impious and disgusting absurdity. Ignatius was made miraculously to appear to Xavier in India and to rout by his presence a mighty host of the Infidels ;—and he condescended to raise a *hen* to life, which was accidentally drowned. When the

words : “ St. Ignatius bring the hen to life,” were pronounced, she came to life—but quite a changed creature, for, ever after she lived like a nun, apart from the other hens, and the lords of the roost. Bartoli gives more than one hundred ; and the Bull of Canonisation signalled the most stupendous,—when, in 1621, Gregory XV. yielded to the Jesuit-stirred acclamation and sanctified Ignatius, together with Francis Xavier. Louis XIII. of France, the Emperor Ferdinand, the King or Duke of Bavaria, and other royal and princely patrons of the Jesuits, were induced to join “ the prayer of their petition.” Bonfires and roaring cannon proclaimed the dirty deed accomplished ; and in every province of the Company the most extravagant rejoicings celebrated the unblushing roguery of the Jesuits.¹ At Douay they erected four galleries in the two streets leading to their church. These were supported by a hundred compartments and columns, Doric and Ionic, on which were suspended four hundred and fifty paintings in oil, one hundred and seventy of which were three feet high and two and a half in breadth, enriched with gilt frames most beautiful. The two first represented the exploits and miracles of Ignatius and Xavier ; the others were portraits of the most distinguished members and martyrs of the Company ; and under each portrait was a quatrain of verses highly ornamented, displaying the appropriate doggerel, of which I have given a specimen when describing Everard Mercurian, the third general of the Jesuits.²

Everywhere there were grand processions, from the

¹ See *Hist. de Dom Inigo* for details, ii. p. 193—210.

² *Tableaux des Personnages, &c. exposés en la Canonization des SS. Ignace et F. Xavier ; célébrée par le Collège de la Comp. à Douay, 1623.*

24th to the 31st of July. The images of Inigo and Xavier were borne about in triumph to the sound of trumpets, alternated by musicians singing hymns and canticles in honour of the Cæsar and the Alexander of the spiritual knight-errantry. Their churches displayed gorgeous ornaments, magnificent hangings, costly pictures, brilliant illuminations—in a word, nothing was spared to make a Paradise for Ignatius, on earth at least. Large letters in gold, on pillars, proclaimed the names of the regions where the Company of Jesus had, in such and such a year, planted the faith Catholic—India, Japan, Brazil, Ethiopia, Monomatopa, Mexico, Guinea, Peru, the empire of Mogul, China, all the world over.

The courts of their colleges were not less decorated than their churches. Triumphal arches, statues, pyramids covered from top to bottom with enigmas, emblems and anagrams, whose hidden meaning their scholars set their wits to unravel—all for ever and ever on the marvellous deeds of Inigo and the portentous Xavier.

They performed tragedies and sang pastorals in their honour; and finished off the diurnal festivities with fire-works from “flaming dragons,” doubtless, with thousands of rockets and fusees, some like serpents, others like stars—all intensely brilliant and turning night into day.

St. Germain happened to occupy in the saint’s calendar, the 31st of July:—the resistless Jesuits expelled him to make room for the incomparable Inigo; and France would have looked in vain for her venerable *bishop*, had the pious Parliament of Paris not interfered and decreed his restoration. What wonderful men were these Jesuits! Pagans they ousted, Protestants they dragooned, their own Catholic brethren they oppressed



G. Cook, sc.

and tormented, and now, like “the fox that thrusts out the badger,” they drive out a bishop from the saintship of that city which first “made room” for their founder and his nine companions.¹

Aquaviva had gone to his rest eight years before this glorious event : the general died in 1615.

Four-and-thirty years he ruled the Company, amidst perils of every kind—assailed incessantly from without, and incessantly disordered within. He had foiled his rebellious subjects ; but left them unchanged :—thenceforward he treated the aristocrats with deference, permitted factions in the Company, who, with a nominal subjection to the chief, pursued their independent measures. If the French Jesuits held more directly to the general, the same cannot be said of the Spanish and English members, who, in the last years of his reign, were independent sections of the Company, with whom the “order of holy obedience” was but the shadow of a name. The period through which hitherto the Company has passed, is styled her age of iron, and that which ensues is called her age of gold. Expanding like every well-timed speculation, ready for every enterprise, with men adapted for every post, the Company was now fairly or foully established over earth. Her external developments have passed before us like the scenes of a drama—sometimes ghastly, at other times ridiculous, occasionally beneficent—but the supposed good effected by the Jesuits in the apparent restoration of Catholicism, cannot compensate for the woes which, on unimpeachable authorities, they stand convicted of having inflicted on large sections of mankind.

In contemplating the march of such wonderful apostles

¹ Hist. de Dom Inigo, livre vii.

in the distant land of the savage, with such marvellous results effected in their annual letters, we naturally long to see the traces of their evangelical foot-marks where verification is easy. The book of history must become our "edifying and curious letters." Our object is to discover, if possible, the good influence of Jesuitism among the Christians of Europe, and among the Europeans in the land of the savage—during that period extending from the foundation of their Company to the epoch where we linger awhile, advancing to the middle of the seventeenth century—a period of a hundred years, which constitute the main history of the rise, progress, and culmination of the Jesuits. In the introduction to this history I have faithfully represented the moral, or, rather, the immoral features of the preceding age; the succeeding half century exhibited no radical difference. Learning and wit were patronised by the great: virtue and morality were secondary, if not utterly disregarded. The casuistical maxims of the Jesuits, rife throughout the period, reflect the morality of the masses whom they led in their path of salvation: if they could not make men saints, they did their best to prevent them from accounting themselves sinners, so mild was the law of the confessional, so wide the confines of its exemptions, permissions, and dispensations. In that age of analysis, keen investigation in every branch of knowledge, mathematics, and universal nature, had their indefatigable students, eager to discover and expand their inventions—the former had a Vieta, the latter a Gesner;—and anatomy also had its patient students and minute elucidators—Fallopian and Eustachius had consecrated their names respectively to organs of the human system, which they discovered, or whose functions

they explained. The Jesuits applied the same analysis to moral science—inventing or expanding their endless definitions and distinctions in the matter of sin, until it seems difficult to offend against Christian morality. But their object was not to corrupt mankind: it was only to “keep pace with the age”—to render obedience to the orthodox Church as easy as the assumed license of the heretics;—or it was only to rival those teachers of the science whom they found in possession of the field. It was the cloister that was ever the most fruitful parent of casuists. Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans—from Thomas Aquinas, the heavy angel of the schools, down to Ligorio, the last of the tribe, I believe, there has been but one leading principle wherewith the casuists strove for eminence in the despicable art of fooling the consciences of men. The principle was, to consider a thing, first, according to its essence, and then, according to its circumstances or adjuncts. The method is necessary in geometry, where the exactness of calculation is based on abstract relations; but it cannot be admitted in morals, where we cannot pronounce on an action until it is really committed. Now, the casuists applied that method to morals. Is it a mortal sin to kill? Not in itself, since a soldier, a traveller who is attacked, and others similarly placed, may kill. Then follow all manner of distinctions, in the train of casuistry. But the hideous details in other matters! We cannot see, without indignation, priests, doctors, men who have renounced the intercourse of women, yet enlarging, with a sort of satisfaction, on all the disorders which result from that intercourse. We shrink with horror when we see them exposing to the public, in books printed with approbation, those horrible details

which the most systematic licentiousness confines to obscurity.

Then comes the tempting distinction about "directing the intention," after frittering away the broad principles of right and wrong. If a man sinned, his conscience felt no burthen: his "right intention" bore the load for him.

Emmanuel Sa, Cornelius à Lapede, Gaspar Hurtado, James Gordon, Suarez, Vasquez, Henriquez, and Toledo, led the way or journeyed together with the never-to-be-forgotten Escobar, so desperately transfixed by Pascal. Their maxims were comfortable to the consciences of the age. Who has not heard of the "probable opinions" of the casuists? But few have considered how expedient they were at a time, when leaders required headlong, mentally blind agents for any given work that might disturb a common conscience. And then it was that the indulgent casuists described a sort of sin called "philosophical," which did not interfere with the grace of sanctification.

Perjury, duelling, falsehood in all its ramifications, murder and violence—every crime might be made safe to conscience by some casuist or another. There are other misdemeanours too foul to name—disgusting beyond endurance. In reading the passages—not in the famous "extracts," but in the original authors, I knew not whether to wonder more at the astonishing *physiological* inquiries which these bachelor casuists must have made, than the shameless effrontery with which the immundities are minutely described.

It is not my intention to quote these casuists. To know that the plague exists in a certain locality is sufficient, without importing some desperate cases by way of specimen.

Long before the French Parliament, in 1762, made a collection of these moral developments, the Jesuit John de Alloza had performed a similar task, *con amore* indeed, and with the labour of thirty years—but still leaving the foul stables inexhausted. He entitled his compilation “*Flowers of the Sums, or the Moral Alphabet*, in which almost all the cases of conscience which may occur to confessors, are briefly, clearly, and as far as is lawful, *mildly* digested—from the more select doctors, chiefly of the Company of Jesus.” The edition I quote has, at the end, the propositions condemned by Pope Alexander VII. in 1664-5: but the whole, with all its immundities, is dedicated “to the Blessed Virgin conceived without sin.”¹

And what is the excuse for these revolting details? Why, that the confessor is a judge, &c. Be it so:—but must chaste ears be soiled in learning how chastity may be depraved? May they not dispense with certain lights so dangerous to themselves—so harassing—so *suggestive*?

Though the Jesuits overdid their share in casuistry, still it must never be forgotten that the Catholic casuists are a numerous body, and extend through all the monkhood of the Church—nor have we to read far in the last edition of Ligorio, in 1845, to find abominations. In fact, Escobar says, in his preface, that he has not maintained a single proposition which cannot be confirmed by the “greatest divines” *out* of the Company.

Much of this immorality is to be ascribed to the

¹ “*Flores Summarum, sive Alphabetum Morale, quo omnes ferè conscientiarum casus, qui Confessariis contingere possunt, clarè, breviter ac quantum licet benignè digeruntur, ex selectioribus doctoribus, præcipuè Societate Jesu,*” &c.—“*Dedicatio ad B. Virginem sine maculâ conceptam.*” Ed. Colon. 1669.

practice of sacramental confession ; for, when the conscientious conviction of simple right and wrong is deemed insufficient to determine guilt, the specious, interested distinctions of man run riot in the darkened chambers of the heart's desires. The broad and visible road of right and wrong is cut up into a thousand intersecting bye-paths, and the tyrant-will of the usurper who sits in the confessional permits or forbids the deeds of the deluded creature of that God whose right he has usurped ;—allowing him to luxuriate or not in those perilous bye-ways, just as his own heart whispers him away—by weakness or by the moment's whim determined.

The Jesuits may have baptised millions of barbarians, but unquestionably they had very few true Christians in Christendom. They found men desperately wicked : they made them “orthodox,” rabidly orthodox—and that was the requirement of the times.

Consider the free-booters in whose ships these missionaries sped to preach Christ to the savages. With the Portuguese, this Company of Apostles co-operated in the subjugation of the barbarians. The “zeal” of the Jesuits fanned the flame of conquest, and it became ferocity. The invaders made no scruple of pillaging, cheating, and enslaving the idolaters—and meanwhile the Jesuits “superintended the royal castles,” as Acosta assures us. The King of Tidor was carried off from his own palace, and murdered with his children, whom he had entrusted to the care of the Portuguese. At Ceylon the people were not suffered to cultivate the land except for their new masters, who treated them with the greatest barbarity. At Goa they had established the Inquisition, at the suggestion of the Jesuits, and

soon, whoever was rich became a prey to the ministers of the infamous tribunal.

Antonio de Faria, who was sent out against the pirates, from Malacca, China, and other parts, made a descent on the island of Calampui, and plundered the sepulchres of the Chinese emperors.

Souza caused all the pagodas on the Malabar coast to be destroyed, and his men inhumanly massacred the wretched Indians who went to weep over the ruins of their temples.

Correa terminated an obstinate war with the King of Pegu ; and both parties were to swear on the book of their respective religion, to observe the treaty. Correa swore on a *Collection of Songs*, and thought, by this vile equivocation, to elude his engagement.

Diego de Silveira was cruising in the Red Sea. A vessel, richly laden, saluted him. The captain came on board, and gave him a letter from a Portuguese general, which was to be his passport. The letter contained only these words :—“ *I desire the captains of ships belonging to the King of Portugal, to seize this Moorish vessel as a lawful prize.*”

In a short time, observes Raynal, ex-Jesuit, the Portuguese preserved no more humanity or good faith with each other, than with the natives. Almost all the states where they had command, were divided into factions. Avarice, debauchery, cruelty, and devotion, mixed together, prevailed everywhere in their manners. Most of them had seven or eight concubines, whom they kept to work with the utmost rigour, and forced from them the money they earned by their labour. The chiefs and principal officers admitted to their table a multitude of those singing and dancing women, with which India

abounds. Effeminacy demoralised families, and enervated armies. The officers marched to meet the enemy in palanquins. That brilliant courage which had subdued so many nations, existed no longer. The Portuguese were with difficulty brought to fight except there was a prospect of plunder. Peculation was general. Such corruption prevailed in the finances, that the tributes, the revenues of provinces, which ought to have been immense, the taxes levied in gold, silver, and spices, on the inhabitants of the continent and islands, were not sufficient to keep up a few citadels, and to fit out the shipping necessary for the protection of trade.¹

Among these men, in company with these men, the Jesuits went forth to convert the savages, whom, as we have read, they induced to comply with the fierce necessity which demanded their complete subjection. What, then, was the *moral* influence of the Jesuits with these "Christians" of Europe? Little or nothing; but the Jesuits were obliged to influence the poor, ignorant savages, so as to make them obedient subjects of the Portuguese and Spaniards. We shall find a somewhat different experiment in Paraguay; but that exception does not compensate for the general rule of Jesuit co-operation in the designs, the "idea" of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The Christians of France, the Christians of Germany, the Christians of England, the Christians of Italy, in the midst of whom the Jesuits taught, and preached, and gathered sodalities, have been witnessing the awful events which form the burthen of this and the previous books: and we may ask, was the influence of the Jesuits amongst them for good? With such examples as men beheld—such views as were proposed to generate

¹ Raynal, *Hist. of the Indies*, i. 206, *et seq.*

contention, how could Christian morality prevail? Assuredly, hitherto we cannot say that humanity has been benefited by the scheme of Loyola. The educational scheme and literature of the Jesuits will be presently considered. In concluding this "great" epoch of Jesuit story, we must glance at the government of the Company.¹

¹ In 1612 appeared the famous and popular work entitled *Monita Privata, or Secreta—The Private or Secret Instructions for the Superiors of the Company of Jesus*. The *Anti-Cotton*, the *Monita Secreta*, and the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, are unquestionably the three anti-Jesuitical publications which have made the greatest impression on the public. The *Monita Secreta* is still a popular book, circulated, in an English translation, by the thousand—a zealous and cheap publication, intended for the defence of the Church of England, as exhibited in the proscription of Jesuitism. The history of the *Monita Secreta* is, according to the Jesuits, as follows: It was printed originally at Cracow, in 1612,—an expelled Jesuit, Zaorowski, was "presumed to be its author." The ex-Jesuit was then a parish priest at Gozdziec, in Poland; and, as the charge was not proved against him, the fact of its being made is one sample, at least, of the deeds recommended in the book—namely, the unscrupulous persecution of an ex-member. The modern Jesuit, Plowden, a man who seems to have emulated Parsons as far as he could, is excessively severe on this Zaorowski. Quoting the Jesuits Cordara and Gretzer, he boldly proclaims him to be author of the obnoxious publication, although the charge was not brought home to the man, when the bishops and other authorities were called upon to condemn the book, as containing all that is vile—a sentence which was not necessary, only so far as such a sentence could exonerate the Jesuits—which, of course, is doubtful. Jesuit Plowden, master of the English novices of the Company, thus denounces the unfortunate ex-Jesuit, to Laicus of the "Times" newspaper, in 1815. "Would you know, Sir, the origin of your despicable *Monita*? Not in the days of Lainez, not at the close, but in the early years of the seventeenth century, a Jesuit was dismissed with ignominy from the Society in Poland, an uncommon circumstance, but judged due to his misconduct. The walls of the city of Cracow were soon covered with sheets of revengeful insults; and in the year 1616, this outcast of the society published his fabricated *Secreta Monita*, with a view to cover his own disgrace, or to gratify his revenge."—*Letters of Clericus*, 2. Now all this is the usual Parsonian virulence. This "outcast, dismissed with ignominy," is called by his bishop "the venerable Jerome Zaorowski, parish priest in Gozdziec," and the charge is expressly stated to be a mere conjecture—"De authore quidem certò non constat: fama tamen fertur, et ex præsumptionibus conjicitur, illum esse editum à venerabili Hieronymo Zaorowski Parocho in Gozdziec." Plowden must have seen the document here quoted, since it was published by the Jesuit Gretzer, who, he says, "victoriously refuted" the book, and expressly refers to Gretzer's

Mariana and his faction could do no good to the Company. Ranke perfectly describes the internal condition of the Company at this epoch of incipient gold, as Cretineau calls it ; and I shall transcribe his exposition

“ refutation.” The fact is that the author was never discovered, and the Jesuits contented themselves with getting the book prohibited, and publishing “ refutations,” as if such a work could really admit of “ refutation ”—being neither dogmatic nor historical, but simply a collection of maxims, “ words to the wise ” of the Company of Jesus, as alleged. The book was condemned by the Roman Index in 1616, “ in a congregation holden in the palace of the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal *Bellarmino*,” who, of course, was expected “ to protect, by his credit, the Company which had brought him up with so much care,” as Aquaviva wrote to the brethren on Bellarmine’s promotion. See *Hist. de Dom Inigo*, ii. 134, *et seq.*, for the letter, which shows the hopes founded on that irregular exaltation. Still the book circulated, and did not meet “ everywhere its merited contempt ” as Plowden asserts :—another decree of the same Index was deemed expedient in 1621. See *Documents*, ii. *Des Monita Secreta*, p. 19. Various editions followed, and the apocryphal testament of the Jesuits was ever in vogue. There is a MS. copy in the library of the British Museum. These are the only facts worth mentioning on the “ authenticity ” of the book, except that *Aquaviva* himself was supposed to be its author. See *Placcius* (No. 1501), p. 369. The preface to an edition published in 1635 at Geneva, states the document to have been found either among the books when the Jesuit College at Paderborn was plundered by the Duke of Brunswick, or in the College of Prague, and that it was some Capuchin monks, to whom the aforesaid books were given, who discovered the curiosity among the papers of the Jesuit rector. All this was probably intended to mystify the terrible Jesuits in their pursuit of the editor or author. I shall give a brief analysis of the book, which the Protean “ Father Prout ” exquisitely calls “ the mystic whisperings of the *Monita Secreta*,”—intimating, by the way, that they must be studied by every author who will “ sit down to write about the Jesuits.”—*Prout’s Reliques*, i. 274. It will certainly be evident that many of their maxims apply to the known practice of the Jesuits : indeed, I believe that this was the intention of the editor—namely, to show forth the principles of Jesuit action. It may at once be conceded that the code was not sanctioned by any authority in the Company :—but, without supposing such principles to be prevalent in sections of the Company, it will be difficult to account for the conduct of Aquaviva’s own Jesuit-opponents, the conduct of the English Jesuits and Parsons, as we have read from undoubted authorities, as well as other facts and matter, their casuistry not excepted. Besides, the very name of the book was familiar to the Jesuits, Mercurian having written “ *Monita*,” as I have stated ; and, especially, it must be remembered that all the regulations of the Company were not given to all the members, that numerous decrees are suppressed in the printed lists, and that though other rules might be written, the old Constitutions were to remain unchanged. I allude to these things merely to show

the more willingly, because he is represented by the partisans of the Jesuits as little short of an apologist :—they probably judge from garbled extracts, or the dishonest French translation of the German's admirable work.

that the Jesuits themselves have laid themselves open to the charge. To say that these *Monita* are too abominable to have been admitted for the guidance of the Jesuits, is to assume the very point at issue ; and certainly, even only hitherto, we have seen enough of certain Jesuits to believe that the principles of the *Monita Secreta* were their guides of conduct. The *Monita Secreta* consist of seventeen chapters, and the substance of the whole is as follows. The motive of all the professional labours of the Jesuits would be to recommend the Company to the people, particularly to the higher ranks ; always selecting rich cities for their foundations, practising on widows who had money—whilst they would constantly proclaim their *gratis*-prospectus. The utmost devotedness would be exhibited to princes and the great, humouring their desires with dispensations, and favouring their projects—yet in such a manner that there should always be some fathers who could shield the Company, in case of failure, by affirming that the charge of co-operation was false—they being ignorant of the facts. The favourites and domestics of kings would be conciliated—particularly princesses by their waiting-maids. The lax morality of the casuists would be used for the purpose of binding great lords to the confessors of the Company : invitations to sermons, harangues, dinners, and public disputations, the composition of verses, and the like, to their honour, would conduce to the same desirable end. Every effort would be made to gain favour with all persons in power, civil or ecclesiastical. The confessors of princes would treat their royal penitent with mildness and caresses—not shock them in sermons—but rather divest them of fear and exhort them chiefly to *faith, hope, and political justice*. They would endeavour to throw discredit on other religious orders, and strive for the monopoly of education : the defects of other competitors in the ministry would be investigated and published, and yet as it were deploringly. Very particular attention would be given to widows, and numerous are the means detailed to “do them.” How to entrap their sons, is answered by numerous expedients : prescriptions for increasing the revenues follow amain. The utmost severities would be enforced against members who might be found thwarting in any way the aforementioned “whisperings”—in order to induce them to resistance—and then to expel them “for not having the spirit of the Company,” if the question be asked. The most systematic persecution would incessantly torment the expelled members, who would be denounced in every possible way, far and near, and all their defects exaggerated. A similar persecution must thwart those who leave the Company of their own accord, tracing and crossing them in every pursuit, by spreading evil reports concerning them, or other calumnious methods. The peculiar business-qualities requisite in members, the methods for attracting the sons of the great and the rich to enter the Company—very similar to those practised in the English College at Rome—these are topics of considerable enlargement. The “reserved cases” next attract attention, with the method of punishment previous

He says :—The most prominent change in the internal constitution of the Society of Jesus, consisted in the advancement of the professed members to the possession of power.

At first the professed members who took the four vows, were but few. Removed from the colleges, and subsisting solely on alms, they had confined themselves to the exercise of spiritual authority. The places which required the active talents of men of the world, such as those of rectors, provincials, and college-offices in general, fell to the lot of the spiritual coadjutors. But this was now altered. The professed members themselves attained to the administration: they had part in the revenues of the colleges, and they became rectors and provincials.¹

to dismissal, and then occurs a curious passage to the effect that all members who have some chance of rising to ecclesiastical dignities must be made to take an oath to have a Jesuit-confessor, and to do nothing without the opinion of the Company. "As Cardinal Tolet failed to observe this rule, the Company procured a decree from the pope enjoining that no descendant of a Jew or Mahometan should be admitted, without making this vow, and however celebrated he might be, he should be expelled as a violent enemy to the Company." This animus against Tolet certainly accords with that of Parsons and another Jesuit, as we have read. Curious methods for dealing with nuns and devout ladies, certain precautions for enjoying the reputation of holy poverty, are duly developed, and the "mystic whisperings" finish with "the methods for advancing the Company." These are uniformity of opinion, whether real or pretended, great efforts to shine in knowledge and *good example*—endeavouring to persuade all, high and low, that the Company is absolutely necessary to the Catholic religion, thereby stepping into the houses and places of others (as into the English College), and having gained the favour and authority of princes, the Company will strive to be at least feared by those who do not esteem and love her. Such is the nature of the book. Unquestionably many a Jesuit acted on its principles—and perhaps this was all that the editor of the *Monita* wished to show in these "mystic whisperings."

¹ In a collection entitled, *Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massimi, istituti e governo della Compagnia di Gesu*. MS. Rom., there is a circumstantial essay of nearly 400 leaves: "Discorso sopra la religione de' Padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare," written between 1681 and 1686, evidently by a man fully initiated, from which the statements in the text are chiefly derived.

The first result of this was the gradual cooling of that fervent spirit of personal devotion fostered in the isolation of the houses of the professed. Even upon the admission of members, it was no longer possible to look narrowly into their fitness for ascetic vocations. Vitelleschi, Aquaviva's successor, in particular, admitted many who were nowise thus qualified. All strove after the highest station, because it conferred at once spiritual consideration and temporal power. The union of these was in every respect prejudicial. Spiritual coadjutors and the professed members had formerly acted as a check on each other; but now practical importance and spiritual pretensions were united in the same individuals. The shallowest among them had a high conceit of their own abilities, because no one ventured to gainsay them. In possession of exclusive power, they began to enjoy at their ease the wealth which the colleges had acquired in the course of time, and to bend their thoughts only on increasing it: they abandoned to the younger members the real discharge of duty, both in the schools and in the churches.¹ They even assumed a very independent position with regard to the general.

The magnitude of the change is particularly manifested in the character and fortunes of the generals—in the sort of men who were chosen for heads of the Company, and in the manner in which they were dealt with.

How different was Vitelleschi from his absolute, crafty, indomitable predecessor, Aquaviva! Vitelleschi was by nature gentle, indulgent and conciliatory: his acquaintances called him the angel of peace; and on

¹ Discorso. "Molti compariscano, pochi operano: i poveri non si visitano, i terreni non si coltivano * * * Escludendo quei pochi, d'ordinario giovani, che attendono ad insegnare nelle scuole, tutto gli altri, o che sono confessori o procuratori o rettori o ministri, appena hanno occupazione di rilievo."

his death-bed he derived comfort from the assurance that he had never injured any man. These admirable qualities of his amiable disposition were far, however, from sufficing for the government of so widely-diffused, active, and powerful an Order. He was unable to enforce strict discipline in the article of dress, not to speak of his resisting the demands of resolute ambition. It was under his administration, from 1615 to 1645, that the change noticed above took place.¹

In effect, at the death of Aquaviva, discord burst forth anew with redoubled vigour. The Spaniards were eager to restore the generalate to their nation;—and when they discovered beforehand from the movements of the opposing faction, that Mutio Vitelleschi, a Roman, would obtain the majority of the votes, they solicited the intervention of the French and Spanish ambassadors. The Duke d'Estrées, ambassador of France, refused to interfere, but Ferdinand de Castro was at first inclined to promote their desire. When, however, he became apprised of the machination, he withdrew his support. They clung to their project notwithstanding. They applied to the pope—the same pope, Paul V., whom the English Jesuits scandalised so abominably. Like the heartless, the unscrupulous Parsons, *this* Spanish faction memorialised the pope with bitter complaints against Vitelleschi. Their invectives failed in the issue. The pope said to them: “If Vitelleschi is such a man as you describe him, rest assured that he will not be elected general: I have, therefore, no business to meddle with this nomination.” Vitelleschi was elected by a majority of only three votes out of seventy-five given in the Congregation.²

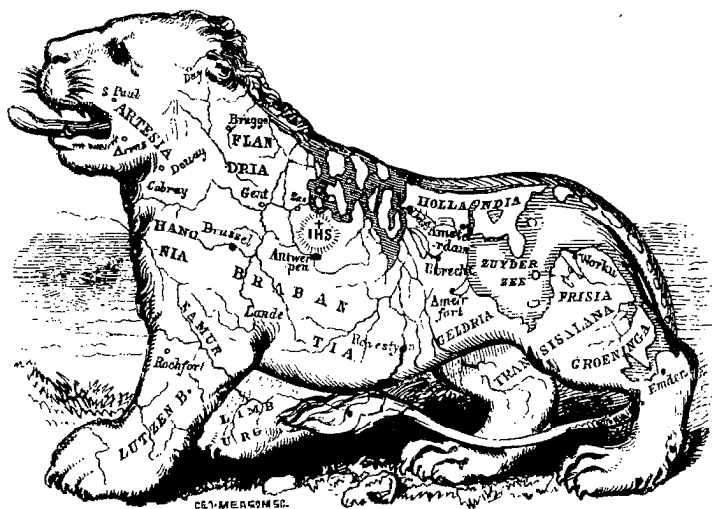
¹ Ranke, 307.

² Cretineau, iii. 178.

He was the nominal monarch of 13,000 Jesuits, scattered over every region of the globe—divided into 33 provinces—possessing 550 houses.

Bewildered with success—gasping for more—wild with that impulse which made Napoleon reckless of the future, 'mid the whelming onslaught of his vanguard—his fortune on the point of his bayonet—the Company of Loyola now roamed the universe, like the Lion in his pride and abundance—“in shape and gesture proudly eminent,”—and now no longer “pawing to set free his hinder parts”—“but rampant he shakes his brinded mane.”

“Jamque toros multo comit formosior auro,
Signaque Liole pectore fixa gerit.¹”



THE BELGIC LION.

¹ Imago, 937.

“Parcite Romani, populares parcite Iberi,
Belgica et ipsa sibi vindicat Ignatium.”

BOOK VIII. OR, LE JAY.

How soon did the Jesuits, the clever, polished, “gentlemanly” preachers and teachers of the Company, engross *the suffrages of all who, in every age, find an irresistible charm in novelty!* To the bitter annoyance of their predecessors in the sphere of influence, the Jesuits became, or rather, rendered themselves “fashionable,”—indispensable wherever the popedom needed a prop, or such royalty as Philip II. would establish, lacked promoters.

They were recommended by their very name to the devout:—their talents made them respectable to all:—the sworn disinterestedness of their motives, invested them with that conscious power of the man on whom sordid gold makes no impression—excepting that of unmitigated contempt when the heart speaks forth its words of fire.

Years rolled on. The fame of the Company, like the flame of the lamp that illumines the universe, blazed brightly forth—it was the “greater light” to the first children of men, who could not imagine an eclipse of that luminary which shone so intense in its dazzling brightness—so glowingly warm withal.

Cherished by popes, fondled by princes, beloved by their people, it was but natural that the Jesuits should strive to render themselves acceptable men to all who came within the sphere of their influence. Hence the development which they gave to the sciences,—their indefatigable exertions in the education of youth, their future friends and supporters,—their gorgeous Mission-schemes throughout the universe—linking all ranks together by the mesmeric influence of mind and will, which they brought to bear on the consciences—the hopes and fears—the passions, the enjoyments, yea, the vices of mankind, which they alternately schooled or let loose, in their accommodating expedience. This is the philosophical view of the subject :—it may be translated into their motto—*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*, by the Jesuits and their friends : but the undeniable facts which we have read, dissolve that beautiful motto into the disenchanting philosophical view. And yet, not without that admiration which must ever cling to the mind as often as we ponder their deeds of matchless daring, unflinching endurance, unconquerable determination.

What a spirit-stirring epoch of adventurous enthusiasm now dawned for the Jesuits ! It was that epoch so desirable in all human destinies when a position hath been achieved, and conscious energy of heart and mind ratifies the conviction that all may be won, as all hath been vanquished—the memory of struggle stimulating the resolve of achievement. That was the position of the Jesuits at the death of Aquaviva.

One of their missionary voyages most appropriately represents, in metaphor, the coming epoch of the fortunate Company. It was “the last day of July, being according to the Jesuites’ Order and Rome’s appointment,

the day of Ignatius their patron and founder of their religion. The gallant ship, called Santa Gertrudis, wherein were thirty Jesuites—for theirs and their saint's sake made all the rest of the fleet a most gallant show, she being trimmed round about with white linen, her flags and top-gallants representing some of the Jesuites' arms, others the picture of Ignatius himself,—and this from the evening before—shooting off that night at least fifty shot of ordnance, besides four or five hundred squibs—the weather being very calm—and all her masts and tacklings hung with paper lanthorns, having burning lights within them,—the watches ceased not from sounding, nor the Spaniards from singing all night. The day's solemn sport was likewise great—the Jesuites increasing the Spaniards' joy with an open procession in the ship, singing their hymns and anthems to their glorious saint, and all this seconded with roaring ordnance—no powder being spared for the completing of that day's joy and triumph. Thus went on our voyage without any storm, with pleasant gales, many calms, daily sports and pastimes, till we discovered the first land, called *Deseada*.”¹

As a ship on the deep, in her dependance on the winds and tides of popular opinion,—as a rampant lion, in resistless energy,—but as the brilliant jay with its conspicuous wings and imitative faculties, in her countless expedients and surface-decorations, the Company now presents herself to us in that aspect which will be, perhaps, most generally interesting.

After the labour of sixty years, the Jesuit apostolate in India was by themselves acknowledged to be a

¹ Gage, *The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land*, chap. v.—Of the Indian Fleet that departed from Calcs, Ann. Dom. 1625.

failure. The card castles of Xavier fell spontaneously. In the great stronghold of bayonet orthodoxy, there were as many priests, Jesuits, and monks, as there were European soldiers, officials, tradesmen, and merchants: the ceremonies of the Roman faith were performed as magnificently as in the first cathedrals of Europe; the "body of Xavier," that "everlasting miracle and authentic proof of our holy religion," says a Jesuit, "is there always entire; and yet, although there are, in that great city, more than forty or fifty thousand idolaters, scarcely one hundred are baptised in a year—and most of these are orphans torn from their relatives by command of the viceroy. It cannot be said that this results from the want of labourers, or the want of knowledge and enlightenment in the pagans:—many of them listen to the truth, feel it, are persuaded, as they themselves admit; but they would be ashamed to submit to it, as long as it is announced to them by vile organs, polluted, as they think, by a thousand low, ridiculous, abominable customs. The missionaries from Europe were, for a long time, unable to comprehend this strange blindness of the pagans, or, if they understood its cause, they contented themselves with deploring it, without endeavouring to apply a remedy."¹ This announcement was written by a Jesuit missionary in the year 1700, by which period baptismal results furnished a more respectable arithmetical figure in the Annual, the Curious, and Edifying Letters of the Indian Company. On a former occasion I enlarged on the results of the missionary scheme in India, and showed, on Jesuit authority, that little or nothing had really been effected

¹ Lettres Edif. P. Martin au P. Le Gobien, 1^{er} Juin 1700. (Pantheon Lit.) ii. 265.

by Xavier and his successors, except incalculable profanities on the part of the preachers, and great suffering in the miserable pagans. The grand result was, that “the Europeans were deeply despised, and the Christians of the country lived under the opprobrium and burthen of an universal, indestructible anathema.”¹ In fact, “the water of baptism had rarely moistened any but the cheeks that never blushed:” such is the forcible expression of the Jesuit. Xavier and his successors had been baffled; “Christianity” was at a discount; and a new speculation was rendered imperative to the forlorn Jesuits, who were called upon to transmit the edifying baptismal assets to the credit of the Company’s missionary bank. The Portuguese were becoming somewhat remiss in the use of the apostolical musket in aid of the missionary scheme:—but, even left to itself, the Jesuit mind was always competent to invent an expedient:—in the present instance it was very striking.

In 1605, Goa witnessed the disembarkation of an Italian missionary, whose age was twenty-eight. His name was Robert de’ Nobili. He was the scion of a family which had given two popes to the Church, and Cardinal Bellarmine to the Company, besides tracing its descent from the Emperor Otho III. Bellarmine’s nephew, he had joined the Company to the great regret of his mother; who had still more to grieve for her bereavement in beholding his departure for the distant mission. Long had he solicited the apostolate: Aquaviva resisted the pious ambition of the aspirant; but at length yielded to “the inspiration of God,” when the Jesuit’s *family* consented to his departure. This

¹ Cahours, *Des Jesuites*, i. 149, 154.

seasonable deference to the feelings of nature may speak for itself—it looks right well.¹

A glance at the state of the mission at once convinced this Jesuit that the prospect was ruinous: the “deplorable sterility of the Lord’s vineyard” at once suggested that a new mode of culture must be tried. He conceives a grand project; his provincial and brothers give him their approbation; the Archbishop of Cranganor vouchsafes his benediction, and he proceeds to effectuate his pious intention. The attempt had been in vain to propagate Christianity by the lower castes of India: De’ Nobili resolves to operate at once upon the highest; and with this view he resolves to become a Brahmin. *He* would not preach the God of the Pariahs.²

Avoiding all intercourse with Europeans, he put off their dress, discarded their customs, and, penetrating into the interior of the country, dwelt in a hut, after the fashion of the Brahmins. He took care to anticipate detection by the rapidity of his first movement. He chose to himself a servant, poor, but of a noble caste. He carefully learned all the habits and ceremonies in use among persons of quality, in order to copy them with scrupulous exactness. He mastered the *tamul* or vulgar tongue of the country, learned the language of the higher ranks, and the Sanscrit, or the language of science and religion. So rapid was his progress, that in a short time he might be supposed a native of the country—a veritable Saniassi, or penitent Brahmin.³

The Saniassi is the fourth and most perfect institute of the Brahmins. He lays aside the *poita*, or sacrificial cord, composed of 108 threads, in honour of the 108

¹ Juvenci, Hist. Part 5, lib. x, n. 46, *et seq.*; Cahours, i. 148.

² Juvenci, *ut antea*, lib. xviii.; Cahours, i. 158.

³ *Ubi supra*.

faces of the god Brahma ; but continues the usual daily ablutions, in honour of the Linga, with the appointed prayers and ceremonies. The Saniassi must also wear an orange-coloured dress, which, being sacred, is to be washed by no hands but his own. He carries about with him a copper vessel, with a little water in it, for certain appointed ablutions, and for purifying everything offered to him in charity. In his right hand he holds a staff or club, with seven natural knots, others say nine, representing the seven great Rishis, or in honour of the seven planets and the two nodes. This staff, which is greatly valued as a gift of the gods, must be washed every day with water from the Kamadala, or copper vessel ; and by its power, he is preserved from evil spirits. From his shoulders hangs a tiger's skin, on which he sleeps, because thus was Shiva clad. He fasts often ; eats nothing that has life ; flesh, fish, eggs, wine, spirituous liquors, and even certain vegetables are strictly forbidden him. He must bathe in a tank or river three times a-day, going through innumerable ceremonies ; and must rub his forehead and his breast with the ashes of cow's dung,—for the dung of this sacred animal cleanses from sin. He generally suffers his beard to grow, and wears sandals of a particular description, constructed so as to avoid, as much as possible, endangering insect life, and thus, perhaps, dislodging the soul of a progenitor.¹ Having duly passed through this ordeal with the utmost

¹ Bartolom. *Systema Bramin.* pp. 47, 56, 57 ; Mackay, *Calcutta Review*, No. 3, "*The Jesuits in India*," a well-written and forceful article. Should this meet the eye of the anonymous friend who sent me the pamphlet, I take the opportunity to express my thanks for the same. It is rarely that one sees, now-a-days, the Jesuit-question treated with knowledge of the subject as in the above-named article. There is, however, an important error in the translation of the passage from the *Constitutions* (p. 17), where it is made to appear that they

exactitude, under the eyes of his Brahmin servant, De' Nobili went forth with perfect confidence, as the first Brahmin of the Company of Jesus, the Roman Saniassi.



When the Indian Brahmins beheld the impostor, who was dressed exactly like themselves, spoke as well as themselves, resembled them in every feature, from the

require the members to *commit* "mortal sin" in certain circumstances. The meaning of the passage is simply that the Constitutions and rules of the Jesuits do not bind them to compliance in such a manner that they would commit mortal sin by *breaking* them, unless they are expressly enjoined by the superior in the name of Christ and by virtue of holy obedience. The error on the part of the translator is unintentional ; it is the *peculiar construction* which has misled him, like others who have stumbled on the 5th chapter of the 6th part of the Constitutions. It requires considerable familiarity with the whole subject, in order to treat of any particular of Jesuitism ; and the same remark applies to

tuft of hair at the top of his shaved head, down to the socks or clogs, in which he moved with ease, despite the goading peg of wood by which they were held to the feet,¹—all were eager to see him. Obscure traditions, but such as ever float on the surface of humanity in all countries, in all ages, were cleverly seized by the Jesuit, now fully and desperately embarked on the wide ocean of mendacity. There was a traditionary belief among the Indians, that there had formerly existed in the land, four ways of truth, of which one had been lost. Nobili affirmed that he was come to point out that last, but most direct spiritual way to immortality.

The critical moment was at hand :—the natural difficulty met the Jesuit—as he had expected. In a large assembly, convened for the purpose, the chief of the Brahmins accused him publicly as an impostor, who sought to deceive the people by lies, in order to introduce a new religion into the country. But the Jesuit was prepared for the assault :—he produced a written scroll, by way of testimonial, of course a forgery, produced witnesses suborned to abet the imposture, and, finally, he *made oath that he was from an illustrious caste*—by

the whole system of Roman Catholicism, though many seem to think otherwise, and seldom write a page without many blunders, which the youngest controversialist of Rome can easily demolish.

¹ The Jesuit Saniassis found this clog one of the greatest trials on the mission. Father Bouchet says :—“ These clogs are at first insupportable, and it is with the greatest difficulty that we can get used to them. I have seen many missionaries whose toes were excoriated, and the wound which was enlarged considerably, lasted four or five months ; as for myself, I have had a similar wound during six months continually. Hence one of our missionaries said that the language of the country, however difficult it be, cost him less to get used to it, and that he more easily learnt to speak than to walk.”—*Lett. Edif. Mem. des Indes*. The noble castes of India cannot touch leather without being defiled and degraded : only the Pariahs use leather.—*Perrin, Voyage*, i. 254 ; *Cahours*, i. 160.

equivocation, *meaning his Italian descent*, but wishing the Indians to believe that he had verily sprung from the god Brahma. The roguery was quite successful. Three Brahmins, overpowered by such strong evidence, then rose, and persuaded their brethren not to persecute a man who called himself a Brahmin, and proved that he was a Brahmin by written evidence, and solemn oaths, as well as by conformity to their manners, conduct, and dress. This interposition, by whatever means it was procured, decided the question, and the impostor, being juridically recognised as a Brahmin, received, or rather announced his name as Tatouva Podagar Souami, which means being interpreted, "the man who has passed master in the twenty-five or ninety-six qualifications proper for the true sage."¹

And now the cheat was to be kept up; the pious equivocation was to be practically continued; the "right intentioned" imposture was to be a "standing miracle" of exertion; the deliberate falsehood was to fructify unto the salvation of souls, and baptisms by the thousand and the million. In truth it was a clever speculation on that love of novelty in the human breast;—and incredible as the perfection of the imposture appears, still, we may concede the vain boast to the Jesuits, since the more this impostor imitated the pagan ceremonial, and the customs of the Brahmins, the less would the pagans have "to do, in order to be saved," with a teacher, whom they necessarily believed to be exactly as themselves—with only a speculative doctrine to super-add to their own philosophy and theology.

"The town of Madura was roused; visitors thronged

¹ Mackay, *ut antea*; Juvenci, *ubi supra*; Cahours, i. 160. "Il produisit des témoins et jura qu'il sortait d'une caste illustre." Ranke, 253.

from all parts. Nobili kept them at a distance—admitting only certain persons, and at certain hours, in order to entice attention and curiosity. For, in the opinion of the Indians, especially, the more a thing is rare and difficult to find, the more precious it is : gold, they say, and pearls are hidden—labour is indispensable for their discovery. Nobili's science, his manners, and penitential life, attracted a great number of disciples. He opened a school ; mixed evangelical lessons with scientific information ; and, in a short time the doctrine of the European *gourou* was reputed noble, and worthy of the Indians. In order to *ingraft* Christianity—*pour enter le Christianisme*—on those natures till then rebellious, he availed himself of everything—attacking them on all sides where he could find an entrance, by the aid of appeals to reason, their prejudices, their national traditions.”¹

The ancient tradition before-named was his fulcrum : —“ the apostle told them that the fourth way of salvation was discovered—that he was come to announce to them that sublime and blessed law which was the object of their wishes. He was believed : ”—seventy Brahmins “ bowed before the cross,” such is the usual metaphor,—“ and were, in a short time, *baptised*,” which was the real result, and nothing more. By that ceremonial they acknowledged themselves the disciples of *Tatouva Podagar Souami*. If he “ developed the laws of the Gospel and its mysteries,” as we are told,² it is evident that he must have cloaked them in such a manner, he must have disfigured them to such an extent, that the Brahmins could no longer discern the

¹ Juvenci, *ut antea*, as quoted by the modern Jesuit, Cahours, i. 160, 161.

² Cahours, i. 160, *et seq.* ; Juvenci, *ut antea*, n. 50, *et seq.*

“abomination,”—in fact, to use the Jesuit’s phrase, they could not say that he was preaching to them “the God of the Pariahs.”¹

This was not the only inconvenience attending this extraordinary speculation. There happened to be a nest of Franciscan monks in Madura. Now, the people, charmed with the appearance of the new Brahmin who came no one knew whence, looked down with contempt on the poor Franciscans, whose dress and common manner of life were not calculated to cope with the extraordinary pretensions of the new Saniassi, and made no appeal to their national vanity and superstition. For many years these monks had a church in Madura, where they performed the functions of their ministry. They were labouring comfortably, if not successfully, in that “vineyard of the Lord,” when the intrusion of the Jesuit forced them to decamp, and yield the field to the new comer, who considerably surpassed them in the art of accommodating himself to the taste of the Indians. Freed from these importunate witnesses, the Jesuit gave full swing to his ambitious zeal, and, for once at least, exposed the Catholic religion to a just accusation of being idolatrous.² Thus the conduct or the success of

¹ “Il ne faut pas qu’ils puissent dire : il vient encore nous prêcher le Dieu des Pariahs.”—*Cahours*, 158, quoting *Juvenci*, Part 5, lib. xviii. 47, 48. The modern Jesuit, Cahours, Michelet’s opponent, tells us that “it appears that the King of Madura himself yielded to the evidence of a religion now become noble in his estimation,” and was cut to pieces by the Brahmins to prevent the scandal. And on whose authority is this fact alleged? That of a *modern* Jesuit who wrote in 1840! In effect, if these Brahmins actually acknowledged the teacher as one of themselves, sanctioned his name as an orthodox credential, how could they cut their king to pieces for becoming his disciple? An inattentive reader would share the authority given by Cahours for this “fact,” and the Jesuits generally count on such inadvertence in their statements.—See *Cahours*, i. 162, note 2, where he states his authority as above, trusting that the reader would not stop to ask how a Jesuit could attest such a fact 240 years after its occurrence?

² Platel, *Mem. Hist.* i. 13.

Nobili naturally excited a clamour in the rivals of the Jesuits,—or in those who objected to the specious Christianity thus inculcated.

The rumour of these innovations reached Goa. The missionaries of different Orders, and all the clergy, sent complaints to the Holy See, and the Roman Saniassi was summoned to Goa. This was in 1618: he had “pursued the course of his apostolical triumphs, encouraged by the approval of his superiors, during the space of thirteen years.”¹

At Goa the Jesuit met with a bad reception. He came just as he was, by the necessity of his position, which he could not resign more easily than he had assumed it: “all were irritated at his scandalous conduct. He had given out that he was born of the head of Brahma—since he had incorporated himself with the haughty caste of a like origin. When he appeared with his cylindrical cap of flame-coloured silk, covered with a long scarf that fell like a shawl over his shoulders, with his red muslin robe, his large ear-buckles, and his forehead distinguished by a broad *potou*, or yellow mark, made with the paste of the sandanum-wood,—his superior, Father Palmerio, the visitor of India, would not deign to look at him; and all his Jesuit-brethren exclaimed, that they ought to eject from the mission a man who gave himself to idolaters, instead of gaining them to Jesus Christ. Four things particularly shocked them: his name, the mark on his brow, his continual ablutions, and the string composed of a hundred and eight yellow threads, which he permitted his disciples to wear.” It is difficult to reconcile this “shock” of

¹ “Rassuré par l’approbation de ses supérieurs et par treize années d’expérience,” &c.—*Cahours*, i. 163; *Cordara*, Hist. S. J., P. 6, p. 165—169.

the Jesuits with the fact asserted by the same pen, that Nobili had started with the approval of his scheme at head quarters, and had been encouraged by the same approval for thirteen years in his apostolical triumphs. However, as we are told, Nobili defended his conduct so successfully, that "every one of his brethren sided with him," and yet the sum of his defence was a mere assertion that all he adopted was the sign of nobility and not of superstition. The archbishop of Goa was of a different opinion. Was it proper, he asked, to become a Brahmin in order to make Christians? Was it not sufficient to explain the doctrine of a religion sufficiently eloquent of itself? If the Indians rejected it, after having it explained to them in the usual way, it was their fault: the preachers had only to wash their hands of the matter. Unquestionably there was sound sense in this argument. The Jesuit historian is of a different opinion: he says, "it was not difficult to reply to it:" but he does not state the replication.¹

Meanwhile the affair had been discussed at Rome. Cardinal Bellarmine at once condemned the conduct of his nephew. "I will not enter into the discussion of each article: but to imitate the Brahmins, and observe certain rites, is a practice diametrically opposed to the humility of Jesus Christ, very dangerous to the faith, and this I cannot pass over in silence. It were better," said he, "that the Brahmins should not be converted to the faith, than that Christians should not preach the gospel freely and sincerely."²

¹ Cahours, i. 163, *et seq.*

² "Minus quidem est ut Brachmani non convertantur ad fidem, quam ut Christiani non liberè et sincerè Evangelium prædicent."—*Apud Platel*, i. 15. Cahours says that Bellarmine wrote his nephew "a letter full of reproaches," i. 165. It appears that Bellarmine seemed, subsequently, to alter his opinion,

Nobili pursued his scheme notwithstanding, and his brethren followed his example. Moreover, they undertook to justify the method and its practices. They sent memorials to the pope, adroitly disguising the affair, and soliciting Gregory XV. to impose silence on all who condemned the rites they permitted their "converts" to practise. Counter memorials succeeded; and the pope issued a mandate which the Jesuit historians falsely represent as "authorising the conduct of the Jesuit-Brahmin, until the Holy See should further examine the affair."¹ The Jesuits, who at first pretended to be so "shocked," but soon aware of their danger, boldly asserted that the rites were merely civil observances, and had nothing in them of a religious nature; that they were neither contrary to the faith nor to morality, and, moreover, that they were absolutely essential to the propagation of Christianity in India.² Misled by such representations, yet doubtful of their good faith, Pope Gregory XV., in the year 1623, issued the mandate

and the Jesuits, of course, took the credit of a change, or an apparent change, necessitated by his connection with the Order, and their determination to continue the practices.

¹ "Mais un inquisiteur de Goa, Almeida, plaïda sa cause, et le 31 Janvier, 1623, Gregoire XV. autorisa la conduite du Jesuite-brahme, jusqu' à ce que le Saint-Siège examinât de nouveau l'affaire."—*Cahours*, i. 165; *Cordara*, *ut antea*, p. 310—312.

² It is difficult to reconcile the character thus given by the Jesuits to the practices in question, with their words elsewhere; for Juvenci expressly says that Nobili "made himself acquainted with all the institute and ceremonies of the Brahmins;" and that his imitation of the same was complete, must be evident from the fact, that he deceived the Brahmins themselves. Here is the passage recording the Jesuit-wonder:—"Brachmanum instituta omnia ceremoniasque cognoscit; linguam vernaculam dictam vulgò Tamulicam, quæ latissimè pertinet, addiscit; addit Badagicam, qui principum et aulæ sermo, denique Grandonicam sive Samuteradam, quæ lingua cruditorum est, cæterum tot obsita difficultatibus, nulli ut Europæo bene cognita fuisset ad eam diem atque inter ipsosmet Indos plurimum scire videantur qui hanc utcumque norint etsi aliud nihil norint."—*Juvenc. Hist. S. J.*, P. 5, t. ii. lib. xviii. § ix. n. 49.

before mentioned, wherein he allows the wearing of the cord—*provided* it be merely a mark of nobility ; the use of sandal-wood—*provided* it be rubbed on the body merely as an ornament, or on account of its flavour ; and the practice of bathing, *but only* for the purpose of cleanliness and refreshment : on the other hand, he condemns in the strongest language, and beseeches them, by the bowels of Christ, to abstain from every rite or practice attended with the slightest offence, or defiled by the smallest possible tincture of superstition—*à quâlibet vel levissimâ culpâ aut maculâ, necdum ab impurissimâ superstitionis labe*. He also ordains that there should be no distinction in the Church, between the Pariahs, and the higher castes, but that all should hear the word of God, and partake of the sacred mysteries *together*.¹ These reserves and exceptions were, of course, a virtual prohibition of the scheme. To the present hour these practices exist among the Hindoos, and they are essentially “outward signs of inward grace”—veritable “religious” ceremonies to all intents and purposes. Now, the Jesuits had not foreseen that these reserves and exceptions would be contained in the papal document, and when they discovered the fact, the document was suppressed, and they continued their practices,—nor was it until 1680 that its existence was made known to the monks—during which interval of fifty-seven years, they constantly protested to the Capuchins that the Holy See had permitted the separation of the castes in the churches.² It was in order to avoid public scandal, and probably in deference to the mighty Order, that this papal admonition was sent to the Jesuits

¹ Mackay's analysis of the Document, which is given entire in Platel's *Mémoires Hist.* i. 22.

² Platel, i. 51.

alone. Certainly, it only concerned the Company ; and the Jesuits, with their usual tact, wisely resolved to put it under the bushel where they had placed the lamp of the faith—as far as the Hindoos were concerned, for the sake of Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu, and the arithmetical annual letters of “conversion.” The speculation was prosecuted with unabated vigour—“until further provision should be made by the Holy See.” Such was the beginning of the famous *Malabar rites* which were subsequently to give some trouble to the Church or its various parties.

The Company was equally successful in China, after years of incalculable toil, and admirable perseverance. Xavier died in sight of China, the object of his burning zeal : abler men were to achieve the conquest for the Company. After various abortive attempts by other Jesuits, Fathers Ricci and Valignani effected an entrance into the Celestial Empire in 1583.

This mighty empire was certainly a fine attraction for the enterprising Company. Of immense extent, unbounded wealth, enjoying a degree of prosperity and comfort far above any other region of the universe at that time, all that it seemed to need—in the estimation of the Jesuits—was a foundation of the Company to stir the stagnant pond of their unchangeable virtues and vices. The Chinese enjoyed that enviable condition when humanity, individually or collectively, is perfectly satisfied with itself, in every possible item of bodily and mental necessities. They believed themselves the only nation worth naming in the universe. They believed they had reached the utmost perfection of the arts and sciences. They thought their government the most perfect that could be established. By the way, it may

be observed that although the emperor was possessed of unlimited power, he carried on his government by means of literary officers, called mandarins, divided into nine classes, and to the number of thirteen thousand, six hundred and forty-seven. All these were doctors—so that China might be said to be governed by philosophers. Here then is a despotic government patronising, promoting, nay, insisting on education for the million—without running any risk whatever of finding knowledge operating unto insubordination, and all the horrors which have been so long an excuse for the ignorance of the masses in the west of the church-ridden hemisphere. Every career was open to ambition. A certain amount of education made a mandarin, and a mandarin was an officer, and an officer was a well-paid “public functionary.” The emperor received a revenue of one hundred and fifty millions of gold; and yet there was an ample remnant for the three thousand six hundred and forty-seven mandarins, raised by the glorious prerogative of mind, from among two hundred and fifty millions of Chinamen, each and all of whom were competent, by the glorious prerogative aforesaid, “to gain dominion, or to keep it gain’d.”

Like all other nations, ambition, avarice, mistrust, and voluptuousness compounded their nature; and if they excluded all foreigners with too much rigour, this peculiarity resulted from precisely the same spirit of exclusiveness which we behold everywhere, on a smaller scale, in all the departments of society. Exclusiveness and monopoly are amongst the most natural instincts of man.

The Chinese had attained great skill in diplomacy, were admirable and prosperous traders, very skilful in

the mechanical arts, as far as they went and wished to go,¹—for another peculiarity of the Chinese was *statu-quo-ism*, their imitative faculties having from time immemorial completely palsied the inventive. They were satisfied with their country; they were contented with their trades, arts, and sciences; they were, of course, enamoured with their system of government, in which every man might share; and though their religion inflicted some roguish taxes upon them in the shape of “offerings,” yet their priests did not meddle with their private concerns, but kept within their comfortable temples:—and so they were inclined for maintaining a *statu-quo-ism* in their religion as well; which, for the most part, was a sort of idolatry, managed by a million of priests called Bonzas, more than half of whom were

¹ The Chinese were the inventors of the art of printing, the composition of gunpowder, and the magnetic compass. To these must be added the very remarkable manufactures of silk and porcelain. The former inventions were disputed to the Chinese in the last century: but their claim seems to be now generally admitted. Undoubtedly they would excel in all the arts, if the “public taste” directed their efforts, or their desires were taught to expatiate as in our restless corner of the universe. Nor must their primitive Junk, *qui vidit mare turbidum*, which has entered the Thames, all the way from China, give a despicable notion of the Chinamen’s constructiveness. Think of the horrible wars, as well as the world-encircling commerce, which have perfected the naval constructiveness of Europeans. The Chinese may be called cowards for their strong inclination to peace (which would be the best proof of our religion and enlightenment) but perhaps their *statu-quo-ism* in ship-building results from the absence of national restlessness and enterprise, originating in that lack “of oak and triple brass” which we have hammered into our ships, but which Horace supposed to be “about the breast of the man”

“——— qui fragilem truci
Commissit pelago ratem
Primus ——”

“ Who first to the deep so cruel,
Gave his bark
Or his ark
Unfit to swim on gruel.”

generously pensioned by the emperor—another admirable feature of the Chinese, tending to secure their religion from that love of innovation most commonly suggested by an expensive ecclesiastical establishment. As in Japan and India, there were numerous pagan monks, hermits, and penitents; some of them were provided with revenues, others were mendicants. Unprovided with the machinery of the Roman monkhood, these pagan cœnobites only served to keep up that charity of the human breast which can never take flight from amongst men, without leaving an “aching void” behind—the instinct of patronage, common to the lowest and the highest of men.

I said that the Chinese were, for the most part, idolaters; but they were not very reasonable in their notions. If their prayers to their idols were successful, they gave them honour and offerings; but if they failed to obtain their desires, they treated them with abuse and blows—just as the Portuguese and Spaniards treated the images of their saints on similar occasions. Man’s notion of his God is invariably proportioned to his mental organisation and its enlightenment.

In China, a man who raised himself to honours, ennobled his ancestors as well,—there being no hereditary honours to compensate for those virtues or qualifications which are underground; but the Chinese, nevertheless, paid to their ancestors a veneration almost amounting to idolatry. They celebrated annually, with extraordinary rites and ceremonies, the memory of their departed parents, to stimulate filial respect in the living, as well as to honour the dead.

The memory of their great teacher Fohi, or Confucius, had a temple raised to it; and at each new and

full moon, all the magistrates fell down and bowed the knee before the venerable master, who had taught the religion of the country. Believing in one supreme God, whom they called the King of Heaven, they had a variety of idols, subject to the former—presiding spirits of the mountains, rivers, and the world's four quarters—all symbols in the abstract, but gods in the concrete. Nothing could exceed the imposing figure of their goddess Cybele, or Isis, whom they commonly called Pussa, or Puss.

Of course the Chinamen were exceedingly superstitious. Indeed, the Jesuit Trigautius prefaces his account of their superstitions with an admonition to the reader not to scoff at the Chinese on this account, or to despair of their cure, remembering how long they have been involved in the darkness of Paganism:—he had much better have repeated the proverb about people who live in houses of glass—or the beam and the mote. For, he records that the Chinese observed lucky and unlucky days, annually noted by the royal astrologers: their houses were filled with these almanacs, which had an enormous circulation—just like similar productions in England, at the present day. Astrologers, and every sort of soothsayers, met with encouragement, whether they read the future in the hands, or the face, by dreams, chance words in conversation, and numberless other devices:—many live by the same trade in England, at the present time. Some elicited oracles from devils, by the mouths of infants and brute beasts:—unquestionably, numerous examples of similar superstitions existed at the very time in Catholic Christendom. The Chinese had a superstition as to the position of their doors and windows—and decidedly many of us are very particular

as to the position of our beds—and 'tis a bold stomach that will sit down and make a thirteenth guest at a dinner-party.¹ All China was full of impostors of all kinds, says the Jesuit—and so was the Christendom whence the Company went to evangelise them. In certain provinces, infanticide was common :—but the Chinese had an excuse in their belief in the transmigration of souls—supposing that they sent the souls of their children from a lot of pinching want to abundance. Suicide was also not unusual—as everywhere else in all ages and all countries.

There were only three religious sects in all China with her 250 millions of living souls:—that of Fohi, a pure Deism without idols—inculcating that the punishment of vice, and the reward of virtue, are applied in this world, either directly on the delinquent, or indirectly on his posterity, according to their deserts. Fohi taught the immortality of the soul, and an hereafter of rewards and penalties, in addition to those in the present life ;—but subsequent teachers taught final annihilation ; whilst others supposed that only the souls of the good endured after death, whilst those of the wicked, on leaving the body, vanished away, as it were converted into smoke.

The second sect taught doctrines very similar to those of the Christians,—as though they had received a certain shade from our philosophers, and even from the Gospel light, says the Jesuit. They taught a trinity—a heaven—a hell. They extolled celibacy, and repudiated marriage. They made pilgrimages. They had a

¹ This last superstition originated in the statistical fact, that of any thirteen persons, the probability is that one will die in the course of the year following the observation ; but this depends on the law of mortality, and not on the meeting at dinner.

chant perfectly similar to the Gregorian. They placed images in their temples. Their priests wore vestments exactly like those of the Roman clergy. They forbade the use of flesh-meat and all that has had life; but “dispensations” on this score might be obtained for money; and the same dispensations were applicable to all other sins—yea, even from the torments of the other world, these priests promised to liberate souls, “for a consideration.” The priests were unscrupulous rogues, and given to all manner of vices.

The third sect seems to have been a sort of exorcists, whose peculiar function was to drive the devil from houses, by means of monstrous figures drawn on paper, and stuck upon the walls—nothing to be wondered at in China, if very similar pretensions and practices existed, yea exist, in Christendom.¹

Such is a brief view of the new vineyard which the Company is now resolved to cultivate. “O rock, O rock! when wilt thou open?” exclaimed the Jesuit Valignani, at his previous abortive attempts to “set on fire” the Celestial Empire.

Valignani, a celebrated missionary, styled the Apostle of the Orient, selected workmen adapted to the enterprise. He set them to the language, in the first place. This was a formidable task in those days—at least, according to the Jesuits. Each word, said Trigautius, has its hieroglyphical character; and there are as many letters as there are words—that is, from seventy-two to eighty thousand. Ten thousand were enough for common purposes.² But the mastery which has been

¹ For all these Chinese curiosities more *in extenso*, see Moreri, iii. ; Quesnel, ii. ; Trigautius, *De Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. ; Kircher, *China Illustrata*, P. iii.

² Trigaut. l. i. c. 5.

obtained of the Chinese language by several Europeans, among whom Englishmen hold a conspicuous place, seems to prove that the rumoured difficulties of its acquisition, from the alleged number and variety of the characters, are the mere exaggerations of ignorance.¹ But the Jesuits never described any exploit of their men without making "the most of it." Besides, this terrible language was enough of itself, as represented, to "throw cold water" on the zeal of their rivals in the vineyard of the Lord.

In effect, these Jesuits soon mastered the language sufficiently to make the attempt: but their stay at Macao was short,—for, although they managed to remove somewhat of the bad impression inspired by all foreigners—still the Chinese not only despised, but suspected them of sinister designs upon their country. Ricci did not remain idle. He found the means for buying a piece of land, built a house, furnished it comfortably for himself and two companions, and had wherewithal to fee the mandarins and other officers

¹ The roots, or original characters of the Chinese, are only 214 in number, and might be reduced to a much smaller amount by a little dissection and analysis. These are combined with each other to form other words, or express other ideas, very much in the same way that the individual Arabic numerals in common use are combined to express the infinite series of numbers. By a species of analogy, they may be called the alphabet of language, with the difference that exists between an alphabet of ideas, and an alphabet of sounds. To assert that there are so many thousand characters in the Chinese, is much the same thing as to say that there are so many thousand words in Johnson's Dictionary; nor is a knowledge of the whole at all more necessary for every practical purpose, than it is to get all Johnson's Dictionary by heart, in order to read English. Prémare, a Jesuit, observes, "that any one might read and write Chinese after he has once acquired a good knowledge of 4000 or 5000 characters or words," which is about the qualification requisite for the same result in any other language, though, of course, allowance must be made for the absence of analogy in the Chinese to the languages of Europe.—See *Knight's Cyclopædia*, vii. 82.

whose protection he had to purchase. Then he set about studying the manners and character of his new neighbours, and digested his plans accordingly for their instruction and enlightenment.

The difficulties of the undertaking were enhanced by the encroachments of the Portuguese and Spaniards, in various directions near the coast of China. These conquests of the ravenous Europeans were certainly sufficient to render the Chinese diffident of foreigners : and the repeated attempts of the Jesuits were not calculated to quiet their alarms. Aware of these facts, these Jesuits were exceedingly circumspect in their conduct and intercourse with the natives. At first they contented themselves with enticing them to their house by the exhibition of well-painted pictures in their chapel—first-rate curiosities to the Chinamen, who had never before seen any thing of the sort.¹

Ricci had been a pupil of the celebrated Jesuit mathematician Clavius. He excelled in the science and all the mechanical arts connected with it ;—and he was to turn the same to the account of the exhibition, which he did with admirable tact, energy, and success. His fame walked the land, and sped to curious ears and understandings, and a posse of mandarins flocked to Father Ricci, to inspect a multitude of mathematical instruments which he was constructing with his own hands, and with the aid of some native workmen. Astrolabes, quadrants, armillary spheres, globes, celestial and terrestrial—amazed and delighted the learned officials—“great things and full of wonder in their eyes.” Astronomy and astrology being such important prophets to the whole Celestial Empire, the Jesuit was

¹ Lett. Edif. Mis. de la Chine, Preface.

evidently in the royal road to favour by so adroitly "suited the taste of the public." Ricci gave them lectures on the rotundity of the earth, which they thought a plane. He described "the starry sphere," the revolutions of the planets, the cause of eclipses and the phases of the moon, according to the "hypothesis" of the unfortunate Galileo, then proscribed at Rome, and totally unsuspected in China. Vast were their admiration and delight. Ricci they considered the first mathematician in the world, "and no wonder that they did," says Bartoli shily, "for they knew nothing of our world." "But what, above all, gave fine play and advancement to the faith," continues Bartoli, "was a map of the world." There was a slight mistake in it, however. China appeared only as a small part of the universe, whilst these good people flattered themselves that China was the universe, with a small border of land towards the north, tenanted by the barbarians, as they knew to their cost in many an invasion, and as they figured it in their map of universal China. This was a blunder on the part of the Jesuit. In vain he tried to do away with the humiliating impression by a glowing description of the mighty kingdoms which shoved the Celestial Empire "into a lower world obscure"—

"The realm of Boechus to the Black-moor sea,
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west ;
Germans and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
Beyond Danubius, to the Tauric pool."

All in vain ! Matteo Ricci had "insulted them in a manner which their honour could not brook." The Jesuit's invention came to the rescue. He set to work once more with his instruments, and constructed another map of the world, on a new "projection"—placing

China exactly in the centre ! It was a glorious idea ; and gave inexpressible satisfaction. Numerous copies were made and winged all over the Celestial Empire, “and with them went forth the knowledge of our world, and the fame of the strangers who had described it, with the art of a master hand ; and great was the desire of the literati of every province to see such men, to admire them as monsters of genius, instead of detesting them as monsters of nature, merely because they were strangers.”¹ Still more to enhance his recommendations, Ricci committed to memory striking passages from the writings of their great teacher, Fohi, or Confucius ;² and confined his first professional inculcations to the morality of religion :—his companions followed the same judicious method.³

The entertainment thus furnished to the Chinese *literati*, who crowded to the residence of the fathers, was duly appreciated by the audience. Induced by this first success, Ricci thought he might advance to the dogmas of the faith, and composed a catechism, to which he gave universal circulation :—but it proved a failure ; if it procured him applause, it did not advance the main object in view—conversion. Meanwhile the lower orders of Chinamen insulted and otherwise maltreated the fathers on every occasion ;—it was a curious and striking fact, that the patronage lavished upon these strangers by the great, had the effect of exasperating, instead of conciliating, the vulgar herd of China, as was expected. Truly the Chinese are, in most of their notions, diametrically opposed to our Europeans. Half that patronage in Europe would

¹ Bartoli, Della Cina, f. 188—192.

² Ranke, 254 ; Juvenci, lib. xix.

³ Lett. Edif. *ut antea*.

have ensured to the strangers a thousand acclamations, instead of insult on every occasion. The result was, in other respects, unfortunate;—for the slow progress of the mission was attributed to the political caution of the Jesuits, and already was their conduct bitterly denounced by their rivals in Europe.¹

Nevertheless, Ricci was advancing. In the face of the general barrenness of the mission, he multiplied the residences and his missionaries: they laboured: but in vain—they were forced to decamp; and the veteran remained single-handed to battle with the many-handed *Pussa* of China.² But the prejudices and avidity of the people and the mandarins worried him incessantly: he was forced to fall back on Macao.³

Once more to the field went the unflinching Matteo Ricci. He tried another vineyard, a city rejoicing in the name of Chao-Cheu, and set up as teacher of mathematics. A gleam of success cheered his efforts. Under the shade of his lines and angles, his “impossible roots” and *trap-ezi-hed-rons*, a few Chinamen went asleep, and awoke converted. Others followed their example. Still the rabble continued to maltreat the father; and he resolved to avail himself of his high reputation among the literati, to gain admission into the presence of his imperial majesty himself, hoping that, could he succeed in rendering the emperor favourable to his religion, it would make more certain and rapid progress. In accordance with this grand design, he threw off the dress of a bonza, which he had hitherto worn.

¹ Lett. Edif. Mis. de la Chine, Preface.

² See her portrait in Kircher, *China Illustrata*, p. 141. She has eighteen hands, seventeen of which are presenting each an emblem: but the eighteenth is empty, as it were, waiting to be filled by the Jesuits, for it is the right hand nearest her head.

³ Lett. Edif. *ut antea*.

but which was as despicable to the Chinamen as the habiliments of the monks to similar Europeans ; and he donned the vestments of the literati, which were held in high estimation. He had won the friendship of a great mandarin : this personage was just starting for the court ; and Ricci asked the favour to travel in his company to the same destination. He consented : they set out : but the mandarin changed his mind on the road—leaving Ricci to his wits at Nankin. The Jesuit fructified his disappointment—one of the best fruit-trees in our earthly pilgrimage, if we resolve to make it bear. Ricci made his way to the viceroy of Nankin, who gave him a flattering reception ; and he soon found himself in his element—pouring forth the treasures of his brain to a club of mandarins and literati. He composed works of science and morality, which met with the usual success ; and the viceroy proposed that he should remain in Nankin, and a residence forthwith arose in the populous city. Again he tried to gain access to the emperor, and in a similar manner ; but again was he disappointed—but this time he actually reached Peking, the Pisgah of his hope, faith, and charity. In his disappointment he amused himself with topographical observations, and discovered, by what seemed to him evident arguments, that Peking was the Cambalao of the famous traveller, Paul of Venice, and that China was the kingdom of Cathay.¹

Unable to effect his main purpose, Ricci returned

¹ Lett. Edif. *ut antea*. Ricci said that the fire-works he saw at Peking were superior to any in any other part of the world. The Jesuit, D'Incarville, afterwards sent the prescription for their composition to France. What seems to have struck the Jesuit with the greatest admiration, was a Chinese observatory built on the summit of a high mountain. There was a large court surrounded with large enclosures, and full of instruments, amongst which Ricci mentioned four very curious ones, which, although they had been exposed to the air for about 250 years, had lost nothing of their polish and lustre.—*Ibid.*

to Nankin, and vigorously cultivated his first success. He won to himself numerous disciples, and built a church. In his growing prosperity, he resolved once more to attempt the emperor; but without "patronage:" the cold-hearted smiler had deceived him twice: he would now stand on his own legs in the imperial presence. For this result, he prepared valuable presents for the emperor, and got together all the European curiosities, which he had all along been collecting for the purpose. He set out with his head, and his heart, and his curiosities; and, after numberless difficulties and contradictions, he reached the capital, and penetrated to the emperor, who graciously received his presents, consisting of a clock, a watch that struck the hours, a picture of Christ, and one of the Virgin Mary, with other valuable trifles. The Jesuit made so favourable an impression on the emperor, that he was permitted to establish himself at Peking, with the privilege for himself and his companions to enter the enclosure of the palace four times a year:—in a word, success at last crowned his efforts, after as hard a battle as was ever fought by head and heart against resistance of every possible kind, for the space of twenty years to the moment when, with his clocks, and watches, and his brains, he captivated the good-will of imperial majesty.¹ Consider this career, ye who seem to think that difficulty is a proper excuse for idleness of hand or brain. And those who professionally abuse and denounce the Company of the Jesuits, should select a few of these samples which she has given to the world; and, having duly considered all things, decide whether they have any right whatever to abuse and denounce the Jesuits.

¹ Lett. Edif. ut antea.

The smiles of royalty changed the whole aspect of the missionary scheme. Imperial favour rendered the unquestionable qualifications of the Jesuits irresistible. Those who were ready to join the clever and fascinating strangers, but held off for fear of imperial displeasure, now openly announced themselves disciples. How the Jesuits managed to "do away with" the natural and national obstacles to the profession of the Christian faith, is not at present the question. Progress, expansion, was the watchword. Ricci had given the emperor one of his maps, with China in the middle: the emperor ordered ten more to be executed on silk for the imperial apartments; whilst the whole empire was opened to the mission, with the Jesuits in the centre, radiating far and wide on all sides, winning proselytes, whom they transformed into apostles to carry out the scheme indefinitely expanding. Converts followed converts,—a boundless prospect of success opened before the mission; and whilst Ricci was advancing in imperial favour, the fame of his successful enterprise was eliciting great exultation at Rome. Pope Sixtus V. granted a jubilee to the Company, which he complimented on the occasion; and Aquaviva dispatched fresh labourers to the vineyard,—men able to copy the example of the first labourers—so clever, determined, indefatigable—beginning with mathematics and geography, and ending with religion and theology. Wonderful "Connexion of the Sciences!" In the map which he made for the emperor, Ricci filled the vacant spaces with Christian texts and emblems. His scientific talents procured respect for his religious instruction. Not only were his immediate pupils gained over, but many mandarins, whose garb he now assumed, became the disciples of the learned

Jesuit. A Sodality of the Virgin Mary was formed at Pekin in 1605. The emperor retained Ricci constantly at court; and his presence near the throne was a safeguard to his companions throughout the empire. He died in 1610, worn out, not only by excessive labour, but chiefly by the numerous visits, the long dinners, and all the other exertions of Chinese social etiquette—an unworthy termination to a career of such admirable energy, tenacity of purpose, and patient endurance, as some will exclaim, superadding, “*If his cause had been that of truth!*”—but if we ask them, *What is Truth?* we shall have much less reason than Pilate had to wait for the answer. Ricci’s motto and advice had always been “to go to work without parade and noise, and, in such stormy seas, to keep close to the shore:”—his successors followed his advice as far as science was concerned.¹

An eclipse of the moon occurred in 1610. The predictions of the native astronomers and of the Jesuits, differed from each other by a whole hour:—the event proved that the Jesuits were right, and, of course, added greatly to their credit. Together with some mandarins, their pupils, they were charged with the reform of the astronomical tables, so necessary for the astrological almanacs of the Chinese: they performed the task to admiration, and their success promoted the cause of Christianity or the mission. In 1611 there were Christian congregations in five provinces of the empire. In the opposition which the Jesuits encountered, nothing was of so much service to them as the fact that their pupils had written books which met

¹ Lett. Edif. *ut antea*; Ranke and Juvenci, *ut antea*; *Historica Relatio de Ortu, &c. Fidei, &c. in Regno Chin.* p. 4; Bartoli, f. 194.

with the approbation of the learned. They had the art to elude the storms which threatened them : they complied, as closely as possible, with the usages of the country, and this they were empowered to do, in several points, by the pope, in 1619.¹

But the Jesuits relate other inexplicable successes, which enhanced their reputation. A single sample must suffice. A certain mandarin built a house, which was no sooner finished, than a troop of devils took possession, and raised a tempest within, appearing in the most horrible forms that could possibly be imagined. The pagan exorcists, before described, tried their method to no purpose whatever. The house remained incurable and was exhibited as one of the marvels of the city. Thereupon the owner offered the building at a cheap purchase to Father Ricci, since no one else would have it as a gift—"for," said the Chinaman to the Jesuit, "you are a holy man, and I fancy that the devils will not be able to hurt you." Ricci bowed to the opinion which he confirmed, and readily bought the demoniac-building, which was capable of domiciliating ten Jesuits in what Bartoli calls a "most precious residence." Ricci took possession, whilst the Chinamen without expected to see or hear a battle between the Jesuit and the devils. Meanwhile Ricci fitted up the hall appropriately, constructed an altar, recited a few prayers, went from room to room sprinkling holy water—and never a devil was seen or heard, whilst the veteran Jesuit entertained a bevy of *litterati, ad multam noctem*—to a late hour of the night, in a joyous and intellectual symposium. The Jesuit's elucidation of the affair is curious and as followeth :—"Leuteu, the man who sold the house to

¹ Ranke, 254 ; Juvenci, lib. xix. ; *Relazione della Cina dell' Anno 1621.*

Our men went about saying, ‘that the devils had been forced by the God of the fathers to infest the tenement—for, having observed all the prescribed rules in building the house [as to the position of doors and windows, as before stated], having complied with all the fortunate points of the prescription, he knew that the devils could not possibly have any power over the house. Therefore, the God of Father Ricci had given it over to them to disturb it, so that having rendered it un-inhabitable to any one else, it might fall to the lot of him for whom it was reserved, at that very low price;—for, as soon as he entered the house, the spirits who had nothing more to do there, had decamped.’ Thus spoke this sage of the matter, and perhaps truly in every item”—*così ne parlava quel savio, e forse in tutto al vero.*¹

After Ricci’s death a violent persecution raged against the missionaries; they yielded to the storm and retired to Macao. In the following year, 1618, the Tartars poured down upon China, advancing to the capital. The emperor died, apparently through fright, and his grandson, Tien-Ki, undertook to repulse the barbaric marauders. It was insinuated to the king that artillery would prove an effectual means for dislodging the enemy:—but though the Chinamen had guns, they knew not how to manage them:—they sent to Macao for some Portuguese to teach them, and the Jesuits joined the expedition. Tien-Ki triumphed over the invaders by the help of the Portuguese and the Jesuits, drove out the Tartars, and retained the missionaries of his peace with the barbarians, through the ordeal of powder and shot. Great was the subsequent success of the Jesuits; the favour of the emperor and all the grandees

¹ Bartoli, della Cina, f. 333—335.

of the court and country pushed them along in glorious prosperity. Not a year passed in which thousands were not converted; their opponents died off; and in 1624, the famous Jesuit Adam Schall appeared on the scene. His accurate description of two eclipses of the moon which happened that year, and a treatise on the earthquake, by the Jesuit Lombardo, added fresh lustre to their reputation. Splendid was the renewed prospect of the mission. "Four years before a sharp gale arose against it, and seemed likely to sink it at one fell swoop; the pilots, obedient to the weather, furl'd their sails and retreated apace, but so that they might be found by any one who required their aid—to wait till day should break and the shadows melt away. Up to the present time the whole evil has amounted to no more than alarm." Such is the Jesuit-description of the late transaction—the persecution—the retirement at Macao—where they were found by the Chinamen who needed them to manage their guns—and finally, the break of day to their renovated hopes, the shadows of disaster melting away.¹

Adam Schall's career is most remarkable. He was a German of good family, born at Cologne. He joined the Company in 1611, aged twenty, applied himself successfully to mathematics, and nine years afterwards went to the Chinese mission. His whole life was one of the most laborious that ever fell to the lot of humanity. Globes, sundials, mathematical instruments of every

¹ "Quattro anni fa se levò contro una gagliarda borasca, la quale pareva che la dovesse sommergere ad un tratto; li piloti accomodandosi al tempo, raccolsero le vele delle opere loro e si ritirarono alquanto, ma in modo che potevano essere trovati da chiunque voleva l'aiuto loro, per aspettare donec aspiret dies et inclinentur umbræ. Sin hora il male non è stato di altro che di timore." — *Relazione della Cina, ut antea*. Ranke, 254.

description, he constructed for the emperor, with the view of promoting the cause of the mission; and was ever on the alert to predict any astronomical phenomenon which might, by the event, enhance the reputation of the Christian teachers. In truth, if the cause of the Jesuits was not heavenly, it was certainly vastly promoted in the Celestial Empire by the starry phenomena. Whatever seemed likely to promote the cause of the mission was eagerly and vigorously embraced by this indefatigable Jesuit—and he humoured the superstitions of the nation. He announced to the king the approaching passage of the planet Jupiter through the two stars in Cancer—a phenomenon which, according to the Chinese astrologers, was a very bad omen, portending nothing less than the burning of the imperial city or the palace. The Chinese astronomers royal, who were jealous of the Jesuit, contradicted Ricci's predictions, and purposely falsified the observation at the time of its fulfilment. But the omen came to pass as well as the phenomenon. On the following day many houses close to the observatory took fire, and were burnt down with the loss of five hundred lives—thus convincing the emperor and people of the stubborn silence of the native astronomers, and that the phenomenon had really occurred. Commenting on this fact the Jesuit writer says that “God permits the errors which we love to punish our errors, or uses them adroitly to procure us a greater good.”¹ If the fact was not a mere accident, I fear that this axiom will not satisfactorily explain the conflagration.

¹ “Deumque, permissis erroribus, quos amamus, errores nostros plectere, aut dextrè illis uti ad procurandum bonum majus. Sequenti die pulvis pyrius casu accensus, sedes plurimas absumpsit, &c., simul Regi ac populo contra pervicax Eunuchorum silentium persuaserunt, veram fuisse causam astrorum conjunctionem, ad quam talis strages secuta fuisset.”—*Hist. Relatio, ut antea*, pp. 25—27.

Not only astronomy and its instruments, but all the other sciences and their kindred arts, did the Jesuits bring to bear on the cause of the mission. Optical, hydraulic, and every other kind of instruments, not excepting the musical, were added to the curiosities of the Christian religion. An old harpsichord which Ricci had given the former emperor, was found in the palace and sent to Adam Schall to be repaired, with an order for the construction of a similar instrument! When Hamlet bitterly asked his companions to play the fife, it seemed unreasonable enough: but if one of our modern missionaries were asked to repair, nay, to construct a harpsichord, would it not be preposterous? It was not so to this Jesuit, however. "The father *eagerly* obeyed this *most desirable* command; and not to disappoint expectation, he wrote in Chinese a description of the art and method of the harpsichord, and set a psalm to music, thus more pleasantly to illustrate the instrument by the help of the voice." Thus, says the Jesuit, "he now determined, as the other instruments had not sufficiently succeeded, to introduce the law of God to the king, on the light fantastic toe—*cum tripudio*."¹ Whilst the harpsichord was being made, he translated a life of Christ into Chinese, and adorned the covers with letters of gold. A third present consisted of an image of the Three Kings adoring the Infant Jesus, made of wax, exceedingly life-like and so admirably coloured that they seemed to be alive:—Maximilian of Bavaria had sent them to be presented to the emperor;—a fact which shows what interest the Jesuits had excited in Europe about the Chinese mission. These presents, as

¹ "Meditabatur hæc occasione legem Dei cum tripudio, siquidem aliis machinis nondum satis proficere, ad Regem introducere."—*Historica Relatio, ut antea*, ab Ann. 1581; usque ad Ann. 1669, p. 36.

may be expected, made a great impression, and, if we may credit the Jesuits, operated many conversions at the Imperial Court, besides rendering the emperor more and more favourable to the religion they preached, on account of the wonderful talents and industry of the preachers, who positively came to the undertaking armed at all points—skilled in every art, trade, and profession. The irruptions of the Tartars were becoming too frequent, and the emperor was anxious to fortify his capital. Adam Schall was commanded and undertook to furnish a field of ordnance. He set to work, constructed a foundry; the iron, brass, and pewter were supplied; “innumerable hands,” a gang of Chinamen, “were ready; and soon twenty big guns, chiefly forty-pounders, went forth, to the utter wonderment of the emperor and his celestials, who could not sufficiently “admire the art, the workmanship, the genius” of the Jesuit, when “the hollow engines, long and round, with touch of fire dilated and infuriate,” roared forth experimental thunder—

“From these deep-throated engines belch'd, whose roar
Embowell'd with outrageous noise the air.¹

Adam Schall consecrated the glorious achievement

¹ “Rex immani machinæ tonitru percussus, illico quid Patri Europæo acciderit, inquirat. Re nuntiatâ, tormentum, ac pulveres inspicere ipse mirari artem et operam, laudare vehementer ingenium voluit.”—*Ib. ut antea*, p. 65. Although gunpowder had long been in use with the Chinese, their organ of destructiveness had not suggested its European application to “such implements of mischief.”

“Yet haply of thy race
In future days, if malice should abound,
Some one, intent on mischief, or inspired
With devilish machination, might devise
Like instrument to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.”

with Christian rites and ceremonies—anticipating the Chinamen, who were about to offer sacrifice to the Spirit of Fire amidst these “engines and their balls of missive ruin”—*Spiritui Ignis inter hæc ignium miracula sacrificaturi*. The Jesuit brought forth an image of Christ, placed it upon an altar which he had raised and ornamented for the purpose, and went through a ceremonial veneration, dressed in his surplice and stole. He ordered the workmen to do the same on bended knee, to call down the Divine assistance upon the labour. The emperor commanded his people to do as the Jesuit prescribed in this matter, as well as in all others, and rigorously forbade any resistance to his wishes; “for,” said he, and the words are remarkable, “these men [the Jesuits] *do not despise the spirits whom we adore: but they tenaciously worship one God, and observe his laws.*”¹

Adam Schall was then required to furnish the model of a fortification for the city:—he constructed one of wood, complete in all its parts; and the emperor commanded that preparations should forthwith be made for the construction. But one of the celestial dignitaries overruled the Jesuit’s plan, and substituted another, which was adopted, in spite of the Jesuit’s advice to the contrary. Schall rode round the works, and said to the overseers: “Were I a marauder, I would, from this very point, carry the city by assault in three days.”² The result verified his prediction; it was at the very spot which the Jesuit pointed out with his finger, that

¹ “Non enim, inquietabat, isti Spiritus, quos adoramus, despiciunt; sed tenaciter unum Deum colunt, ejusque præcepta custodiunt.”—*Hist. Rebut., ut antea*, p. 66.

² “Si latro essem, inquit, hoc ipso ex loco urbem intra triduum expugnarem.”—*Ubi supra*, p. 70.

the marauders, very soon afterwards, stormed the city, flayed alive the rival projector of the fortification, when, in the sack and conflagration, the emperor hanged himself in despair.¹

The Tartars were invited to dislodge the marauders, which they did, but established themselves instead, for their trouble in the transaction—the universal method of humanity. Xun-chi, the Tartar prince who completed the conquest, lavished every benefaction on Adam Schall, and appointed him president of the mathematical tribunal. During the previous reign, he was charged with the department of astronomy and the construction of the astrological calendar: but under the Tartar-prince, Adam Schall was omnipotent. Xun-chi treated him with the greatest familiarity; and all that came to him from the Jesuit—even the sharpest and most frequent remonstrances—met with a kind and deferential reception. He not only admitted Schall at all times into his palace, but often visited him at his own residence, and spent hours together with the useful, the fascinating Jesuit—but he did not become a Christian. In return for the Jesuit's utility to himself in particular, and the whole country in general, the emperor gratefully tolerated the Jesuit's religion, and permitted his subjects to please themselves in the matter of conversion, which, according to the Jesuits, numbered, in fourteen years, 100,000 proselytes.²

It was during this reign that the first Christian church was publicly opened in China,—and the fact is remarkable. During the previous eighty years of the mission, either for want of funds or by their dread of

¹ See chap. viii. and ix. of the *Hist. Relatio*, for the events alluded to in the text.

² *Hist. Relat.* *ut antea*; *Lett. Edif. ut antea*; Feller, *Biog. Univ.* t. xviii. p. 221.

giving offence to the Chinese, the Jesuits had contented themselves with private chapels, constructed in their houses, to which they used to admit some of the pagans for the sake of edification, together with their converts.¹ “But at length, by the favour of God, *and the pursuits of astronomy paving the way*, when the Tartars obtained the sceptre, they bought up cheaply a quantity of building materials from the ruins of the city, lately sacked, without asking permission for the same, because they thought that the Tribunal of Rites would object to granting the license, reserved to that tribunal by the law of the land; but acting on their own authority, which, in the last few years, their reformation of the almanacs and the favour of the emperor had fostered, in the seventh year of his reign, in 1650, a temple was begun, and finished in the following year, chiefly at the expense of the grandees and our friends.”² Nothing could exceed the magnificence of this Christian temple, and its adjoining chapel of the Virgin, for the use of the Chinese women, who were always separated from the men, according to the manners and customs of the Chinese, and “the proper institution in the Divine law,” says the Jesuit, meaningly—*ad propriam in lege Divinâ institutionem*. The body of the temple was divided into three sections, with columns and a cupola

¹ Hist. Relat. *ut antea*, cap. xviii. p. 230.

² “Deo tandem dante, et Astronomiæ studiis viam facientibus, postquam Tartari sceptrum tenuere, occasione exustæ urbis, et dirutarum ædium, quæ ad fabricam necessaria abunde præstiterunt, magnâ vi laterum ac lapidum et materiæ facili pretio coemptâ, nullâ quidem tum petîtâ licentiâ, quod Tribunal Rituum, lege Regni, hanc sibi reservatam ægrè concessuram crederetur: sed solâ autoritate audente, quam intra paucos annos instauratio Ephemeridum, et gratia novi Principis pepererat, anno septimo imperii, qui quinquagesimus fuit post sexcentissimum millesimum, datum templo initium est, Regulorum maximè et amicorum sumptibus, insequenti anno perfectum.”—*Hist. Relat.*, *ut antea*, p. 231.

elegantly painted. There was a propyleum with a portico, and its seats for the shelter of the fathers in hot or rainy weather. In the centre of the court was an arch of white marble, with various engraved figures upon it, intersected with three smaller arches below, forming gateways. There were five altars in the temple. On the largest was seen "the Saviour seated, in one hand supporting the world, with the other, as it were, blessing the people, attended by a host of angels, and apostles kneeling around. The other altars represented the patriarchs Ignatius and Francis Xavier. Another on the left, was sacred to the Blessed Virgin, which is called the greater; at the right, (an inferior position, according to the Chinese) holy Michael, with the angels, was worshipped (*colitur*). All were provided with lattice-work for ornament and to keep off the vulgar. In the whole temple they burnt wax that rivalled snow in whiteness, such as the emperor and the empress used, and four or five times dearer than any other; it was abundantly supplied for the purpose by the empress-dowager. It was not only burnt on the altars, but also on the tables on which, before each altar, the fumes of incense arose on the greater festivals. From the walls hung gilt tablets, with the commandments, the works of mercy, the beatitudes, and other axioms of the Catechism, inscribed upon them in conspicuous Chinese. The pavement was tessellated, but still covered with carpets, for ornament and comfort: these were changed for better ones on great and solemn festivals. On a marble tablet within was seen the following inscription:—

"After the faith was first introduced by St. Thomas the Apostle, and after the same was again far and widely propagated by the Chinese in the time of the

reign Tàm ; thirdly, again, under the reign Mím, the leaders being St. *Francis Xavier* (!) and afterwards Father Matteo Ricci, by men of the Company of Jesus, the faith being diffused by preaching and books published in Chinese, with great application, indeed, and labour, but with fruit not sufficiently plentiful, on account of the nation's unsteadiness—the empire having now fallen to the Tartars, the same Company (*by way of crowning her labours in the reformation of the calendar*, called Xy Liêu Lie, effected by her members) has publicly erected and dedicated this temple to God—*optimus maximus*—in the year of Jubilee 1650, the seventh year of the Emperor Xùn-Chy.”¹ Numerous other inscriptions figured on the walls or the arches—one by the emperor, one by the president of the Tribunal of Rites, and one by the sixty-sixth descendant of *Confucius*, who was the actual president of the literati. Others immortalised the names of Ricci, Jacob Rho, another indefatigable Jesuit, John Terentius, and Adam Schall.²

Here, then, is the result of eighty years' incalculable toil and trouble. From their own words it is evident that these Jesuits ascribed their establishment to their scientific qualifications, chiefly in astronomy ; — and never before nor since, have the mechanical and liberal arts been able to steal an establishment in any country.

¹ “ Post fidem à Divo Thomá Apostolo primùm advectam, postque eandem à Sinis tempore Imperii Tàm iterum et latius propagatam : tertio rursus sub Imperio Mím, Ducibus S. Francisco Xaverio, ac postea P. Matthæo Riccio, per Societatis Jesu homines, et verbo et libris Sinicè editis, divulgatam, magno tum equidem studio et labore, sed fructu propter Gentis inconstantiam non satis fœcundo ; devoluto jam ad Tartaros Imperio, eadem Societas pro instaurati per suos Calendarii, Xy Liêu Liè dicti, laborum coronide, Templum hoc Deo Optimo Maximo publicè posuit dicavitque, anno Jubileo millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo, Imperatoris Xunchy septimo.”—*Hist. Relatio, ut antea*, pp. 230—234.

² *Ib. ut antea*, pp. 234—236.

A blessing, therefore, on these inventions of man—a triple blessing on astronomy, if they enabled a handful of Jesuits to give to Heaven 100,000 Christians, besides a magnificent church, exceedingly like a pagan temple in all its parts and appendages.

Adam Schall, the worthy hero of the achievement, rose successively through the nine orders of the mandarins, until he reached the first, as represented by his portrait, in costume,—as prime minister of the Emperor of China.

Not only was Schall himself ennobled, but his father and his mother, his grandfather and his grandmother. Xun-chi, in his diploma *ex cæli mandato*—"by a mandate from Heaven," makes the following very striking observation. "I, by the grace of God, emperor, declare that, as often as God sends into this world, a man, conspicuous for his probity and fidelity, so often does He also provide a king who is willing and able to use and gratify him"—which may be a peculiar practice in the Celestial Empire, but the axiom would never have been invented or suggested in Europe. In the imperial diploma for Schall's father, the emperor begins in the same way as before, and declares "that those who are endowed with any virtue or excellence, have received it for the most part from their parents"—an incontestable fact, but which none scarcely seem to believe and act upon—before they undertake to become parents. To Schall's mother the emperor observed, that as she had taken great care of her Adam, there was no wonder that the result had appeared in his proficiency—a Chinese hint for mothers, of some little importance, particularly to the teachers of their children, who can always discover whether a pupil has a good mother—in fact *a* mother. Still following

out his right notions of hereditary transmission, the emperor tells Schall's grandfather, that he "contemplates him in his grandson," whose qualifications are so admirable; and he declares to his grandmother that she was "the root" of the tree which was now flourishing in China, spreading mechanical branches, musical leaves, pictorial flowers, mathematical, astronomical fruits of every description — with some hundred thousand disciples.¹

I regret that I must record the bitter downfall of this extraordinary man. His patron died, and a minority ensued. The men in power seized the Jesuits, whom they loaded with chains and exiled to Canton. Adam Schall was deprived of his dignities, overwhelmed with opprobrium and calumny, was imprisoned and chained in a horrible dungeon, and even condemned, as the head of "the infamous sect," to be hacked and cut to pieces. Meanwhile, however, the imperial palace was consumed by fire, a great many houses were overturned by an earthquake, and the people, according to the Jesuits, considering these events as the punishments of Heaven, demanded the liberation of Schall and the other Jesuits: but Schall, worn out with years and sufferings, expired soon after, some say in prison once more, aged seventy-five, forty-four of which he wasted on the Chinese and the scheme of the Company.² Look at his calm, delightful face once more—and feel that you could love and esteem such a man, whether Jesuit or not, if I be not mistaken.

The fate of the mission was again decided by the

¹ *Relatio, ut antea*, pp. 345—352. Schall received these diplomas when only in the third order of mandarins: others were added when he rose to the top of the ladder.

² Feller, *ut antea*; Lett. Edif. *ut antea*.

arts and sciences. By the time the young emperor reached his majority, the Chinese calendar and astrological almanacs had become involved in utter confusion, ever since Schall had ceased to be president of the mathematical tribunal. They could not dispense with the European mathematicians. All had been exiled or imprisoned ; but three of the learned stock were still at Peking. They were summoned by the emperor as soon as he was apprised of the facts which disgraced his minority ; for there can be no doubt in the world that those Jesuits were of immense advantage to the Chinese, in their own estimation ; and as it is highly probable that the religion taught by the Jesuits was a *juste milieu* between the Creed of Confucius and that of Rome, nothing but execrable jealousy could have ousted them, and deprived the venerable Schall of a calm and placid departure from amidst his glorious achievements. The three Jesuits were soon in the imperial presence, and received with kindness. The calendar was confided to the reforming energies of Father Ferdinand Verbiest ; who forthwith detected more than twenty important blunders, which he reported to the emperor, who thereupon was inspired with great esteem for the Jesuit. The immediate result was a restoration of the mission in 1671. In the following year, a maternal uncle of the emperor, and one of his generals, received baptism. Verbiest was a worthy successor of Ricci and Schall—yea, the very column of the Chinese church as long as he lived. He enjoyed the favour of the emperor, to whom he gave lessons in mathematics,—edging in appropriate hints of Christian doctrine, but all to no purpose. Mathematics were the desideratum : the Celestial Emperor needed no more from the Jesuit ;

but he gratefully exhibited, semi-barbarian as he was, due respect to the religion which he could not comprehend, for the sake of its teachers, who were useful, and ready and eager to render him any service whatever. Accordingly, Kang-Hi made Verbiest president of the mathematical tribunal, and permitted funereal honours to be celebrated by way of reparation to the memory of the lamented Adam Schall, sending a mandarin to represent the imperial identity.¹

It is remarkable that in the previous proscription of the Jesuits, no persecution of their disciples in China gave martyrs to the phantom church. A few mandarins, Schall's disciples, may have been disgraced with the leader, but no notice was taken of the little people that might still continue to be absent from the celebration of the national ceremonials. However, the Jesuits now began anew at the point of Schall's departure,—and with the most encouraging prospects.

French Jesuits were now to appear on the scene. Louis XIV., whose career we shall soon behold at a glance, “had comprehended the changes which such a state of affairs in China induced in Europe. In order some day to ensure to France the *plenitude of commerce* in those empires, he gave to the Chinese mission a national recommendation. Father Verbiest seconded his desires.”² He obtained from Kang-Hi an edict, by which the Christian religion was declared holy and without reproach. Pope Innocent XI., in 1681, wrote the Jesuit a breve of encouragement;—“for there was nothing that might not be expected, with the aid of heaven, from you and men like yourself,” said he to Verbiest, “giving influence to religion in those countries.”

¹ Lett. Edif. *ut antea* ; Cretineau, v. 50.

² Cretineau, v. 51.

Political events tended to augment the credit of the Jesuits at the court of Peking. The Chinese general, who had invited the Tartars to dislodge the marauders, now revolted, and the western provinces of the empire sided with the rebel. In the strongholds of the mountains he seemed to defy the imperial armies. Kang-Hi resolved to reduce the miscreant, but something was wanting: it was remembered by his older generals, and it was *cannon*, so rife with the memory of Schall. Now, the Jesuit Verbiest accompanied the Chinese army:—he was ordered to found guns of various calibres. Had the Jesuits changed? Was Verbiest not aware of Schall's example? Still the Jesuits say, by the pen of Cretineau, in these our times, that Verbiest replied to the effect that his mission was to bring down the blessings of heaven on men, not to furnish them with new means of destruction. Thereupon he was suspected of favouring the enemy; he and his companions and converts were threatened with persecution; he yielded to the orders; set up a foundry; directed the works; the messengers of death went forth; and Kang-Hi had to thank the Jesuit for victory.¹ Surely the alleged demur of this Jesuit, coupled with his subsequent submission, is not half so respectable as that of Schall, who only demurred as to his idea that he would not be able to execute what he had learned by theory.²

Verbiest, in return for his services in the war, requested and obtained permission from the emperor, to increase

¹ Cretineau, v. 51, 52.

² "Respondebat festinanti Pater (Schall): hæc se in libris tradita, non in castris; lectione, non usu hausisse: aliud omnino esse ingenium operi, aliud manum admovere: experientiâ plurimum in mechanicis profici."—*Hist. Relatio*, ut antea, p. 64.

the number of his mathematicians. This was the French expedition before alluded to, set on foot by Louis XIV. and his confessor, La Chaise, with ulterior views by both, never destined, however, to obtain their unmerited fulfilment. Six French Jesuits reached China in 1688. It was the first expedition in which the Jesuits avowed that the propagation of their religion was not their object; they came as the envoys of Louis XIV. for astronomical observation and scientific discoveries—operating unto “the plenitude of French commerce in those empires.”¹ The thoughtful reader will at once perceive the bewilderment of the Company, when, in the face of all her institute and declarations to mankind, a number of her men could sally forth, expressly in the service of a royal despot, to advance his ambitious schemes, under the disguise of astronomy and science. Nevertheless the Jesuits, always the most accommodating men in the world, managed to unite the duties of their professional instinct with the requirements of their royal master, and his mighty confessor Père La Chaise, who was virtually the general of the French Jesuits, and the grand promoter of the enterprise to Siam at the same time, and connected with the Chinese expedition. It appears that the Jesuit Couplet, a Dutchman, was the person who stimulated the confessor, with the hope of the great advantages which would accrue to the Company by the establishment of the French in Siam, to the disadvantage of the Dutch, then engrossing its commerce. The rich pagodas of the pagans were a desirable acquisition to the enterprising gratis-collegians, whilst the

¹ Cretineau, v. 53. “Afin d’assurer un jour à la France, la plenitude du commerce dans ces empires, il chercha à donner à la mission Chinoise un cachet national.”

extension of French commerce served as a motive to influence the king. La Chaise furnished the Jesuits Fontenay, Gerbillon, Le Comte Visdelou, Bouvet and Tachard, all of them learned mathematicians, destined for China and Siam, from which last country a pretended embassy had been sent to Louis XIV., with advances from its king. The embassy consisted of two "mandarins," stated to have been brought over by the Jesuit Couplet before-mentioned. Two ships of war carried the exploring expedition, and La Chaise sent a letter to Verbiest at the Court of China, recommending the French Jesuits to his favour and patronage. "Thus," says Father Tachard, "we resigned with France, the sweetness and repose of religious life, which we had enjoyed till then, in order to go and seek, at the world's end, the opportunity for procuring the greater glory of God, and to consecrate ourselves to the conversion of the infidels, in executing the commands of our great monarch."¹

When the French Jesuits reached China, the Portuguese Jesuits objected to receive them: for the Portuguese had hitherto monopolised the commerce of China, and the Portuguese Jesuits were afraid to displease their king.² This fact proves the political object of the expedition: as mere missionaries, the Frenchmen would have been acceptable as well as men of any other nation: the Jesuits in China knew the purpose of the French Jesuits, and either on that account, or through the spirit of nationality everywhere more or less prevalent in the Company, they demurred; but the Frenchmen prevailed, and, three months after their installation,

¹ Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, p. 22; *Hist. of Father La Chaise*, pp. 312—318.

² Cretineau, v. 53.

Gerbillon and his brother-Jesuit Pereyra were dispatched by the Chinese emperor as his ambassadors to the Czar of Russia : they had to negotiate a peace, and to regulate the limits of the two empires. Gerbillon succeeded in ratifying the conditions offered by the emperor, who, on the Jesuit's return, received him with high honour, and appointed him his master in mathematics ; whilst Bouvet was made professor of philosophy ; and both enjoyed the distinction of being the guests of the imperial table, the companions of his walks and journeys, and his physicians. They obtained permission to build a church and a residence in the enclosure of the palace-domains, and in 1692 an imperial edict was procured, granting permission for the preaching of the faith all over the empire : but the emperor still remained a pagan.¹

Missioners of the faith, astronomers, astrologers, musicians, mechanics, mathematicians, gun-founders, gunners, everything and anything by turns, the Jesuits became famous as physicians. Their lay-brothers applied to this department ;—Bernard Rhodes and Pierre Traperie especially distinguished themselves in this faculty. Rhodes cured the emperor of a dangerous malady, and received for his reward ingots of gold to the amount of about 8000*l*.²

¹ Cretineau, v. 54.

² Cretineau, v. 54. This money was deposited with the East India Company, on interest. At the suppression of the *other* Company, the East India Company, like all the Catholic powers, confiscated the money, applying the interest to the hospitals. But the Jesuits sent a deputy from India to represent their case to the board. They were kindly heard, the arrears were paid up, and the interest was given till the death of the last Jesuit-missionary. In 1813 the Propaganda transferred this money from the Jesuits to the Lazarists of China. Whilst the honesty of the board stands in contrast with the despotic injustice of the Roman Propaganda, we must not, for the sake of historical justice, fail to remark the

Triumphant was the progress of the Jesuits : their talents and scientific attainments achieved wealth, honours, and renown. The court of Peking was the asylum of the sons of Loyola : the pagan emperor showered honours on the men of science. Father Dominic Parrenin became grand mandarin, like Adam Schall. His portrait is now before me, and well he looks the character. *Nostri barbam non immittant*, say the Constitutions of Loyola ; but the mandate is gloriously superseded, and the Jesuit-mandarin sedately sports the honours of the lip and a luxuriant beard : his mandarin-cap emphatically proclaims his “ holy poverty ” to be a standard equivocation. With merited applause he was mediator between the Russian and Chinese cabinets, and Peter the Great forgot the Jesuit in the easy diplomatist, and lavished honours on the statesman. Bouvet, another Jesuit, and “ imperial geographer,” vied with a third, Father Gaubil, in “ rendering science the vehicle to the good graces of the emperor.”¹ Immense were their labours ; but they were deprived of the honour due to their exertions. The academies of Europe pilfered their ideas and discoveries, without acknowledgment. “ In these circumstances,” writes Gaubil to Father Souciet, “ it is a vast deal that the gentlemen of the Observatoire have aided you in the construction and verification of the micrometers, &c.,—that they have examined the observations, that they think of making use of them :—I care not at all if they name me or not : but I wish it to be known that those contributions are from the French Jesuits, whom the king maintains in China. This is for

fact that so large a sum was received by the gratis-labourers of Loyola. The reign of avarice had commenced, and with ambition tormented the Company. The fact is given by Cretineau, *ubi supra*.

¹ Cretineau, v. 77.

the common good [of the Company], and I care not at all for the small honour that might accrue to myself. Of all the missionaries, I am the least meritorious.”¹

In the possession of substantial power, the Jesuits might proudly scorn the petty vanities of the frivolous :—but the letter which we have read exhibits human nature as strong, or rather, as weak as ever—judged by the standard of the Constitutions, &c.

Pliant conformity to circumstances, when absolutely necessary—but steadfast, unbending pertinacity when it seemed likely to triumph, were the constant characteristics of the Jesuits. In India they at length effected and confirmed a spiritual revolution. They had fallen in with a primitive community, known by the name of the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle. These religionists recognised as the head of the universal Church, not the Pope of Rome, of whom they had never heard, but the “Patriarch of Babylon,” at Mosul. Measures were immediately taken to draw them into the communion of the Roman Church. Neither force nor persuasion were spared. In 1601, the most eminent among them seemed won over, and a Jesuit was appointed their bishop. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic : the errors of Nestorius, a primitive heretic, were anathematised in a diocesan council ; a Jesuit-college was erected at Cranganor ; the new installation in the episcopal see took place in 1624, with the approbation of the most obstinate of the former opponents. Of course the political superiority of the Portuguese and Spanish power conduced largely to these results so glorious to the Jesuits.²

The same political influence promoted the stubborn

¹ Cretineau, v. 79.

² Ranke, 255 ; Cordara, P. 6. lib. ix. p. 535.

assaults of the Jesuits on Abyssinia—Loyola's Ethiopia. All the former attempts were utterly ineffectual, though ruinous to the natives. In 1603, the Portuguese rendered important service to the Abyssinians in a battle, and obtained high credit for themselves and their religion. The Jesuit Paez was at hand—a clever Jesuit, if the epithet be necessary to qualify an ancient Loyolan of the epoch now before us. Paez preached in the language of the country. He gained access to the court. The victorious sovereign wished to form a closer alliance with the King of Spain, in self-defence against his foes of the interior. Paez represented to him the necessity of his abjuring his schismatic doctrines and conforming to Rome, as the only means of effectuating that alliance. The Portuguese were useful: they had defended him: the Abyssinian felt inclined to comply:—but preliminaries were necessary, as on all occasions when men are impelled by mere expediency to the perpetration of questionable deeds. Public disputations—the Jesuit-method—were appointed: the ignorant monks were easily put down: the bravest man in the kingdom, Sela-Christos, a brother of the Emperor Susnejos, was converted; and his example was followed by countless numbers. *And then an alliance was formed with Pope Paul V. and Philip III.* A religious war ensued. The abuna and his monks joined the rebels of the interior; Sela-Christos and the Portuguese, with the Jesuits and their converts, sided with the emperor. Battles were fought year after year: success alternated with defeat: at length the emperor was victorious. The victory was shared by Catholicism and the Jesuits. The religion of the country was proscribed, Catholic churches and chapels were erected in the emperor's cities and

gardens :—he was formally reconciled to the Roman Church by the Jesuit Paez, who gave him the communion according to the Catholic ritual ; and in 1622, Pope Gregory XV. sent a Portuguese Jesuit, Alfonso Mendez, proposed by King Philip, to officiate as—Patriarch of Ethiopia. The emperor thereupon solemnly tendered his obedience to the Pope of Rome ; the Jesuit Paez built him a magnificent palace, which the traveller Bruce notifies with admiration of its ruins. Mendez with his Jesuits enjoyed the triumph of the faith. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the country, nay, the royal prerogative was set at nought. A monk, the chief of his Order, died without abjuration, and was buried at the foot of the altar in a church where the patriarch had interred another monk who had conformed. The Jesuit had him disinterred and thrown on a dunghill. Fierce contention, terrible battles ensued : rebels arose in every quarter against their persecuting sovereign, impelled by the triumphant Jesuits. He led forth his army, gained the victory, leaving on the field 8000 of his subjects slaughtered in the horrible cause of religion. This frightful victory struck terror even in the victors. His courtesans led the emperor to the ghastly scene, expostulating on the iniquitous warfare. Their remonstrance amid that field of blood took effect—a deep melancholy settled on his mind : he relented ; and granted toleration to his subjects. The Jesuit Tellez calls this decree impious and sacrilegious : but universal joy was its result, and the cause of Rome, no longer aided by the musket, fell to the ground. Susnejos died in 1632 ; his son and successor promoted his father's repentant toleration, in spite of the patriarch's remonstrance. “ Was it by arguments that you esta-

blished your faith?" he asked Mendez. "Was it not by violence and tyranny?" Many other provocations decided the fate of this Jesuit mission. The Jesuits "laid a secret design to betray the empire of Ethiopia to the Portuguese dominion; whereof they were undeniably convicted by divers letters written to carry on the treason, which were seasonably intercepted. Under the pretence of building churches and colleges, they raised fortifications and strongholds in many advantageous parts of the country; and a vast quantity of instruments for the erecting of mounds and bulwarks, with other warlike preparations, were, upon strict search, found in their houses. In short, they did inordinately enrich themselves, and were intolerably insolent,—which first bred among the Abyssinians a suspicion that they rather aimed at the gold and government of Ethiopia, than the salvation of its inhabitants."¹ In addition to this discovery, the new emperor, Fasilades, was threatened with invasion by a neighbouring prince, if he did not ratify the rights of the national religion; and "having therefore granted the patriarch forty servants, letters of safe conduct, and license to transport whatsoever his father had bestowed upon him, he strictly enjoins him and all the Roman fathers to depart the empire without delay, and, by public decree, makes it a capital offence for any of them to be found in his territories, on any pretence whatever." Three Jesuits remained, and were put to death, with others of the party, "for their obstinacy;" nor did the emperor spare his own uncle, "then seventy years old, but condemned him to a tedious imprisonment. In a word, Susnejos, the father, was not more zealous and active to plant the Roman

¹ The Hist. of Ethiopia, by Wanslaben, "a learned papist," 1679, pp. 24 *et seq.*

faith in Abyssinia, than Fasilades, his son and successor, was to extirpate and abolish it.”¹ He persecuted the converts, and successfully expelled the Jesuits. By their sufferings in a disastrous retreat from the scene of their machinations, they partly atoned for the miseries which they and their party had inflicted on the Abyssinians.²

But it was not everywhere the same with the Jesuits—neither as to unbending severity or disaster. It may be some relief to turn from their measures with heretics, and schismatics, to the pagans, among whom they were gods. In South America a luxuriant Catholicism had grown up amidst the ruin, the spoliation, the desolation of the Indians. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Catholic Church of South America included an establishment of five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred convents, innumerable parishes and curacies held by friars, or Indian villages newly consecrated to the faith. Magnificent cathedrals had risen; spacious and comfortable convents around, deepened the shades of that vicissitude in the fortunes of the Indians, on which it was impossible that

¹ The Hist. of Ethiopia, 25 *et seq.* “As soon as these affairs were thoroughly made known, and impartially stated at Rome, the College *De Propagandâ Fide*, upon mature consideration of their ill success and its as just as apparent occasion, resolved to lay aside the Jesuits as improper instruments for that enterprise; and in their stead made choice of some religious persons of the Order of Mendicant Friars, to manage their designs upon Ethiopia. Accordingly, certain Capuchins were deputed for that charge, and ordered to proceed on their journey thither in the year 1636.”—*Ubi suprâ*, p. 26. These poor Capuchins met with a sorry fate: they were actually “hanged with those very ropes which themselves had made use of for their girdles.”—P. 31.

² Ranke, 255; Cordara, P. 6. p. 320; Juvenci, p. 705; La Croze, l. iii. pp. 296—320. The Jesuits in their retreat from Abyssinia were arrested by the Pacha of Suakem, and he refused to let them proceed without the payment of 30,000 piastres by way of ransom. The general of the Jesuits appealed to Cardinal Richelieu, the French consul in Egypt received orders to take steps for their liberation, and the pacha was forced to give up his prey.—*Oretineau*, v. 20.

Heaven should look with approbation. Here and there partial good may have been effected by those troops of monks and friars, who accompanied the freebooters of Spain and Portugal : but we have long since beheld the national results of a luxurious, debauched, proud, and sensual clergy in the colonies of both hemispheres.¹ In the face of undeniable facts, the romances put forth by themselves and their partisans, and echoed by credulous Protestants, may serve to amuse or edify the frivolous, who neither consider the antecedents nor the consequences of monkish domination in the Americas. The miserable Indians scarcely had reason to be satisfied with the useful arts, and the religion taught them, in return for their wealth and liberty. In the gorgeous ceremonials which delighted them,—in the music and song which charmed their ears with psalmody,—in the fantastic imaginings of their minds, confounding pagan ideas with Catholic representations, their dreams by night may have been occasionally sweetened—but they themselves were, in sad reality, dwindling, perishing from the face of the land—making room for the avaricious

¹ The following is, perhaps, the most *lenient* account of the Romish clergy. It was written from a Dominican convent, in 1797 : “The liberty which the ecclesiastics enjoy here enables them to mix in all companies . . . Piety even seems to hide her head, and shrink abashed at some of their sallies ; and the freedom which the women enjoy here does not a little encourage the growth of infidelity. I have talked several times with Don Manuel upon this particular, and he declares that the state winks at the dissolute lives of the clergy, that they may, by their example, give a new turn to the modes of worship formerly observed by the Jesuits ; and by the levity of their conduct, lessen the reverence with which the Indians were wont to regard their religious governors ; whose interest among the natives the court has long been jealous of, and wished to undermine. How far this may be good policy I will not pretend to say, but it certainly has a very destructive and dangerous appearance.”—*Davie, Letters from Paraguay*, p. 170. It is a striking retribution that the very governments which the clergy at first aided to enslave the Indians, now proscribed them with similar selfishness to that which actuated them in their former favours.

and ambitious Christian invaders, with whom their spiritual guides had struck alliance.

Somewhat different, apparently, were the operations of the Jesuits among the Indians of America. Much more regulated in their conduct, under stricter supervision at all times, they were able at least to bring higher civilising powers to bear on the destinies of the savage. By the year 1636 the Company was widely established in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements of America : but in Paraguay they were trying an experiment which seemed to them likely to eventuate a lasting "theocracy,"—although they knew that the most striking and only sample of the kind on record—as given in the Bible—proved a failure at last—and the last state was much worse than the first, the "theocracy" being intermediate.

The Province of Paraguay had no boundaries on the north or the south, excepting those which the ardour of the Jesuits prescribed to their labours. Oceans laved it on both sides. The whole continent of South America was the field of operation. Numerous colleges, houses and residences attested the activity of the fathers : but their scheme of seclusion and government for the Indians was, and is, one of the most curious attempts of Loyola's adventurous progeny. They collected the Indians into villages, called reductions, whence they rigorously excluded all Europeans not connected with the Company. In 1632, there were twenty reductions, each containing about 1,000 families, which is stated to mean many thousand men. Two Jesuits had the charge of each reduction, in general, but only one when the village was poor. The Jesuit was their king, master, teacher, physician, architect, farmer ; in a word, he had supreme dominion over the savages whom he could manage to

collect and retain in the reductions.¹ In forming a reduction of men who “had only the name and figure of the human race,” the Jesuits appointed certain officials over them, to whom they gave the classic names of consuls, prætors, and other Roman or Spanish titles. Rules and regulations were appointed ; the penalty for their infringement was public castigation. Each man had his portion of ground allotted to him, which, at stated times, he ploughed, sowed, dressed, and reaped by command. Frequent visitations and constant supervision tended to stimulate the exertions of the savages.²

No one was permitted to leave the village without express permission from the father.³

The boys were taught the Catechism the first thing in the morning ; then they ranged themselves into two classes,—one for reading and writing, the other for vocal and instrumental music. Mutual instruction was enforced. They heard mass every day ; and were assembled again before noon, together with the girls, for religious instruction. When the church-bell sounded, thrice a day, for the *Angelus*, or salutation of the Virgin, the whole population instantly set aside the work in hand, fell on their knees, and, all together raising their voices, sang a hymn and certain prayers set to music for them, containing the chief points of Christian doctrine.

On great festivals the reductions invited each other ; the fathers came together, the musicians united their bands, and all made merry with dance, and song, and jollity, in which the fathers shared, till evening.

One of the fathers visited every house daily, to see

¹ Litt. Ann. Prov. Paraquariæ, 1636, pp. 37, 38.

² *Ubi suprâ*, 40.

³ *Ubi suprâ*.

after the sick. "The fathers seek out and administer medicines to the patients ; prepare and cook their food for them, and even bleed them. And this is the most powerful means whereby their barbarous minds can be mollified. For at first it was impossible to induce them to receive the fathers into their houses, or to permit them to see their wives, until, in process of time, they found out how beneficial the fathers might prove to them in their affairs ; and now they crave their visits with importunity, particularly when any of them is ill." ¹

The father was supreme judge in the reduction. His sentence settled every dispute ; and so great was his authority, and the general opinion of his integrity, that his decision was received without murmurings or resistance. The youth exhibited the greatest deference, respect, and affection to the fathers, in every respect like the novices of the Company. They walked with decorum, modesty on their brow, and mostly with eyes downcast to the ground. They obeyed the slightest hint ; and they were, in this matter, so well exercised, that they frequently anticipated the command. They confessed their sins frequently, shed copious tears for the least faults, received the sacrament, recited daily the rosary and other prayers, and were particularly devout to the queen of heaven. They lacerated themselves with a whip much oftener than once a week, and tortured their little bodies with a hair shirt. Such is

¹ " Patres enim ægris corporibus medicinas et quærunt et applicant ; iis cibum conficiunt, conduntque ; atque ad eò suis manibus ægrorum venas incidunt. Atque id potentissimum medium, quo barbari eorum animi deleniuntur. Nullâ enim ratione, initio, adduci poterant ut Patres domos ingredi, aut uxores vel interi paterentur : donec labente tempore cognovère, quanto rebus suis Patres essent emolumento : atque ad eò eos jam ut ad se venire dignentur, præcipuè ubi eorum aliquis morbo affectus fuerit, multis precibus obtestantur."—*Litt. Ann.*, ut antea, p. 43.

their purity, that when they speak to women—even their own mothers—they fix their eyes on the ground.¹

These youths are the most faithful scouts and informers. They reproach the delinquents, and report the sins, quarrels, and everything else that may chance among the people. Malefactors are abhorred by none more than these boys; and whatever they find out, they instantly report to the fathers. Their mothers themselves, when they are confessing, and are questioned as to any particular sin, usually reply thus:—"I have not committed that sin, for my son admonished me about it."²

Such are the skeleton facts of the scheme in general. From the Jesuit Charlevoix, I shall proceed to select illustrations of the results. These Indians were, according to Charlevoix, very vicious: "their brutalised reason had preserved scarcely a trace of natural religion. Miracles were necessary to convert them; and He who had inspired the missionaries with the design, did not withhold miraculous interposition. He began with miracles of terror, which produced a great effect. The cacique of the Reduction de Loretto had displayed great zeal for that establishment, and had been the first to receive baptism. He even put away his concubine. They abridged the time of his probation. He relapsed, resumed his former way of living. The missionaries tried persuasion and mildness to reclaim him. Then they threatened him with the wrath of heaven—with excommunication, if he did not retrace his steps. He still resisted. Then," says the Jesuit, "after having abused the mercies of the Lord, he felt all the rigour of his justice. One day, whilst he was alone in his hut, it

¹ *Ibi supra*, pp. 44, 45.

² *Ibi supra*, 45.

took fire suddenly on all sides ; he could neither put it out nor escape : he was burnt alive, and taught the new Christians, at his own cost, that there is a jealous God in heaven, and that we cannot despise with impunity the advice which his ministers give us, on his part.”¹

Without attempting to explain this miraculous interposition *in terrorem*, it may serve to show how both the young and the old members of their “Happy Christendom” fared in the reductions in case the will of the fathers was not strictly obeyed. All the missions were formed nearly on the same plan, and communicated with each other. Only one language was taught and used throughout the reductions. Total isolation from the Europeans was the object of the Jesuits. The most fruitful and healthy spots were chosen for these villages, and all were built in a regular and similar form, the streets of one breadth, extending in right lines, and meeting in one central square. Each village had its church, built in the most conspicuous situation. The churches were in general handsome buildings, designed with no small taste and skill in architecture, by the missionaries, and decorated with paintings and pieces of sculpture, sent as presents by pious Catholics in Europe. Close to the church was the house inhabited by the missionaries. To them were associated six boys, chosen from among the natives ; and together they formed a chapter, or religious community, having all the laws appointed with monastic regularity.

In every village there was a workhouse, or place of confinement for disorderly women. There was likewise an arsenal, replenished with all sorts of weapons in use

¹ Hist. du Paraguay, i. 231, 4to edit.

among the Europeans, provided with a small train of artillery and a proportionate quantity of ammunition. The inhabitants were trained to arms, distributed into companies, and the most intelligent among them were chosen as officers. These were distinguished by uniforms decorated with gold-lace, and they bore in some conspicuous part of their dress a device indicative of the place where they commanded. The evening of every holiday was a time of exercise for the troops, in which they went through their evolutions.

In the schools some of the boys were taught to read Latin and Spanish—but only to pronounce the language, not to understand or speak it: they had to read to the community during meal-time; and such was their faculty of imitation, that they read as though they understood the language.

Everywhere there were workshops for gilders, painters, and sculptors; goldsmiths, silversmiths, whitesmiths, clockmakers, carpenters, joiners, weavers, and founders; in a word, for all the arts and trades that might be turned to account. The Company's lay-brothers of every trade and occupation were, as may be imagined, of immense utility in all her missions abroad. In Paraguay, as soon as the children were old enough to begin to work, they were taken to these workshops, and applied to the business for which they expressed the greatest liking, on the principle, that art is to be guided by nature. Their first masters were Jesuit lay-brothers, sent out on purpose to instruct them. Sometimes the fathers themselves drove the plough, and handled the spade, to teach them agriculture, and engage them, by their example, to cultivate the earth, to sow and to reap. These neophytes built, after designs furnished by the Jesuits, such

churches as would not disgrace the greatest cities in Spain or Peru, either with regard to the beauty of their structure, or the richness and good taste of their sacred vessels and ornaments of every kind.¹

The work of the women was regulated as well as that of the men ; and it consisted chiefly in spinning. At the beginning of the week, each woman received a quantity of wool and cotton, which she had to return on the following Saturday night, ready for the loom. They were occasionally put to such field labour as did not seem to surpass their strength.

No distinctions or inequality were admitted among the people. It was a perfect uniformity of submission and obedience, not interrupted by any of the steps or gradations of other schemes of society. This uniformity and equality would soon have disappeared, had the principle of property been allowed to shoot out according to its natural tendencies : but it was admitted within very narrow limits. The spot of ground attached to every house represented that principle, and, further, something like property might appear in their part of its produce ; but the great bulk of what the labours of the community produced was brought before the Jesuits, and stored in the warehouses. There was a public slaughterhouse for the cattle : the meat was divided into portions, and distributed among the families,—all under the superintendence of the Jesuit-superior. All other necessaries were

¹ "In the church of the Franciscans I am informed they have a picture of the Last Supper, painted by an Indian residing at one of the presidencies on the Uruguay, a very capital performance, the frame of which is composed entirely of feathers of a bright gold colour, and so artfully contrived as to appear to the nicest observer some of the most correct carving and gilding ; nor can the difference be discovered until it is touched by the hand. This picture was a present to the Franciscan fathers by the Jesuits, not many years before their expulsion."—*Davie, Letters from Paraguay*, p. 146.

distributed in like manner. The surplus manufactures, such parts of the produce as fetched great profit in the exportation, as the matte, or herb of Paraguay, were sent to Buenos Ayres, or some other seaport town, and sold by an agent appointed by the missionaries. Out of the proceeds a slight tribute was, in the first place, deducted, which all the Indians above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the King of Spain :—the remainder was disposed of for the benefit of the missions, and re-conveyed to them in the form of such European wares as they needed. Ornaments for the churches, and whatever tended to the splendour of public worship and the magnificence of festivals, were regularly procured.

The use of money was rigorously banished from the whole extent of the missions.

In all the distributions attention was paid to the claims of childhood, helplessness, and decrepitude.

The missionaries appear to have been particularly anxious for the accomplishment of two objects. The first was to render their religion and government as striking as possible to the senses of their subjects : hence the regular and elegant structure of their churches, the pomp and solemnity of service, the disposition of the young Indians of both sexes into choirs of music. On festivals all the magistrates appeared in robes of ceremony appropriated to the occasion. The troops made their appearance in their best apparel : fireworks took place, supplied by gunpowder manufactured for the purpose by the Indians themselves : their little artillery was drawn out, and the air resounded with joyful discharges.

One festival in particular deserves description. To inspire the most profound reverence for the sacrament of the altar, a day in the year was set apart devoted to the

special purpose of rendering it distinguished homage. On this day the sacrament was carried in splendid procession through the village. Groups of dancers announced its approach ; nothing burlesque or lascivious was admitted into these dances : but a sort of pure and chaste festivity pervaded the performance. The holy wafer, adorned with everything which their little wealth could afford to render it magnificent, passed over flowers and odoriferous herbs strewed in profusion on the ground, and under boughs and blossoms twisted into triumphal arches. Birds of the gayest plumage, such as expand their wings under those burning suns, were tied to the arches ; but it was so contrived, that the strings which held them should be nicely concealed, so that they seemed to have come of their own accord to mix their warblings with the hymns and canticles of their fellow-mortals, and join in the adoration of one common Deity. This concert of praise and devotion was swelled and deepened by the growlings of lions and tigers, chained at certain distances, in such a manner as to be surveyed without danger by the spectators. Large basons of water were likewise seen, with various fishes of curious forms and dyes, sporting in the rippling waves. The streets were hung with carpets, separated by garlands, festoons, and bundles of foliage, disposed and arranged by the simple taste of the female part of the community.

From this union of art and nature, this display of simplicity and devotion, this concert of the feathered tribes with the savage animals of the desert, this mixture of leaves, flowers, and water, under a serene sky and resplendent sun, arose a scene as smiling to the fancy, and as interesting to the heart, as can be well conceived.

The spectacle concluded, and the different sorts of

provisions, which had been exhibited in the progress of it, were presented by the grateful savages to their spiritual governors, who never failed to send the best part to those whom sickness hindered from partaking in the festivity. The rest were regaled, each with a small cup of wine.

The second object which engaged the attention of the Jesuits, was the exclusion of strangers from the precincts of their dominions. At first, the Spaniards were accustomed to seize all the Indians they met with, carry them into slavery, and employ them in the labour of the mines: the Jesuits obtained an edict from the court of Spain, securing the liberty of all those who joined their communities; but this did not satisfy them. They would gladly have shut out all Europeans, and prevented their visits, whether as merchants or travellers. This anxiety on their part was represented by their enemies as the jealous vigilance which guards concealed treasures; but since it has been ascertained that the metallic wealth of those sequestered regions was wholly imaginary, it may be ascribed to a reasonable persuasion, impressed on their minds, that by no other means could the principles of their monastic government be maintained. Accordingly, when a European came among them, he was carefully watched, received with civility and hospitality, but never allowed to wander without the attendance and inspection of some trusty persons, who reconducted him out of the limits of these sacred territories with as little delay as possible.¹

¹ See Charlevoix, *Hist. du Paraguay*, 3 vols. 4to, or the English translation, 2 vols. 8vo. Also Moore's "Lives of Alberoni, Ripperda, and Pombal," an excellent work, pp. 265, *et seq.*; Muratori, *Il Christianesimo Felice*; and *Litt. Ann.*, *ubi supra*. Also *Lettres Edif. et Curieuses*; and Ulloa, *Voyage*, ii. c. xv.

A good deal of rhetoric has been lavished on the system of the Paraguay missions. There is a hazy notion lingering in the minds of men that what Fenelon imagined, and Sir Thomas More put forth, or Plato inculcated, was substantially realised by the Jesuits of Paraguay. The pious Christian who read the Annual and the Curious and Edifying Letters, naturally surveyed it with partial fondness:—his heart swelled with joy and delight at the conversion of so many infidel tribes; the whole frame of this religious Society, as represented, was calculated to awaken his sympathy, to excite his praise. That praise came from his heart. Muratori, in his *Christianesimo Felice*, in 1743, showed what effect the annual letters of Father Gaetano Cattaneo produced on his soul of devotion; and though the Jesuits had lashed him severely a short time before, he would prove to them that *his* heart was free from malice; and that in opposing their notions of the “immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary,” and their “sanguinary vow,” he had only stood forth for the truth:—others say that his object was to deprecate their fury,—still there is internal evidence in the book that it was heartily composed from the curious and edifying representations of the Jesuits to which he gave credence.¹ But there were others

¹ “Essendosi trovato il Muratori sul principio dell’ Anno 1742, senza verum argomento per le mani, prese a trattare delle missioni de’ Padri Della Comp. di Gesù nel Paraguai, a ciò stimolato da alcune lettere scritte da quelle contrade ne’ gli Anni 1729 e 1730, dal P. Gaetano Cattaneo.”—*Vita del Proposto L. A. Muratori dal G. P. S. Muratori suo Nipote*, pp. 64, *et seq.*

Muratori’s nephew does not deny the alleged motive mentioned in the text; but says “it was rather to show the Jesuits and to avow that he was a friend of truth, and honoured it wherever he found it. Nevertheless,” he continues, “I will not conceal the fact that though Muratori made urgent and importunate requests to the chief personages of the Company, whilst engaged in the work, for documents concerning those missions and provinces, he could never obtain anything from them: there was nothing in their archives worthy of seeing the

who, with far different sentiments, pointed complimentally to the Jesuit-kingdom of Paraguay—equivocal Christians—men who hated the Jesuits, who hated Christianity or seemed to do so, but descanting with studied eloquence in praise of the Paraguay missions—Buffon, and his party, with Raynal and Montesquieu, to all whom the Jesuit apologists condescend to appeal for the pittance of praise and seeming approval. But what was the motive? How do *these* approvers aim? Why, this Utopian republic, as represented by the Jesuits, was a “fact” which enabled those sapient pen-holders who stirred humanity, to gratify another of their propensities in declaring against property and the distinction of ranks. The sober and dispassionate reasoner, who is

light! The same treatment he had experienced when he asked for information respecting Father Segneri . . . But when these fathers saw how Muratori had managed and treated their cause, they were not backward in declaring to him their obligations. Their general sent him an ample letter of thanks in the name of the whole Company, and a bull of fraternisation subsequently; Father Lagomarsini dedicated a work to him; and at length the provincial of Paraguay wrote him a letter of thanks. His *Christianesimo Felice* became the condiment of their dinners. The fathers afterwards wished Muratori to undertake the defence of their Malabar missionaries against the work which the famous Father Norbert wrote on the subject; and he was warmly solicited by Father Lagomarsini:—but Muratori could not be induced to enter into such a contest. Subsequently the Jesuits gave him some documents concerning Paraguay, and he published the second part of the *Christianesimo Felice*.—*Ubi supra*.

For the disgraceful conduct of the Jesuits towards Muratori, in the matter of the *immaculate conception of the Virgin*, and the *sanguinary vow*, I must refer the curious to his biography, as above, pp. 109—114. Nothing could exceed their violence, setting even the papal mandate at defiance and appealing to the people in the cause of the Virgin, which had enlisted their pride and vanity into a most disgraceful battle of scandal. Muratori honestly denounced the superstitious ceremony and vow which they exhibited and defended, and they fell upon him with injuries, calumnies, in a manner totally unworthy of religious men—but quite in accordance with the *Monita Secreta*. They said he was no theologian—nay, they made out that he was a downright heretic and opposed to the worship of the Virgin. They overwhelmed him with letters full of abuse and menaces, telling him he would not be saved if he did not retract—“*che non si salverebbe se non si ritrattava, e talvolta ancora con minaccie*.”—*Ubi supra*, 120.

anxious to form a right judgment, will calmly inquire into the antecedents and consequents of Jesuit-rule and labour in Paraguay, and what they really accomplished.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the state of things which the Jesuits succeeded in changing for the better, to all intents and purposes, as far as the mere physical or mechanical nature of man is concerned. Whatever miseries a race of wandering savages might endure, were aggravated in a tenfold degree by the tyranny of the Spaniards. Naked, defenceless, they were perpetually the objects of predatory expeditions, and thousands were yearly torn from their native wilds into hopeless captivity. The victims of this remorseless warfare, thus separated from everything that was dear to them, were exercised in the pestilential labours of the mines, condemned to all the drudgery of heartless, ruthless avarice. The Jesuits, who had been the only churchmen that consoled the negro in the Spanish Aceldama, rushed to the rescue of the Indian, as well.¹

¹ The Jesuits state this fact as follows:—"The African slaves, of whom there is a very great number all over this continent (Anno 1636), since every year many ships full of them come hither from Angola and Guinea, where the natives force each other into slavery, and sell them to the Spanish and Portuguese merchants. They have their sodality in this city as in all others, whereby they are very piously affected. In their bodily ailments and mental sorrows, they have no refuge but our Company." They were generally re-baptised on their arrival, on account of doubts as to the validity of the sacrament conferred before they were chained by the Christians in the slave-ship.—*Litt. Ann. ut antea*, p. 23. The Jesuit Fauque gives a bitter account of the poor negroes in Cayenne, about a century ago, 1751. They frequently ran away to the woods. "To obviate this," says Fauque, "our kings [of France] in an express code of laws for the slaves, have enacted, that for the first time a slave runs away, if denounced and taken a month after, he shall have his ears cut off and his back branded with the fleur-de-lys. For the second offence, his hamstrings were cut. For the third he was hanged." The Jesuit gives an account of a feat he performed in inducing a number of negroes to return to their masters

They raised a rampart between the oppressors and the oppressed. The savage was reclaimed from his wandering necessitous life. Peace smiled upon regions which had been the scene of continued murders and strife. Religion raised her temples. Devotion displayed her solemnities. Human nature breathed once more. The arts of civilisation were practised ; and the sweets of society compensated for the bitterness of the past, and made the heart hopeful of the future. Amid forests and solitudes which had resounded only with the yells of barbarous victory and murderous defeat, were heard the canticles of simple devotion, breathed by a decent and orderly array of children, to the sound of instruments harmoniously blending. The den and the cavern were exchanged for more commodious habitations, supplied with every necessary utensil, and many ornamental pieces of furniture, rudely built, of clay and straw, but uniformly covered with tiles. The bloody fur of the wild beast, slain in the chase or adventurous struggle, was replaced by a neat and comely dress. The men wore garments of cloth, and a handsome kind of sandal on their feet, neatly twisted out of a sort of long grass, which grows in those countries. The women, in a loose garment adapted to the heat of the climate, disposed their hair in a number of fanciful fashions,—some allowing it to flow loose over their shoulders, others gathering it in part under a cap ; while strings of black beads, with the cross suspended at the end of

from the woods, on promise of pardon. He succeeded, but with great difficulty, and some remained behind. The government sent a numerous detachment to seize or kill these negroes ; but a disease broke out amongst the troops, and the expedition failed. See the letter, which is worth reading, though full of the usual Jesuit-ostentation, *Miss. D'Amer.* ; *P. Fauque au P. Allart*, 10 Mai, 1751, ii. 51.

them, were thrown round their necks.¹ Such are the probable facts of the fiction.

It is impossible to deny that such change was good. It therefore follows that the Jesuits were entitled to the gratitude of the New World, for extricating the Indians from the murderous passions and policy of the Spaniards and Portuguese. Though we may call the Jesuits to account, on other scores, with regard to *their* policy towards these Indians, that standing fact must be ever admitted,—they left the Indian advanced a step in the scale of beings. But he was stationary there. Thus far, and no farther, was the award. Charlevoix pays the Indians the compliment of ascribing to them unlimited powers of imitation ; but denies them invention. This deficiency was the result of the system that fashioned them unto mere subjection—appealing only to their brute instincts—making them feel that “the fathers were beneficial to them in all their affairs,”—in a word, rigidly fashioning their conduct, in every particular, by the fear of impending punishment, bleak wretchedness once more by expulsion—and, at all times, by the deceitful contrivances of religionism, mocking hell as well as heaven. Never could man’s mind or heart expand to its appointed fulness under the pressure of the Jesuit-institutions, thus applied. They reduced the species to tameness and symmetry ; but what became of its physical, its moral energy ? What became of that internal *power*—the consciousness of duty, eventuating that self-dependance which is neither cast down by failure, nor broken by calamity ? Had these adventurous Jesuits themselves in India, China, and America, everywhere, been hampered

¹ Moore, *ubi supra*, 276, *et seq.* ; Charlevoix, Muratori, and Ulloa, who evidently got his account from the Jesuits.

as they hampered these Indians, the world would have heard little about them. It was partyism, corporate-interests, the cause to which they were sworn, that narrowed the hearts of the Jesuits in its largest conceptions, and made them slaves in the loftiest flights of their independence. Want, calamity, stroke upon stroke by a hostile world inflicted, will neither crush a man nor a nation, if either but feel that self-dependance in any career whatever—but especially when combined with right reason and the heart's uprightness.

Consider the French in their great revolution. A nation hurried by the violence and ferment of the vices which rankled in its bosom, from one kind of fanaticism to another—at all times pouring out its blood at every vein—drunk with the rage of innovation, or mad with the lust of conquest—passing from the desolating despotism of royalty, to the hideous despotism of mobs—then to the headlong, ravaging ambition of an unscrupulous soldier. And yet this nation, amidst all its excesses and disorders, amidst all the causes of destruction and depopulation, perpetually vexing, harassing its heart, lost nothing of its outward greatness ; it was not only secure, but formidable to all its neighbours—until its chieftain blundered and fell back on the hampering antique system, lugging itself along with him—a nation of fiery eagles to feed like vultures on the carrion of the desert. Its thousands had perished on the scaffold, its armies after armies, in victory and death, had left whitening bones 'twixt the tropics, or in the frozen zone, in the north, south, east, and west ; and yet its visible dimensions continued undiminished. It was a giant with decayed vitals—but still a giant.

Compare with such a nation the state of a people,

where every thing is settled and arranged by a cast-iron standard, where luxury and indigence (the thunder and lightning of humanity) are alike unknown ; where a scheme of minute regulations is contrived to mince conscience and exclude opulence, for fear of running into vices which consume the useless ; to strangle indigence, the hungry enemy of increase. What's the result ? Why, this people will never rise above the standard of a languid, sickly body. It is a feeble creeping infant. It expires without a struggle, for it has had nothing to live for,—neither wealth, glory, nor renown,—neither rights achieved, hopes reasonable, nor the spirit-stirring name of Country, which is all.

And the conclusion is this :—Our social institutions are the parents of a family of evils, but they are likewise the parents of our virtues. But what is evil ? How much of selfishness must we not abstract, before we can pronounce that to be evil from which we suffer ? In what period of a man's history did he ever free himself from any given evil, without superinducing the sources of others, perhaps more disastrous ?

Property, the means of security and power, is the invigorating principle of the faculties and exertions of the mass of men. *Property*, in its widest acceptation, as applied to land, tenements, gold, the bodies and souls of our fellow-creatures. Have we not seen how this stimulant to impulse has raised the Jesuits. It has done the same to every nation which has ever "had its day." But the Jesuits "bled" it out of the Indians, and then they said they mollified their "barbarous minds." They were extinguished when they were made to feel their utter dependance,—complete subjection.

Man cannot prosper, cannot flourish under the

government of monks. Never will the hero spring up in him who trembles at the frown of a priest. Minute and exact regulations may produce tranquillity and order, but only such as depend upon a hollow system; and withal stealing away what is necessary to maintain those blessings against external shocks and inroads. The tameness, the benumbed monotony which ever accompany that nature-crushing method, are, in this point of view, more pernicious than the worst vices and abuses arising out of less shackled schemes of policy and social customs. God be thanked, that neither monkhood, nor Jesuit-rule, nor vice is unavoidable by individuals or by nations.¹

By the admission of the Jesuits themselves, their system recoiled on themselves in the reductions. They say that these proselytes were in many respects "children all their lives;" but it was only so whilst they could shackle them and accustom them to their fetters. By the approach of the *Mamelus*, a tribe of marauders, the whole Reduction of the Incarnation was totally changed at once: they would not hear a word of God, shunned the church, concealed their children, lest they should be baptised, and avoided the Jesuit-superior to the utmost. And what was the cause? Only a few jugglers who had got into the village, and enticed away the children of the Jesuits, with magical incantations, and carcasses uttering oracles, priests and priestesses. Alas! even the Jesuits' own *catechists* joined in the fanaticism. It was evidently a rival speculation, and seemed likely to ruin the reduction. The Jesuits set to work furiously;

¹ In the foregoing remarks I have incorporated, expanded, or elucidated, George Moore's excellent reflections on the Jesuit-system in Paraguay, *ubi supra*, pp. 276—280.

destroyed the temple, and the idols, which were old skeletons dressed in robes and adorned with feathers, and a monstrous dwarf, whom the fathers pulled out of his den, flung him to their children, who passed the poor fellow through an ordeal of gibes and mockery; and then the fathers "instructed" and baptised the monster. Whether this violent remedy cured the disorder is uncertain: Charlevoix does not state the result.¹

On another occasion, the assaults of the Mamclus induced Alfaro, the superior, to undertake a change of locality for the reduction, proposing to move nearer the Uruguay. The neophytes resisted; they conspired against the missionaries; the majority resolved to remain. What was done? Why, Alfaro set fire to the village. Only the crime of arson could achieve an exodus. Forced thus to decamp, these pious items of the *Christianesimo Felice*, divided, took different ways: some went to another tribe; others were led by the Jesuits to another reduction, where, according to Charlevoix, they did not fare much better.²

Those of St. Anne resumed their inclination for the life of the wilds, imagined that they were gathered as victims for the Mamelus, insulted Alfaro, stormed his chapel, and profaned it before his eyes.³

In 1639 there was a transmigration of a reduction, effected by the skill of the Jesuits, not, however, without the usual demonstrations of mutiny;⁴ but in 1644, the greatest outrages were inflicted by these happy Christians on their missionary, Father Arenas, whom they wounded in the head. The Jesuits could not get a

¹ Hist. de Paraguay i. p. 383.

² Ib. *ut antea*, p. 437.

³ Ib. *ut antea*, p. 438.

⁴ Ib. *ut antea*, p. 446.

single boy to serve at their mass. The corruption of morals was beyond the hope of reclaiming, when the reduction was saved by a stroke of authority. The Jesuits arrested the cacique, who was ringleader, and probably took effectual means to disqualify him for the future.¹

Those of "The Presentation" had only "promised" to become Christians, we are told, and did not keep their word: they rose tumultuously, reduced the church and house to ashes, forced the Jesuits to take refuge at Santa Cruz. The Reduction of Tarequea had the same issue.²

From these examples it must be evident that the world has been somewhat "deceived by ornament" in the matter of the Jesuit Utopia. Charlevoix let out all these facts and others, by way of showing off the difficulties and harassments of the Jesuits, which all will admit; but it is to be hoped that the following announcement does not mean the penalty of death:—"The missionaries thought it their duty, on certain occasions, to resort to a prudent severity, and not to hesitate to cut off some spoiled members in order to preserve the body."³ Undoubtedly these Jesuits bitterly felt the hardships of their lot; and the dreams they roguishly circulated in Europe may thus be excused, with the "verily, they had their reward." But one of them, at least, Juan Dominguez, an apostle of long standing, was disgusted, pretended to go in quest of timber, in Brazil, got on board a ship ready for sailing,

¹ Charlevoix, ii. 87.

² *Ibid. ut antea*, p. 231.

³ Charlevoix, ii. 263. "Les Missionnaires crurent devoir user en quelques rencontres d'une sage sévérité, et ne point balancer à retrancher quelques membres gâtés, pour conserver le corps."

and returned to Spain. Aquaviva punished him severely.¹

Francia, the modern dictator of the country, in the year 1838, described the Paraguay Jesuits as *unos pillos ladinos*, that is, "refined rogues." This may seem to some of us rather severe; but the following statement is worth attention, as given by Messrs. Robertson, in their interesting "Letters on Paraguay." In their first excursions, the Jesuits fell in with the wandering but peaceful tribes called Guaranis, to whom they began to preach. They set themselves up as the descendants of St. Thomas, whom they represented as the immediate apostle of the Son of God. A name used and venerated by the Indians (as stated by Charlevoix) suggested the fraud. They propagated the imposture; and in a few years they boldly put forth, *as a tradition which they had received from the Indians themselves*, the fact that St. Thomas actually *had* landed in America. He evangelised it, they said, not many years after the apostles had been endowed with power from on high, at Jerusalem. The credulous Indians were flattered and proud of the honour; and the tradition descended with their other legends. Doubtless the reader remembers

¹ Lozano (Jesuit) Hist. de la Comp. de Jesu, in Parag. lib. v. c. 2, 7. A striking illustration of human nature is given by a Jesuit of himself, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. The reader is probably aware of the superstitious belief respecting *St. Elmo and his lights* held by the sailors of Southern Europe. When electric lights appear, they say that it is St. Elmo, who comes to announce the end of the tempest. The Jesuit Chomé, on his voyage to the missions, where he would have to face death in many shapes for preaching his religion, nevertheless had not the courage to disabuse the sailors of their superstition. "One day, when on deck with the officers, they asked my opinion on the phenomenon. I explained to them its cause; but *I durst not do so in the presence of the sailors.*"—*Lett. Edif.* ii. 101 (Panth. Litteraire). Probably the excitements of the mission, like those of battle, made valiant many a heart, otherwise unnerved for the tug of peril. Chomé's letter is dated 26 Sept. 1730.

that precisely the same imposture was put forth by the Jesuits respecting St. Thomas in India; and they subsequently exhibited "St. Thomas's miraculous cross" at Meliapoora, made it change colours during the mass of the Virgin, and then copiously sweat blood whenever they prognosticated calamity.¹ But the inventive Jesuits in America did not stop short with the mere tradition.

¹ See in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, a representation of the said cross, with a Jesuit on one side and two natives on the other, in a posture of adoration. There is no mistaking the invention from the everlasting I. H. S. and the walls on the altar. It is a most elaborate piece of roguish invention, with appropriate "mystic characters" around the cross, duly interpreted "by some Brahmin," and set forth by the original concoctors. Kircher gives the legend, which is much like the Arabian tale of "the Fisherman and the Genius," and says:—"Porro hæc Crux, 18 Decembris, festo scilicet B. Virginis, quod expectationem partus Hispani vocant, quotannis tempore Missæ solennis, in varios colores mutare solet, quin et subindè sanguinem cum sudore copiosissimo emittere; quod tamen semper magnæ calamitatis imminentis prognosticum fuisse experientia docuit," pp. 54, 55. In Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, you will find some curious experiments on the apparent changing of colours. "Thus," says he, "not without the greatest delight you will see, from the combinations of coloured glass, a variety of hues succeeding each other."—Part 3, lib. iv. p. 74.—*Physiol. Kircher*. p. 75. In the present case, the cross is over against a window, whose light was probably the means of producing the phenomenon. At all events, these clever Jesuit-magicians managed the thing to admiration. This cross is of a very dark grey, nearly approaching to black. Now, somewhere about the year 1703, say the *Curious and Edifying Letters*, when the church was full of people, the black cross suddenly, in the sight of all, became red, then brown, and immediately after of a dazzling whiteness: a thick cloud then formed round it, through which occasional glimpses of the cross might be seen, and upon the dispersion of the cloud, the cross was found to be covered with such a profuse perspiration, that the miraculous water flowed as far as the altar. Nay more, whenever this miracle occurs, "on sending to the little Mount also the cross is there found to exhibit," says Father Taclard, "the same miraculous symptoms. Not only was Father Sylvestre de Souza twice an eye-witness of this prodigy, but several English Protestants were present when it occurred, and after a searching investigation were forced to confess that there was something in the matter extraordinary and Divine," t. xii. pp. 19, 20. It is a pity that Father Sylvestre de Souza omits to mention the names of these "Protestants." However, there can be no doubt that the trick was well managed. As Mackay observes, "Rufinus and Socrates, the historians, say that St. Thomas was martyred at Edessa, in Syria; perhaps as the Roman Catholic archbishop of Calcutta is titular archbishop of Edessa, he may be able to decide which of the two is the orthodox tradition."—*Jesuits in India*, p. 12.

They told their credulous converts that the unwieldy cross which their forefathers had seen in the hands of the apostle, was hidden by the unconverted Indians, or Gentiles, in a lake near Chuquisaca,—was there discovered and rescued, at a distance of fifteen centuries of time, by the curate of the place, Padre Sarmiento! “This historical anecdote,” says Mr. Robertson, “is related by Don Pedro Alvear, one of the commissioners of his Catholic Majesty for adjusting the boundary lines between Spanish America and Brazil. The account is taken from a manuscript of his, in the possession of Sir Woodbine Parish. The commissioner is, in many points, a very respectable and accurate historian; but the facility with which he has lent himself to record the pious fictions of the Jesuits, may tend to show the hold they had upon the respect and confidence of even the first men in the country. Alvear seriously solves the problem of the long immersion, without injury, of the miraculous cross, by assuring the reader that it was made of holy wood. He also informs him, that many and stupendous miracles have been performed by means of it.”¹ None of them, however, surpassed those which Ignatius performed there, according to the Jesuits. “It is scarcely possible to tell how many prodigies God has here made our holy father Ignatius illustrious with. A single paper image of him has these last two years performed thirty-five miracles.” All these miracles did the functions of physicians and accoucheurs, as usual—nay, restored sight to the blind.²

¹ Letters on Paraguay, ii. 42—44.

² *Litt. Ann., ut antea*, p. 26. “Dici vix potest quantis prodigiis S. P. N. Ignatium Deus hic illustret. Unica ejus imago papyracea 35 miraculis, hoc biennio fuit insignis; nam et matronarum partus maturati, et uberum dolores depulsi; atque adeo visus est mulieri restitutus,” &c., &c.

But the most curious prodigy was that a young woman was enabled to resist

“The footing which, by pious fraud, the Jesuits obtained in the country, they confirmed by a combination of wisdom and worldly tactics seldom united in other mortals. They worked so effectually, that in about fifty years from the time of their first landing on the coast of Brazil, they had not only erected colleges and *casas de residencia* (habitations for themselves) at most of the principal Spanish stations in South America, but had fortified themselves by thirty establishments of their own, containing 100,000 inhabitants, on the banks of the Paraná and Uruguay. Their vast estates constituted the finest part of the territory of the whole of this section of South America.

“From this centre of operations, they extended their influence far and wide. Their *casas de temporalidades* (or buildings for their warehouses), occupied in Buenos Ayres, together with their college and other buildings, a whole quadra (one hundred and forty-four yards square) of land. So fearful were those cautious and prudent men of anything—even of the lightning of Heaven—touching their *temporalidades* (goods and chattels), that the whole of their offices and warehouses were made bomb-proof. They were secured by massive iron gratings; and built in a style of solidity, capaciousness, and splendour, to which there was no parallel in the country.

“I once occupied a wing of this *temporalidades*-

the violence of a criminal assault, by having an image of the Virgin on her breast. One would suppose that this “fact” was enough; not so, however. The picture got torn in the struggle: the girl was sorely afflicted therewith; she put the pieces in a box, and when she went to it again, she found it completely restored to its original condition.”—*Ubi supra*, p. 27. The *Lettres Edif.* and *Charlevoix* furnish similar miracles: but I fear we have been already sufficiently disgusted with the impious inventions, fictions, and contrivances.

building for twelve months," continues Mr. Robertson. "While I lived there, in 1811, the town of Buenos Ayres was bombarded by the Spanish marines from Montevideo; and as the bombs and shells fell fast and thick in all parts of the town, many of the people, and especially of my own friends, sought shelter under the bomb-proof roofs of the former abode of the Jesuits. There they slept for three or four successive nights; and so secure did they feel in the strongly-vaulted apartments, that they danced and made merry, whilst the marines, from their shipping in the inner roads, were throwing their shot and shells into the town.

"The traffic of the Jesuits with Buenos Ayres, Assumption, and Corrientes, was very great. Affecting to govern all their establishments on the principle of a community of goods, and having persuaded the Indians that they participated equally with their pastors in the advantages derived from their labour in common, the Jesuits made subservient to their own aggrandisement, the toil of a hundred thousand Indian slaves. They instructed them in agriculture, and in the mechanical arts; they made of them soldiers and sailors; and they taught them to herd cattle, prepare *yerba*, and manufacture sugar and cigars. But while the churches and *casas de residencia* were built with elaborate splendour, the Indian architect and mason occupied mud-hovels. While the padres had all the conveniences, and even luxuries, that could be furnished by the carpenter and upholsterer; and while the churches exhibited fine specimens of architecture, carving, and embroidery, the Indian workman had scarcely a table and a chair, very seldom a bed, and never any other hanging or coverlet, in his hovel, than a coarse poncho. The Indians *made*

shoes, but the padres alone *wore* them, and exported the surplus. Plenty of sugar, maté, cigars, sweetmeats, and Indian corn, were annually sent to Buenos Ayres ; but the poor Indian could with difficulty get a meagre supply of salt to his yucca-root, and to his occasional meal of beef. The soldiers were without pay, and the sailors without reward. The barks constructed by one class of missionary subjects were first employed in carrying away the articles produced by the sweat of the brow of another, and then in bringing back, as a return, finery for the churches, and luxuries for the padres and their friends. It is true that the Indian was fed and clothed out of the common stock of produce, but so scantily and disproportionately, that while his earnings might amount to a hundred dollars (20*l.*) a year, his food and raiment never cost one half of the sum. He was allowed two days in the week—latterly three—on which to cultivate a small patch of ground for himself ; but whatever this produced went in diminution of the supplies issued to him from the public stores. So that, after all, it came to the same thing. The ‘community’ (that is, of the padres) was still the gainer by the personal labour of the Indian. Public expenditure was diminished by his individual labour on his own account ; and while the padres claimed and received great credit for this liberal extension of time to the Indian for his own benefit, they knew that their practical sophistry went still in support of their fundamental principle—aggrandisement of the body. It is from innumerable acts of this kind—specious ostensibly, but altogether cunning and selfish in reality—that the phrase ‘ Jesuitical fellow ’ has become a designation of no very honourable import.”¹

¹ Robertson, Letters on Paraguay, ii. 43—48.

This account does not materially undermine the credit due to the Jesuits for their exertions in Paraguay, though it tends to qualify that unblushing self-applause which the Jesuits and their friends claim for the missions. Various writings appeared against the Jesuit kingdom of Paraguay, and apologies met them vigorously, as usual. In the very worst that can be said against the Jesuits—namely, that they made use of the Indians for their own aggrandisement and enrichment, in return for their protection and support, I think them, as men, perfectly excusable, like all our manufacturers, if the latter strive to deserve the following description, as applied to the Jesuit-Indians about forty years after the expulsion of the Jesuits:—"They are straight and well-shaped, with lively, animated features; and no more like the poor Indians I saw at Buenos Ayres than, as Hamlet says, 'Hyperion to a satyr,' so effectually does slavery, sorrow, and ill-usage destroy the finer fabric of man. These here look healthy, cheerful, and perfectly content; those of Buenos Ayres, miserable squalid objects; many of them maimed, from the hardships they endure, and all apparently praying for the hour that shall close their lives and miseries for ever. Here they are neatly clothed, plentifully fed, and comfortably lodged; nor is there such a thing as a cripple to be seen among them: there they have scarcely a rag to wrap round them, or a hovel to shelter them from the fury of the elements: they partake of nothing but the meanest of victuals; and if they are sick no one thinks it worth his while to trouble his head about them, but they are left to survive or perish as God shall please to appoint; what a contrast, my friend, is here! Could we be surprised if the flames of rebellion should, ere long, burst forth and overwhelm

the treacherous and unsuspecting Spaniards? * * * I could say much on this subject, and I could prophecy events in times not far distant; but in my present situation silence best becomes me. All appears quiet now: but I fear, nay I am certain, it is but a deceitful calm that precedes a dreadful storm, which will, when least expected, break in fatal thunder upon the heads of the proud oppressors. Human patience, in every state of life, may be stretched to its utmost limits, and yet forbear to turn; but let that limit once be passed, and woe to the tyrant who has tried how far he might injure with impunity.”¹

All the world knows that retribution came upon the Spaniards, as well as the Jesuits, on other scores if not for Paraguay, as we shall presently witness.

That among their devotees in Europe the strongest favourable impressions were made by the Jesuits, may be gathered from the following extract. It occurs in a letter written by the Jesuit D’Etré to another Jesuit—at all events such is the superscription given to the “edifying and curious letter:” “You see, reverend father, that in the midst of so many barbarous nations, we must always have our souls in our hands. Many of our missionaries have had the happiness to be sacrificed to the fury of these infidels, and to seal with their blood the truths which they announce,—among the rest,

¹ Davie, *Letters from Paraguay*, pp. 215, *et seq.* The best hostile account of the Jesuits in Paraguay was published in 1770 by an ex-Jesuit, Ibanez, under the title of “*The Jesuit-Kingdom in Paraguay.*” It is certainly well written, and makes out a strong case against the Company. I am unable to give the precise Italian or Spanish title of the book, not having seen either: but that of the German translation is: “*Jesuitisches Reich in Paragay durch Originaldocumente der Gesellschaft Jesu bewiesen, von dem aus dem Jesuiterorden verstoßenen Pater Ibanez.*” Cölln, 1774.

Father Francis de Figueroa, in 1666 ; Father Peter Suarez in 1667 ; Father Augustin de Hurtado in 1677 ; Father Henry Richler in 1695 ; and, in 1707, Father Nicholas Durango. Besides the perils to which we are exposed with a people so brutal and cruel, what have we not to fear in the frequent voyages which we are obliged to make ! Continually, and almost at every step, we run the risk of being torn to pieces by the tigers, or bitten by vipers, or crushed beneath those huge trees which often fall when we are least thinking of them, or of being carried away and drowned in very rapid rivers, or swallowed by the crocodiles, or else by frightful serpents which, *with their pestiferous breath, stop passengers*, dash upon them and devour them. I have often been in similar perils, but I have been always preserved by a special protection of Divine Providence. One day these barbarians poisoned my drink and the meats of my table, without my having ever felt the least inconvenience. Another time, being among the Omaguas, about midnight, they set fire to my hut, which was covered with leaves, and where I was sleeping tranquilly :—I happily escaped from the midst of the flames with which I was suddenly surrounded. It happened another day, that after having built a new church among the Chayabitas, a Spaniard who was three paces from me, firing a musket in token of rejoicing, the barrel of his musket burst, a piece struck me on the left eye, and *fell flattened at my feet, without doing me the least harm*. I could relate to you a great number of similar examples, did I not fear to overstep the limits of a letter.”¹ Thus talked the Jesuits in 1731. Arrant fustian as it is, there were devotees to believe them ; and

¹ Lettres Edif. Miss. d'Amérique, ii, 117 (Panth. Litt.)

yet, how ridiculous is the apostle made to appear, now that we calmly read the everlasting monument of infatuation; or, if the man actually wrote the account of his sacred person, under a special providence, what a state of "spiritual pride," as the ascetics call it, is therein exhibited!

In Madura, Nobili's scheme was prosecuted with vigour, in the rage for proselytes. Nobili died in 1656, aged 72 years;—he had been a Jesuit-Saniassi forty-five years, and, according to the Jesuits, "he had converted 100,000 idolaters."¹ He died quietly at Meliapoor, whither he had retired for rest from his incalculable toils—decidedly one of the most remarkable members of the human family—a perfect example of complete devotedness to a strong idea.

The Jesuit John de Britto followed his example, nay, surpassed his model. He became a Saniassi, and "baptised in the kingdom of Marava, 30,000 pagans" in the twenty years of his apostolate.² Three years after, the famous Jesuit Beschi eclipsed all his predecessors. On the first day of his arrival in India, in 1700, he engaged two Brahmins as his servants, and assumed the pagan penitential garb. It is minutely described, in all its gorgeous magnificence, by the Jesuit-biographer; and enhanced that of his predecessors by the pearls or red stones which adorned

¹ Cahours, ii. 166. The Jesuit Cahours palms this "fact" on Dubois, referring to his "Description of India:—but there is no such fact there. It may be in the French edition, among "notes:" but this should have been stated. Dubois in his "Letters," p. 7, says that "It appears from authentic lists, made up about 70 years ago, which I have seen, that the number of Christians in these countries was as follows: in the Marava about 30,000, in the Madura above 100,000," &c. It is to Jesuit-lists that Dubois alludes, as he is speaking of their Brahmin-career.

² Cahours, ii. 166.

his ears. He wore a ring composed of five metals, Turkish slippers on his feet, and he carried a long cane. He sat in a palanquin, on a tiger-skin remarkable for its beauty. Two men, one on each side, shook over him magnificent fans of peacocks' feathers; and they carried before him a silk umbrella tipped with a golden ball. Such was the great *Viramamouni's* mode of travelling; and such the name substituted for Padre Beschi of the Company of Jesus. If he ever stopped in any place, he always sat on a tiger's skin, after the Brahminic ritual. What a prodigy of learning the Jesuits represent him! Besides Italian, his native tongue, he had mastered Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Portuguese, and several other languages. In India he learnt the Sanscrit, the Telenga, and the Tamul. He read all the works of the native poets; and composed, in the languages which he had acquired, works which are compared to a "mountain of gold, which, reflecting the rays of the sun, scatter afar torrents of light."¹

The Christian subjects he selected for the themes of his genius were well adapted for pagan expansion. In honour of St. Joseph, "the nurse of the Incarnate Saviour," he composed 3615 strophes, divided into 36 cantos, under the general title of *Tembavani*, which is, being interpreted, "Nourish thou thyself with milk and honey." At the request of the learned, who could not cap the sublimity of his poesy, he transferred the work into prose. The "Sufferings of Christ," the "Virginity of Mary," the "Immaculate Conception of the Virgin," successively became involved in his Brahminic scheme to mystify the natives. Five scribes he constantly retained. When under inspiration, he poured forth the winged

¹ Cahours, ii. 170 *et seq.*

words, and the first scribe wrote the first part of the quatrain, the second put down the second, and so on to the fifth, who put the whole in order. One scribe would not have sufficed for the rapidity of his conception, says the Jesuit.¹

The wonders related of this man by the infatuated Jesuits are not yet exhausted. Viramamouni wished to pay a visit to a nabob. Persian was necessary :—he mastered the language in three months, and Turkish into the bargain ! Most satisfactory was the interview. The nabob was charmed with his genius ; gave him a new name, and his own grandfather's palanquin. Nay more, like the patron of Themistocles of old, he assigned Viramamouni *four provinces* for his maintenance, with a revenue of twelve hundred rupees *per annum*, and appointed him his dewân, or prime-minister. Then might he be seen with “an escort of thirty horsemen on every occasion, with twelve standard-bearers, and four attendants, with silver staves. He was mounted on a magnificent white horse, or a black one, richly caparisoned. Behind him went a trumpeter on horseback ; a camel laden with enormous cymbals, another camel carrying a huge drum, which resounded afar ;—on another were ornaments necessary to celebrate the mass ; and three other camels carried his baggage and his tents.”² Mass, indeed ! Is it possible to make us believe that this man, who so thoroughly conformed to the manners, thoughts, sentiments, expression of the pagan priests or sages, would dare to exhibit the contemptible paraphernalia of the Feringees, hoisting them on a camel ? Is it reasonable to expect us to believe anything of the sort ?

¹ Cahours, ii. 172.

² *Ib. ut antea*, 173.

The pandaroms, or penitents, of the country came to confound this new wonder of the world. It was a battle of *enigmas*. One of them held up two fingers. Viramamouni at once gave the numerous significations of the symbol, to their utter confusion, which he enhanced by holding up *one* finger—for which they found no signification, because he telegraphed thereby “one only God, creator of all things,” &c. Nine other pandaroms, wearing long hair, great sages in their way, challenged him to a disputation. Like the conditions between Ignatius and the doctor of old, the vanquished was to submit to the law of the conqueror. Viramamouni took them in hand: the contest lasted a month: they were beaten. Six were tinged with the sacred waters, and three of them were deprived of their protracted locks—for all surrendered at discretion. The last went into exile, but their locks, five or six feet long, were hung up in the vestibule of Viramamouni’s temple at Tirouca-valour.¹ Beschi, *alias* Viramamouni, as above, died in 1742, and became, according to the modern Jesuit Cahours, “a new ornament of heaven.”²

To keep up the astounding imposture, a Jesuit wrote Beschi’s biography in *Tamul*, which was translated by the Jesuit De Ranquet, who died in 1843.³ Nor was that all by an immensity. The Brahmins have four sacred books, called Vedas, which are supposed by them to have been revealed by God. The Jesuits of Madura forged a fifth veda, and pretended that it was revealed to the chief Brahmin of the pagoda of Cheringham, by the God of the other four. So artfully did they imitate the style of the genuine vedas, that their forgery imposed even on some Brahmins, and for many years it was received as

¹ Cahours, ii. 174, *et seq.*

² *Ib.* ii. 175.

³ *Ib.* *ubi suprâ*, 169.

authentic. Voltaire was induced to publish a French translation of the imposture, under the name of *L' Ezour-Vedam, ou Ancien Commentaire de Vedam*.¹ In one of Voltaire's dialogues, a mandarin says to a Jesuit—"You seem to make so much of imposture, that perhaps I would excuse it in you, if it could be eventually useful to mankind :—but I firmly believe that there is no case in which falsehood can be of service to truth."²

It was something glorious in itself to play the honourable Saniassi—to rise above those who deemed themselves the wisest in the land. It was a delightful thing to see the increasing results of the wonderful scheme—nothing less than a *new* religion to the world, beautifully but unintelligibly concocted out of the strange doings of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and Roman mysteries, or Bible-allegories, as far as it was safe to admit them, by dint of stirring, calcining, sublimating, until went forth the new *Higuiero d'Inferno*, or compound Catholicon.

¹ The Rev. James Hough, in his defence of the Protestant missions against Dr. Wiseman's very indelicate pulpit-diatribes against the same, thus remarks on this forgery : "The imposture was detected, about twenty years ago, by the late Mr. Ellis, a gentleman of the civil service at Madras . . . Few European gentlemen have been better acquainted with the science and customs, the laws and theology of the Hindoos, than Mr. Ellis ; and, after a careful comparison of this *Ezour-Vedam* with the Hindoo Vedas, he pronounced it a 'literary forgery, or rather as the object of the author or authors was not literary distinction, of religious imposition without parallel.'" Mr. Ellis's Dissertation is published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. Father Calmette lets out the following piece of religious roguery. "Since there have been missionaries in India, it was never thought possible to get at that book [the Vedam] so much respected by the Indians. In effect we would never have succeeded, if we had not had Christian Brahmins concealed among them. For how would they have communicated it to Europe, and particularly to the enemies of their worship, since, with the exception of their own caste, they do not impart it even to India ?" The same Jesuit asserts the general inability of the Brahmins to read the Vedam—a fact which must have emboldened the Jesuits to forge a new one.—See *Lettr. Edif. ; Miss. de L'Inde (Panth. Litt.)* ii. 611, 621. See also Mackay, *ubi supra*, p. 45.

² Volt. Dial. xii. *Un Mandarin et un Jésuite*.

It was still the rage of conquest, still the rage of domination ;—only the means were altered, and, to all intents and purposes, less disastrous to humanity, because all the evil was on the side, or, rather, the head, of the Jesuits, and the scheme would necessarily betray and defeat itself after a few years of unenviable triumphs.

And they turned Pariahs as well :—whilst the Jesuit-Saniassis rigidly conformed to the Brahminic law of exclusion, and would hold no communication with the caste, or rather out-caste, of the Pariahs, the Jesuits Emmanuel Lopez, Acosta, and many others, shrank and sank to the revolting degradation, and became—so as to complete the universal scheme—Jesuit-Pariahs. “What a comical sight it was,” says a traveller, “to see two brothers, members of the same Order, two friends, and yet, wherever they happened to meet, unable to eat together, nor lodge in the same house; not even to speak to each other! One was arrayed in splendid costume like a great lord; he was mounted on a costly steed, or was pompously borne in a palanquin; whilst the other was a half-naked vagrant, covered with rags, on foot, and surrounded with beggars, whose accoutrement was still more wretched than his own. The missionary of the nobles stalked with head erect, and deigned to salute nobody. The poor gourou of the Pariahs from a distance saluted his approaching brother, laid himself prostrate as he passed, and placed his hand on his mouth, in order that his breath might not infect the doctor of the nobles. The latter eat only rice prepared by Brahmins; and the former fed on some cast-away piece of putrid flesh—the fare of his companions.”¹

¹ Perrin, Voyage dans l'Indostan, ii. 100, 107.

Such was the state of matters in Madura,—“in my opinion, the finest mission in the world,” writes Father Martin, in a Curious and Edifying Letter, in the year of our Lord 1699. In a single year Father Bouchet baptised 2000 pagans ; and in a single day he administered the rite to 300, “so that his arm fell powerless with fatigue.” “Moreover,” said Bouchet, “these are not Christians like those in other parts of India. We don’t baptise them without great probation, and three or four months’ instruction. And when they are once Christians, they live like angels, and the church of Madura seems a true image of the primitive church.” Bouchet protested that he sometimes heard the confessions of many entire villages, without finding a single person guilty of one mortal sin. “Don’t fancy,” said he, “that it is ignorance or shame which hinders them from opening their conscience at the sacred tribunal : they approach it as well instructed as monks or Jesuits (*religieux*), and with the candour and simplicity of a novice.” What was the number of souls on his hands or his head ? *Trente mille*—30,000 !¹ Only eight days together could he remain in any one place ; but ten or twelve native catechists went before these missionary Saniassis, to prepare the way at their approach ; and thus their labours were lightened ere they administered the “Christian” rites, with knotted staff in hand, and besmeared with the purifying cow’s dung—these “Brahmins from the north.” Wonderful are the tales recorded of this curious and edifying mission. It was not only filled with angels, but devils in abundance. “Some find themselves transported in an instant of time from one place to another—from their own village,

¹ Lett. Edif. t. x. 41—43.

for instance, to some distant forest or unknown pathway. Others lie down at night in perfect health, and awake next morning with their bodies all bruised with blows which they have received [from the devils], and which have forced them to utter fearful cries during the night. The devil frequently appears to the catechumens under a hideous form, and reproaches them, in the most cutting terms, for abandoning the gods adored in the country. I have baptised a Hindoo," says Bouchet, "who was carried all at once from the path which led to the church to another, where he saw the devil holding in his hand a scourge, or cow-hide (*nerf de bœuf*), with which he threatened to beat him if he did not give up his resolution to meet me there."¹

"A short time ago," says Jesuit Le Gac, writing to the governor of Pondicherry, "a heathen, who has Christian relatives, and who is only waiting for the conclusion of a *marriage* to follow their example, sitting one evening at his house-door, in the moonlight, saw a man in appearance like one of their false gods, who came and sat beside him. He held in one hand a trident, and in the other a small bell, with an empty gourd, which is used in asking alms. The spectre frowned upon him with a threatening glance; but the proselyte, who had heard something of the virtue of the sign of the cross, made that adorable sign, and the spectre disappeared."²

Amongst their numerous discoveries or verifications, we are indebted to the Jesuits for the attestation of a popular notion which the learned have considered ridiculously apocryphal. In Cochin China the Jesuits went forth in pursuit of the devil on one occasion, when

¹ Lett. Edif. xlii. 65.

² Ibid. xlii. 154.

roused by the alarm from the natives that the devil had appeared. "Recommending ourselves to God, arming ourselves with crosses, *Agnus Dei*s, and relics, two of us advanced to the spot where the devil was; and we got so near, that we had only to turn a corner, and would have fallen in with him, when he vanished in a twinkling, leaving, well imprinted on the pavement, three traces, or footmarks, which *I saw*; they were more than two palms in length, with the impression of *the claws and spurs of a cock*. Some ascribed this flight of the devil to the virtue of the holy cross and the relics which we had about us."¹

And like Father Cotton with the French devil in the nun, Father Bernard de Sa had an edifying and curious dialogue with a Hindoo devil in Madura. "The heathens brought to him a Hindoo cruelly tormented by the devil. The father interrogated him in the presence of a great number of idolaters, and his answers very much surprised the spectators. He first asked him, where were the gods, whom the Hindoos adored? The answer was, they were in hell, where they suffered horrible torments." [*Stocks and stones and mere mental imaginings* "suffering horrible torments in hell"! See how inconsiderate were these cunning Jesuits after all!] "And what becomes of those, pursued the father, who adore these false divinities? They go to hell, was the

¹ *Relatione della nuova missione, &c. al Regno della Cocincina. Scritta dal Padre C. Borri della medesima Compagnia, 1631, pp. 215, et seq.* "Racomandatoci noi prima à Dio, armati di Croci, Agnus Dei, e reliquie, andammo due Padri à quel luogo dove era il Demonio, ed arrivammo tanto vicini, che solo mancava voltare una cantonata per imbatterci in lui, quando in un tratto disparve lasciando bene impresse nel pavimento tre orme, ò pedate, le quali io viddi, lunghe piu di due palmi, con li segni dell' unghie, e sproni del gallo. Attribuirono alcuni questa fuggita del Demonio alla virtu della santa Croce, e reliquie, che con esso noi portavamo."

answer, there to burn with the false gods whom they have adored. Lastly, the father demanded of him, Which was the true religion? and the devil answered from the mouth of the possessed, that there was none true except that which was taught by the missionary, and that it alone led to heaven.”¹

Woe to the heretic that might chance to be present during those formidable exorcisms! Father Calmette tells of a Lutheran convert and his wife, who happened to be in Tanjore, when a *heathen* exorcism was performing; and while they were incautiously looking on, the devil, vacating the person possessed, entered into the female heretic. The exorcist, being much surprised, asked the devil the meaning of this: “The reason is,” answered he, “that she is my property, just as much as the other.” The terrified husband brought his wife to the Roman Catholic Church at Elacourichi, and there, having asked pardon of God, he took a little earth, which he first moistened with his tears, and putting it on his wife’s head with lively faith, she was instantly dispossessed. This fact, adds Father Calmette, is public and unquestionable—*c’est un fait public et constant!*² In effect, the missionaries used to say that “*the devil is the best catechist in the mission*”!³

The same veracious Chronicle, so curious and edifying, affirms a most desirable charity in *wild beasts*, as well as evangelism in devils. In a letter to an *Ursuline* nun at Toulouse, Father Saignes says: “My church is built at the foot of a high chain of mountains, from which

¹ Lett. Edif. xiii. 67.

² Lett. Edif. xiii. 360.

³ Lett. Edif. xiii. 64. “C’est aussi ce qui fait dire aux missionnaires que le démon est le meilleur catéchiste de la mission, parcequ’il force pour ainsi dire plusieurs idolâtres de se convertir, forcé lui-même par la toute-puissance de celui à qui tout est soumis.”

the tigers formerly came down in great numbers, and devoured many men and cattle. But since we have built a church there to the true God, they are no longer to be seen ; and this is a remark, which has been made by the infidels themselves."¹ " We were travelling," says Father Tremblay, " about ten o'clock at night, and were occupied, according to the custom of the mission, in telling our beads, when a large tiger appeared in the middle of the road, so near me, that I could have touched him with my staff. The four Christians, who accompanied me, terrified by the sight of the danger, cried out, *Sancta Maria!* Forthwith the terrible animal moved a little out of our path, and showed, so to speak, by his posture, and by the grinding of his teeth, how sorry he was to let such a fine prey escape."² And Father Martin makes the tigers as unfair and partial as the Inquisition. " It has been commonly observed," says he, " that when heathens and Christians happen to be in company together, the tigers devour the former without doing any harm to the faithful,—these last finding armour of proof in the sign of the cross, and in the holy name of Jesus and Mary ; which, the heathens observing with admiration, they also have begun to make use of the same arms to avoid the fury of the tigers, and to preserve themselves from danger."³

This is, indeed, wonderful invention touching the powers of the holy cross ; but the mission miracles, as usual, exhibit the extraordinary extent to which the Jesuits believed they could stretch devotional credulity. I fear I have already almost utterly exhausted the reader's patience by the details on Jesuit prodigies ; but a few more must be given to complete the subject.

¹ Lett. Edif. xiv. 12.

² Ibid. xiv. 212.

³ Ibid. x. 110.

Where, in fact, should we look for miracles, if not in this wonder-land of Madura? A bare enumeration of them would fill many pages. At Cotate, or Kotar, in the south, near Cape Comorin, there was a church built over the spot where Xavier is said to have been miraculously preserved from flames. In it the Christians had erected a large cross, which speedily became famous even among the "idolaters, by a very great number of miracles." Formerly, *water* was burnt instead of oil, in the lamps suspended before the image of the saint. This was only an imitation; for Eusebius, the antique historian, tells of a similar pious fabrication, ascribed to Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, who changed water into the "fatness of oil." This is one of the worst features in the Jesuits:—all that ever was vile, ridiculous, absurd, mendacious, they shamelessly imitated, and forced down the throats of their miserable, pitiable devotees in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Xavier continued to work miracles in the church of Cotate *every day*,¹ and in the South he performed so many prodigies for the idolaters, that there was great danger of their worshipping him as a god. "They look upon him," says Jesuit Martin, "as the greatest man who has appeared in these last times:"—and well they might, with such eternal rogueries with which the Jesuits sought to exalt themselves in the name of the simple enthusiast. "They call him *Peria Padriar*—that is, the great *Padre*—and there are even grounds to fear that they may rank him among their false divinities, notwithstanding the care we take in informing them of the kind of worship which is really his due. Nevertheless, they

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 85.

remain at ease in their errors; and when we press them, they content themselves with answering coldly, that they cannot abandon their own religion, to embrace that of a caste so base and despicable as that of the Feringees."¹ Unquestionably, they had good grounds for their opinion.

But the Jesuits made it appear that Xavier did not trouble himself much about conversions, provided they received pecuniary contributions to his church,—for he did not work miracles *gratis*, any more than his brethren taught on the same terms: in fact, the Jesuits made the mission, as every thing else they took in hand, a source of emolument—a bank of gold *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*:—though it must be confessed that, on most occasions, they worked harder for their pay than any others embarked in similar “religious” avocations, either before their time or since. An idolater had a favourite child, who, from some disease of the eyes, was threatened with blindness. The miserable parent had recourse to the saint, and vowed to present eight fanams to his church at Cotate, if the cure of his son was effected. The child was cured accordingly; and the father brought him to the church and presented him to the saint; but instead of giving eight fanams, as he had promised, he offered only five. The saint, however, was not to be so easily cheated: for before the heathen had well got to the church door, he found his son’s eyes much worse than they were at first. Struck with terror, the father hastened back, prostrated himself before the altar, publicly avowed his fault, paid up the three fanams, and rubbed some oil from one of the lamps, on his child’s eyes. On leaving the church, he

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 88.

found once more that his son was perfectly cured!¹ There are two or three exceptional and remarkable points in this miracle—one of them pointing to the systematic roguery of the Jesuits, in making their skill in medicine the means of “practising” on the poor pagans in more ways than one: but I will leave the matter to the reader, and pass on to another curious method for raising funds.

Xavier was a patron of *lotteries*. It is curious to find this contrivance amongst the early Jesuit-pagans of the Edifying Letters. A number of Hindoos, from 500 to 1,000, associated for this purpose:—each put a fanam every month into a common purse, until a considerable sum was collected: then each wrote his name on a separate slip, and put it into a common receptacle. The vessel was well shaken, and a little child, putting his hand into it, drew out a name. The person whose name was first drawn forth, was the successful candidate, and received the whole sum. “By this means,” says Jesuit Martin, “which is very innocent, persons who had been very poor, became suddenly well off, and remained comfortable ever after.” Now it seems that a covetous heathen had embarked in two of these lotteries, and being anxious for success in *both*, bethought himself of St. Francis Xavier, the *Peria Padriar*, or miracle-machine of the Jesuits. He went to Cotate, and in the church promised the saint five fanams, provided he favoured him in the drawing of the first lottery. He loudly proclaimed what he had done;

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 86. We are, however, expressly told that this cure effected by the Jesuit-surgeon, made no further impression on the pagans: “neither the father nor any one of that prodigious multitude of pagans, who could not deny a fact so striking and public, ever thought of becoming a Christian.”—*Ibid.*

they laughed at his bargain with the saint ; but their surprise was great when they saw his name come forth with the prize. Thereupon he paid the five fanams to the Jesuits ; and again offered, if he were successful in the second lottery, to pay the saint double the former perquisite. And now he boldly displayed his confidence of success, and took bets to a large amount—yea, “he employed in these bets all the first sum he had gained.” He won the prize, and paid even more than the ten fanams he had promised.¹ What a strange fact for the Jesuits to put forth—and what a despicable opinion must be entertained of those who were edified by such occurrences. Thereupon the fathers urged the heathen to turn Christian. “No answer, nor conversion !” says Jesuit Martin. The pagans would not condescend to receive the faith from the lips of the abominated Feringees :—for this is the famous letter in which Father Martin makes every effort to prove, that the Brahminic scheme of the Company was indispensable—since even her miracles had failed to make converts.

There was danger lest Xavier should be numbered among the Hindoo deities,—as Father Martin declares, immediately adding a fact, which occurred “almost at the same time.” It is well known that there are women attached to the heathen temples. They are called the *slaves* of the god. What these are, and the purpose for which they are kept, need not be stated :—nor is it necessary to remark that a Christian church should not have exhibited the same custom, though the worst features of the abomination may have been absent. Yet Xavier had his female *slaves*, and they were sold by public auction for the benefit of the mission-treasury

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 90, *et seq.*

--the proceeds being "ordinarily employed in maintaining orphans or feeding poor pilgrims who visited the shrine of the saint." Much as this fact may seem to be a "calumny," it is, nevertheless, in the Curious and Edifying Letters :—

"They bring their children to the church at a certain age, and there publicly declare them to be *the slaves of the saint*, by whose intercession they have received life, or have been preserved from death. After which the people assemble ; the child is put up for sale as a slave, and the parents receive her back, by paying *to the church*, the price offered *by the highest bidder*."¹ An instance is then given of "a Christian woman who, having had a daughter in the very year when she made her vow, reared her up with great care for three years, in order that the price which might be offered for her should be more considerable, and that thus her offering should be greater. And then she came and presented her to the church, according to custom."² What happens when the parents are not able to raise the money, is shrouded in judicious darkness.

Strange that these facts could edify the Christians of Europe. Still they were boldly put forth—the pagan-christianism of the Jesuits was boastfully exhibited. "The missionaries," says Father Tachard, "had resolved to assume the dress and the manner of living of

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 89. "On les amène à l'église à un certain âge et on les déclare publiquement pour esclaves du saint, par l'intercession de qui ils ont reçu la vie ou ils ont été préservés de la mort ; après quoi le peuple s'assemble, l'enfant est mis à l'enchère comme un esclave, et les parens le retirent en payant à l'Eglise le prix qu'en a offert le plus haut enchérisseur."

² Lett. Edif. x. 89. "La femme Chrétienne dont je parle, ayant eu une fille l'année même qu'elle fit son vœu, elle l'éleva avec un grand soin pendant trois ans, afin que le prix qu'on offrirait fût plus considerable et qu'ainsi son affrande fût plus forte. Elle vint ensuite selon la coutume, la presenter à l'église."

Brahminical *Saniassis*, that is, of religious penitents. This was a very difficult undertaking, and nothing less than apostolic zeal and love could have enabled them to sustain its hardships and austerities. For, besides abstinence from every thing that has life, flesh, fish, and eggs, the Saniassis have other observances extremely painful. They must bathe every morning in a public tank, in all weathers, and do the same before every meal, of which there is but one a day I do not here speak of other rules as irksome as the former, which a missionary Saniassi must keep inviolably, if he wishes to derive any advantage from his labours for the salvation of the poor Indians.”¹ The eighteen different modes of doing penance, which, as a Saniassi, the missionary would have to perform, are doubtless here alluded to:— I have detailed many, in my first volume, when treating of Ignatius at Manreza. Father De Bourges writes to the Countess de Sonde in 1713, inclosing a portrait of a Missionary Saniassi, with his orange dress, his knotted staff, his copper vessel, long beard, and sandals, very edifying, and very nicely engraved in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*: “ You see,” he says, “ you see at once, what kind of dress the missionaries wear: it is of common cotton cloth, neither red, nor yellow, but of a colour betwixt both. The vessel which they carry in their hand is of copper: and as water is not to be found everywhere, and as, even when found, it cannot always be drunk, they are obliged to have some always with them, to refresh themselves under this burning sky! The shoe will appear strange to you; it is a kind of clog or sandal, not unlike those used in France by some of the Franciscans: it is true these are attached to the

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 324.

foot with lachets, while the Indian sandals have no other hold than a wooden knob, between the great toe and the one next it.”¹

Thus equipped, boldly they went forth, doubtless exhibiting the frightful though ridiculous penances and postures of the Saniassi, whom they were compelled to copy with the utmost fidelity—for “our whole attention is given,” writes Father De Bourges, “to the concealing from the people that we are what they call Feringees,—the slightest suspicion of this on their part, would oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the propagation of the faith.”² “The missionaries are not known to be Europeans,” says Father Martin; “if they were believed to be so, they would be forced to abandon the country; for they could gain absolutely no fruit whatever. The conversion of the Hindoos is nearly impossible to evangelical labourers from Europe: I mean impossible to those who pass for Europeans, even though they wrought miracles.”³ So again, writing of the visit of the Jesuit-bishop Lainez to Aur, he says: “No other bishop until now had dared to penetrate into the interior, because, being ignorant of the language and customs of Madura, he would be sure to pass for a Feringee or European, in the opinion of the Hindoos, *which would have been the absolute ruin of Christianity.*”⁴ A famous heathen penitent was almost persuaded by some missionaries on the coast, where they appeared as Europeans, to embrace “the Christian religion;” but the idea of uniting himself to the despicable Feringees gave him great uneasiness. “Seeing this,” says Jesuit Martin, “we resolved to send him to Madura, to be

¹ Lett. Edif. xii. 101.

² Ib. xxi. 77.

³ Ib. xii. 132.

⁴ Ib. xii. 132.

baptised by one of the missionaries who live there as *Saniassis*. We told him, therefore, that we were but the gourous, or teachers, of the low castes on the coast, and that it was proper for him, as he was a person of quality, to apply to the teachers of the higher castes, who were inland." And the poor man *believed* them, and was baptised in Madura. "This simple fellow (*ce bon homme*) who had conceived a friendship for us, made great difficulty to undertake the proposal; but we persuaded him that it was for his advantage: *he believed us*, went, and was baptised by one of our fathers in Madura, who sent him back to convert his relatives, for whom he seemed to have great zeal and affection."¹

It will be remembered that this system—infamous it may be called—had for its chief object the conversion of the Brahmins, and that Xavier himself does not escape without a sneer at the low caste of his converts. Considered in this view, nothing could be more signal than the failure of the plot. The lordly Brahmins held disdainfully aloof, in open hostility or haughty suspicion. The wily fathers were over-matched. In falsehood, in cunning, in fraud, the Brahmins of Madura might perhaps be inferior to the sons of Loyola; but in austerities, mortification, and power over the people, they were more than their masters. Besides they fought at a disadvantage: for the Brahmins believed that they had truth on their side, while the Jesuits quailed under the consciousness of falsehood. A whole history may be gathered from a letter of Father Tachard, the superior of the mission, in 1703.

"Father de la Fontaine," he writes, "has had *extraordinary* good fortune since the commencement of his

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 99, *et seq.*

mission. In addition to more than a hundred adults from other distinguished castes, whom he has baptised, he counts amongst his neophytes *nine Brahmins*; that is to say, he alone has in eight months baptised more adult Brahmins than nearly all the missionaries of Madura have baptised in *ten years*. If these conversions continue, as we have reason to hope, he may be called *the Apostle of the Brahmins*; and should God give grace to a great number of these learned nobles, so that they embrace Christianity, all the other castes will be easily converted.”¹

Father de la Fontaine died fifteen years afterwards; but neither he nor any of his brethren has yet been called “the Apostle of the Brahmins.”

The Roman Saniassis were more successful in imposing on the simple country people of the lower castes. They gained over a considerable number of *Sudras*; but the bulk of their converts were *Pariahs*—just as in the times of Xavier, and subsequently. Father Mauduit unfolds, as follows, the economy of the glorious mission—curious, if not very edifying. “The catechist of a low caste,” says he, “can never be employed to teach Hindoos of a caste more elevated. The *Brahmins* and the *Sudras*, who form the principal and most numerous castes, have a far greater contempt for the *Pariahs*, who are beneath them, than princes in Europe can feel for the scum of the people. They would be dishonoured in their own country, and deprived of the privileges of their caste, if they ever listened to the instructions of one whom they look upon as infamous. We must therefore have Pariah catechists for the Pariahs, and Brahminical catechists for the Brahmins, which causes

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 331.

us a great deal of difficulty Some time ago a catechist from the Madura mission begged me to go to Pouleour, there to baptise some Pariah catechumens, and to confess certain neophytes of that caste. The fear that the Brahmins and Sudras might discover the step I had taken, and thence look upon me as infamous and unworthy ever after of holding any intercourse with them, *hindered me from going* (!) The words of the holy Apostle Paul, which I had read that morning at mass, determined me to take this resolution, —‘giving no offence to any one, that your ministry be not blamed.’—(2 Cor. vi. 3.) I therefore made these poor people go to a retired place, about three leagues thence, where I myself joined them *during the night, and with the most careful precautions*, and there I baptised nine.”¹

With all deference to Father Manduit, it may be doubted whether the apostolic injunction is very, if at all, consonant with this work of darkness; nor does the good-natured father tell the whole story. For, as is well known, the poor Pariahs had not only separate catechists but separate churches; and if they presumed to enter the church of a higher caste, they were driven out, and well whipped. Nay, even when they were dying, the Christian *Saniassis* refused to enter their dwellings; and the expiring wretch, in nature’s last agony, was dragged from his couch into the open air, or to a distant church, that the Saniassi, uncontaminated by entrance into the house, might, but without contact, administer the last rites of the Church.

Nothing was left undone to render the deception, the imposture, complete. The following story strangely

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 243—245.

illustrates the position of these pious impostors. Father Martin is the chronicler, and modest Father Bouchet is the worthy hero. Among the angels of Madura, there were three catechists, who, for certain reasons, were deprived of their offices. In revenge, they determined to ruin the missionaries and the mission. With this "detestable" purpose, they formed three heads of accusation against the fathers. The first was, that they were Feringees, or Europeans; that they had never paid tax or tribute to the prince of the country; and, lastly, that they had caused a monk of another Order to be murdered, on account of which the pope refused to canonise Father John de Britto. But the most formidable aspect of the affair was, that these exasperated catechists offered *twenty thousand crowns* to the prince, provided he would exterminate the Christians, and drive away Father Bouchet, against whom they were especially incensed. On the very same authority of Father Martin, we are informed that the *yearly* salary of a catechist was from eighteen to twenty crowns; and it is somewhat hard to guess whence came the 20,000; but veracious Father Martin is not the man to spoil a good story for a few thousands of crowns, more or less. Now, the prince regent in question was the most perfectly disinterested and greatest minister who ever bore rule in Madura. Nevertheless, Father Bouchet did not think it judicious to appear before this disinterested judge empty-handed; but, according to the custom of the country, he carried with him a present, and this present, though Father Bouchet speaks of it as a trifle (*peu de chose*), was by no means despicable. It consisted of a terrestrial globe, two feet in diameter, with the names written in *Tamul*;

a hollow glass sphere, about nine inches in diameter, silvered inside like a mirror ; some burning and multiplying lenses ; several Chinese curiosities, which had been sent to him from the Coromandel coast ; jet bracelets, set in silver ; a cock, formed of shell-work, and fabricated with great skill and beauty ; and a number of common mirrors and other like curiosities, which he got by gift or purchase.¹

After the same fashion, the father thought it prudent to win over several of the grandees of the court,—“ for it was of the utmost importance, for the honour of religion and the good of the church of Madura, that the doctors of the holy law should be received with some consideration, on the first occasion of their appearance at court ; in order to authorise thereby their ministry in the eyes of a people who, more than all others, blindly follow the will and inclinations of their sovereigns.” Having taken “ these wise and necessary precautions,” he demanded an audience, and was received with distinguished honour, as a Brahmin. “ This step was so bold,” says Father Martin, “ that no missionary had dared to perform it before then, fearing lest the colour of his face should betray him, and cause him to be recognised for an

¹ Father Bouchet does not explain the precise object of these *purchases*, which seem strangely out of place in the hut of a Saniassi and Jesuit who had vowed poverty. Norbert, speaking of a proposed interview between the Jesuit-bishop Lainez and the English governor of Madras, gives a fact which throws some light on the matter. The bishop, proposing to visit Madras, where the Jesuits were never very popular, wished to know how the governor would receive him : upon which, the governor wrote to him rather bluntly, that he should be received as a *capital merchant*, which he certainly was.—*Mémoires Historiques*, i. 353. M. Martin, the Governor of Pondicherry, asserts that the Jesuits carried on an immense commerce ; that from Father Tachard alone was due to the French Company, on account, more than 500,000 livres ; and that the Company's vessels often took home large bales for the Jesuits in France. “ Perhaps,” says Norbert, “ they contained relics.”—*Ubi supra*, p. 183.

European, which was to be avoided above all things, because this prince has so great a horror of Feringees, that, although engaged in a disastrous war, he expelled, not long since, some very skilful artillery-men, (who were in his service, and seemed indispensable to him) as soon as he found out that they were Europeans,"—whether they were lay-brother Jesuits is not stated, but it is probable enough, all things considered. However, we see the immense difficulty and jeopardy of this terrible interview. The Jesuit "took his wise and necessary precautions," and "hoped in the goodness of God, who holds the hearts of princes in his hands," &c., &c., and "he was not deceived." The prince was delighted with the wonderful globe: the queen was rejoiced with the shell-work and the bracelets: the Jesuit was covered with a piece of gold brocade, sprinkled with rose-water, and seated on the same sofa with the prince, "so that their knees were in contact"—*et mit même ses genoux sur ceux du père*, which shews how completely every suspicion of his being an European was lulled to rest by this imitative Jesuit. He was himself surprised at the perfect success of the imposture. More than five hundred persons were present, the majority of whom were *Brahmins!* He was then paraded through the streets of Trinchinopoly, in a magnificent state palanquin, to the sound of trumpets, like Mordecai of old, "from which the modesty of Father Bouchet had much to suffer," says his brother Jesuit Martin. Finally he was assured, that anything he asked should be granted. "The success of this sort of triumph" he continues, "strengthened the neophytes in their faith, and *finally determined a great number of idolaters to ask for holy baptism,*" after the great Brahmin, "who had come from the north and

the quarters of the great city Rome," was thus carried in triumph to his residence, which was distant about twelve miles from the capital. A word from Father Bouchet would have banished the offending catechists from the kingdom ; but he was content with the sentence of excommunication which had been already fulminated against them by one of the missionaries. Rejected alike by the Christian and the heathen, after six months' perseverance, two of them came and threw themselves at the father's feet. "The father," says Jesuit Martin, "who had long sighed for the return of these erring sheep, received them with kindness ; and after public confession, and an authentic retractation, made in the church, of their infamous desertion, and their foul and calumnious accusations—*leurs calomnieuses et noires accusations* (!), they received absolution, and were again admitted into the number of the faithful." The third remained obstinate in his apostacy. But how did Father Bouchet satisfy the prince that he was not an *European*? How could he, in the church, in the face of God, force the catechists to retract, as false, what he knew to be true, and prostitute for his own ends—or the senseless scheme in hand—the most solemn ordinances of religion? It is stated that a fit of illness was the result of all his anxieties.¹

With the sword thus ever suspended over their heads, it may be imagined in what continual misery and dread of detection these wretched Jesuits must have lived. This fear is sometimes carried to the verge of the ludicrous. Thus Father Saignez, who, from exposure to the sun, "had changed his skin three times like a serpent," trembles lest the new skin should be *whiter*

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 168, 182.

than the old, and so lead the people to suspect that he was a *Feringee*.¹ At other times their terror, in that “hypocrisy invisible, except to God alone” and themselves, was almost sublime:—an anonymous missionary, who had been thrown into prison, preferred to *die* in his bonds rather than be indebted for his liberty to Europeans on the coast, whose interference in his behalf might give rise to a suspicion that he was connected with them.² It reminds us of Garnet, anxious to the last moment for the fame of his Company—equivocating to the very judgment-seat of God. The sublimity of the thing is like that of Milton’s Satan—impelled with one absorbing “idea”—and lurking in Eden amidst the beasts in congregation,

“ — himself now one,
Now other, as their shape served best his end.”

It may be taken for granted, that when Christian missionaries assumed the orange cloth and the tiger’s skin to sit on, in their audiences with the native princes, and professed by the most evident implication, if not by positive assertion (probable enough), to have sprung from the head of the divine Brahma; it may be taken for granted with such premises, that they must have allowed in their followers a like conformity to the superstitions of the country, even although Father Tremblay has asserted in the most confident terms, that a native Christian could scarcely endure so much as to look upon an idol—an edifying result for the curious, but unthinking, all-swallowing devotees of Europe. Now let us assist at a grand Christian solemnity contrived by the Jesuit-mind.

¹ Lett. Edif. xiv. 41.

² Ibid. xiii. 24.

In the year of our Lord 1700, the Jesuits of Pondicherry celebrated the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. No expense was spared on the glorious occasion. The drums, hautboys, trumpets, and other instruments were borrowed from the neighbouring pagodas ; the musicians were the same as played before Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu, and the remarkable Hindoo goddess *Mariti*, among the myriad of divinities of this sacred humanity. The day's grand doings terminated with a nocturnal procession. An immense car approaches, covered with silk awnings, and gaudily decked with fruit and flowers. It is dragged slowly on its creaking wheels by a tumultuous crowd, and surmounted by a female figure. She has over her head the *Tirubashi*, or five resplendent arches, in commemoration of the deed which Shiva performed when the moon was extricated from her unfortunate darkness and malediction. On each side of the image are men with parasols in their hands, and one holds a napkin, with which he carefully drives away the musquitoes. The car is preceded by dancers, half naked, and streaked with sandal-wood and vermilion. Wild shouts ring through the sky, and the air is stunned with a confused din of horns, trumpets, tom-toms, or drums, kettle-drums, and other instruments of music. It is night ; but, amid the grand illumination and the blaze of innumerable torches, rockets, wheels, Roman candles, and other "flaming dragons," shoot up in every direction. The crowd is of the usual motley description—all Hindoos, presided over by Father Dolu—and with all the characteristic marks of India's exuberant idolatry. The car is the gift of a heathen prince—the dancers, and many of the musicians, are borrowed from the nearest pagoda—

the spectators idolaters ; but the woman represents the Virgin Mary of *Rome*, and the actors in this scandalous scene are the Christian angels of *Madura*.¹

If in excuse of these disgusting mockeries of Christianity, we are reminded of examples in the Bible, connected with the names of Miriam and David before the Ark, and all the house of Israel, on certain festive occasions, without condescending to point out the impossible similitude, we may boldly, heartily, and righteously ask—are we to copy every sample *recorded* in the Bible ? It is, in truth, a bitter experience, that man's worst selfishness and vilest passions shrink not from appealing to deeds, which a false interpretation confounds with the principles of Christian uprightness, sufficiently salient in the book, without requiring any other medium than each individual nature, through mind and heart enlightened, to promote right action.

¹ Norbert, i. 64, *et seq.* ; Mackay, p. 25. The Abbé Dubois, himself a more modern missionary, thus writes on the subject in 1823, showing how the "custom" had descended and was still in vigour : "The Hindoo pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians. Their processions in the streets, always performed in the night time, have indeed been to me, at all times, a subject of shame. Accompanied with hundreds of *tom-toms* (small drums), trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country,—with numberless torches, and fire-works,—the statue of the saint placed on a car which is laden with garlands of flowers, and other gaudy ornaments, according to the taste of the country,—the car slowly dragged by a multitude shouting all along the march,—the congregation surrounding the car all in confusion, several among them dancing, or playing with small sticks, or with naked swords : some wrestling, some playing the fool, all shouting, or conversing with each other, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion—such is the mode in which the Hindoo Christians of the *inland* country celebrate their festivals." In fact, Dubois expressly says that "the first missionaries," *i. e.* the Jesuits, "incumbered the Catholic worship with an additional superstruction of outward show, unknown in Europe, which, in many instances, does not differ much from that prevailing among the Gentiles, and which is far from proving a subject of edification to many a good and sincere Roman Catholic."—*Dubois, Letters*, pp. 69, 70.

How lovingly the Christians and the heathens associated together on such occasions, Father Martin tells us, alluding to another festival—not that of “Mary,” but of “Jesus!” “The chief man of the place with all his family, and the other *heathens* who were present in the procession, prostrated themselves three times before the image of the risen Jesus, and *adored* it in a manner which happily blended them with the most fervent of the Christians!” The usual procession, with triumphal car, was not dispensed with—“they placed in it the image of the *Saviour risen again*, and the car was led three times round the church, to the sound of many instruments. The illuminations, flying fusees, rockets, wheels and other fire-works, in which the Hindoos excel, rendered the festival magnificent.”¹

A great number of baptisms followed this striking exhibition, to show to the pagans, that there was really very little difference between the two religious systems in question; “at this festival they opened their eyes to the truth, and they could no longer resist the interior voice which pressed them to yield”—at the sight of a miserable figure representing the resurrection, amid all the merriment usual in the degrading ceremonies of a pagan festival.

It will not surprise us to find that the Jesuits applied

¹ Lett. Edif. xi. 148. “La nuit du samedi au dimanche, je fis preparer un petit char de triomphe, que nous ornâmes de pièces de soi, de fleurs et de fruits. On y plaça l'image du Sauveur ressuscité, et le char fut conduit en triomphe par trois fois autour de l'église, au son de plusieurs instruments. Les illuminations, les fusées volantes, les lances à feu, les girandoles et diverses autres feux d'artifice où les Indiens excellent, rendaient la fête magnifique Le seigneur de la peuplade avec toute sa famille, et le reste des Gentiles qui assistèrent à la procession, se prosternèrent par trois fois devant l'image de Jésus ressuscité, et l'adorèrent d'une manière qui les confondaient heureusement avec les Chrétiens les plus fervens.”

their inventive faculties to the construction of curious and edifying contrivances, in India, as elsewhere. The traveller, Mandelslo, at Goa, in 1639, describes an entertainment given by the fathers, at which the archbishop of the colony was present :—

“At the upper end of the pillar came out a flower, made like a tulip, which opened of itself, while they danced, till at last there came out of it *an image of the blessed Virgin with her child in her arms*, and the pillar itself opened in three several places to cast out perfumed waters like a fountain. The Jesuits told us, that by that invention they represented the pains they had taken in planting, among the pagans and Mahometans of those parts, the Church of God, whereof our Saviour is the only pillar, or corner stone. There came in also one man alone, who was covered with birds’ nests, and clothed and masked according to the Spanish mode, who began the *farce* of this comedy by ridiculous and fantastic postures ; and the dance was concluded with the coming in of twelve boys, dressed like *apes*, which they imitated in their cries and postures. As we took leave of our entertainers, they told us that they made use of these divertisements, *as well* to reduce the pagans and Mahometans of those parts to the embracing of the Christian religion by that kind of modern devotion, as to amuse the children, and divert them after their studies.”¹ This contrivance throws some light on the miraculous water issuing from “St. Thomas’s Cross,” before described, with its changing colours, cloud, and profuse perspiration, as minutely described by the Jesuit Tachard.

The dancers attracted also the special admiration of

¹ Mandelslo, Travels into the Indies, Book ii. ; Mackay, p. 26.

the devout Catholic nobleman Pietro Della Valle, visiting Goa in 1624 ; and fine showy fellows they were. Naked from the waist upwards, with painted bodies and gold bracelets and necklaces ; with flowers in their turbans, gay parti-coloured hose, and gallant streamers hanging below the knee, “ so that,” says Della Valle, “ in the festivities made at Goa for the canonisation of Sts. Ignatius and Xavier, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous, yet in my conceit there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many pretty and jovial dances which intervened in the tragedy.”¹

Usages of the country, doubtless ; manners of the age : be it so ; but what were the consequences ? Turn to an open and veritable procession of idolaters. Who are those in the throng, with cymbal and trumpets, with kettle-drum and horn, as loud as any in the idol-worship ? They are the Christians of Madura. What ! those angels who rarely commit a venial sin, and, from their horror of idolatry, scruple to pass by a heathen temple ? Even so :—there they are round the idol, as loud and as busy as the most zealous of its worshippers. And Father Bouchet and Father Bartolde deplore the scandal, but cannot promise the apostolic legate that it shall cease. What can they do, indeed ? *It is the custom.* Vain are threats : vain are fulminations. The legate dies in a foreign prison, and Father Bouchet and Bartolde go to their last account ; but sixty years afterwards this “ Christian ” practice is in full vigour. Fra Bartolomeo tells of “ a diabolical nocturnal orgy,” during which the statue of Shiva is carried round, with the *Lingam* before him. At this festival the Christians

¹ Travels into the East Indies, p. 165 ; Mackay, *ut antea*.

of the country are required to be present; and there is a dance, to which the Christian women are invited—those that do not go voluntarily being compelled to attend. Fra Bartolomeo applied to the heathen magistrate to prevent the overseers of the temple from compelling the Christians to be partakers in this detestable festival. “The overseers, however,” says he, “found means to make a thousand excuses, and always referred to *ancient usage*.”¹

Nor was this all. The distinction of castes was rigorously observed. The Pariahs had separate churches, fonts, confessionals, and communion-tables. Marriages were celebrated between children seven years old, and with nearly the whole idolatrous ceremonial of the heathens. The wives of the Christians had suspended from their necks the indecent *Taly*, representing the god *Pollear*, the disgusting *Priapus* of the Greeks. The Brahmin retained his *poita*; the sandal-wood and the ashes of cow’s dung were applied, and charmed the body as before, by the virtue of the goddess Lakshmi—cleansing from sin. These ashes were blessed by the missionaries, and used by the Christians of Madura. When they rubbed the powder on the head and forehead, they used the formula—“May the god Shiva be within my head!” When they rubbed it on the chest, they said—“May the god Rudren be in my breast!” When applied to the neck, they said—“May Ishuren be in my neck!” When to the shoulders, they said—“May Bhairab be in my shoulders!” In like manner there is a distinct god, and a distinct invocation, for the arms, the ears, the eyes, the groin, the back, the stomach, the legs, the knees, and feet; and they conclude all these

¹ Voyage to the East Indies, p. 119; Mackay, p. 27.

fine invocations by putting a little of the ashes into their mouths, saying—"By this last action I declare that all is finished as it ought to be."¹

And the results of this extraordinary mission-scheme—what were they numerically? The real number of the Jesuit-converts is involved in impenetrable mystery. In the sixteenth century, the converts of Xavier are said to have amounted to half a million. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the native Christians in Madura are reckoned by Father Martin to amount to 150,000. He also tells us that each missionary baptised at least 1000 annually, and that some of them much exceeded that number; for instance, Father Bouchet baptised more than 30,000 souls in twelve years.² Father Lainez, in Maravas, "tinged with the sacred waters" no less than 10,000 pagans in twenty-two months.³ In 1700 there were but seven or eight Jesuits in the mission; but in 1750 they had in southern India upwards of twenty. Taking ten only as a fair mean, we cannot put down the yearly increase by conversion at less than 20,000; and these, it is to be presumed, were *adults*, for Father Martin assures us that the missionaries "only baptise after hard probation, and three or four months' instruction." Now, allowing that the births and deaths merely counterbalanced each other, there should have been, in 1770, about the time the Jesuits left the mission, at least a million and a half of native Christians in Maravas and Madura. To this must be added the increase in Xavier's half a million of converts on the Pearl coast, during a period of three hundred years. Yet, in 1776, Fra Paolino da San

¹ Norbert, ii. 225, 238; vi. 47, *et seq.*; Mackay, pp. 26, 35.

² Lett. Edif. x. 23.

³ *Ibid.* x. 285.

Bartolomeo found but 18,000 in Madura, 10,000 in Tanjore, and in Carnada 20,000.¹

The Rev. W. S. Mackay shall sum up this curious and edifying mission :—

“Reader ! is it not a glorious picture ? Behold the heavenly Christians of Madura. Behold their sinless and angelic lives, their pure and spiritual worship of God, their zealous dread of the very appearance of idolatry. Behold how the devils tremble before the weakest of that revered band, and the tigers slink cowering aside, and grin with impotent malice. Behold how miracles are as daily food, and all is so fair, so pure, so holy, that we doubt whether heaven or earth is set before us in the modest pages of the apostolic labourers in this rich vineyard. Who would not wish to be there ?

¹ Mackay, p. 24 ; Bartolomeo, p. 65. Forster, the German translator of Bartolomeo, says in a note : “ This estimation of the number of the Roman Catholic Christians (48,000), is certainly too high, even if we should forget how the missionaries of the Romish Church behave in regard to their so-called converts. They insinuate themselves as physicians into the houses of the Indians ; draw a wet cloth over the head and forehead of a sick person, even when at the point of death ; mutter privately to themselves, the baptism service ; and think they have made one Christian more, who is immediately added to the list.” In effect, Father de Bourges says, “ When the children are in danger of death, our practice is to baptise them without asking the permission of their parents, which would certainly be refused. The catechists and the private Christians are well acquainted with the formula of baptism, and they confer it on these dying children, under the pretext of giving them medicine.”—*Lett. Edif.* xii. 107. Father Bouchet mentions one woman “ whose knowledge of the pulse, and of the symptoms of approaching death, was so unerring, that of more than ten thousand children, whom she had herself baptised, not more than two escaped death.”—*Lett. Edif.* xiii. 54. Again, during a famine in the Carnatic, in 1737, Father Tremblay states the number of such baptisms to be upwards of 12,000. He adds, that it was rare, in any place where there were neophytes, for a single heathen child to die unbaptised.—*Lett. Edif.* xiv. 185, 186. The same practice is copied in China at the present day,—as I have before stated, from a letter of Bishop Besy, of Nankin, namely, “ a certain number of pious widows, somewhat acquainted with medicine, who, under pretext of administering remedies to the dying infants of the pagans, will be able to confer on them baptism.”—*Annals of the Propagation*, v. 328, Anno 1844.

Who would not exclaim, with Father Lopez—‘ Ah ! how happy you are, my dear Father Martin ! Would that I might accompany you ! But, alas ! I am unworthy ever to associate with that band of saints who labour there.’ Insensibly the mind wanders back to the golden age, to the fabled El Dorado of enthusiasts, to the gorgeous visions of Cloud-land, to the poet’s dream of beauty, too bright, too delicate, too ethereal, ever to be realised on this lower earth, amidst the strife of human passions. And, as when on the shores of Sicily, temple, and palace, and tower, rise in their exceeding loveliness from the bosom of the waters, and we know that they are unreal, and fear to move even an eyelid, lest the glorious show should vanish, and nought remain but common rock and sea : so, amidst these glowing descriptions, something seems to warn us not to approach too close, lest this Jesuitical paradise should vanish into the air, and leave behind, not apostles and angels, but a paganised Christianity, and wicked and crafty men. And even so it is ! The high-born Robert de’ Nobili, and the martyred Britto, over whose head hangs canonisation suspended by but a single hair, Father Tachard, and wily Bishop Lainez, Fathers Bouchet, Martin, Turpin, De Bourges, Mauduit, Calmette, the learned Beschi, the noble De la Fontaine, and the veteran Père Le Gac—in a word, every Jesuit who entered within these unholy bounds, bade adieu to principle and truth—all became perjured impostors ; and the lives of all ever afterwards were but one long, persevering, toilsome LIE. Upon the success of a lie their mission depended. Its discovery (we have it under their own hands) was fraught with certain and irremediable ruin. Yet they persevered. Suspected by the heathen, they persevered. Through

toils, austerities, and mortifications almost intolerable to human nature, disowned and refused communion by their brother-missionaries, condemned by their own general, stricken by pope after pope with the thunders of the Vatican, knowing that the apostolic damnation had gone forth against all who 'do evil that good may come,'—yet they persevered. For one hundred and fifty years was enacted this prodigious falsehood, continually spreading and swelling into more portentous dimensions, and engulfing within its fatal vortex, zeal, talents, self-denial, and devotion, unsurpassed in modern times. Men calling themselves the servants of the true God, went forth clad in the armour of hell; and, sowing perjury and falsehood, they expected to reap holiness and truth. Thus were the Jesuits guilty of that very crime which Dr. Wiseman most falsely ascribes to the Lutherans:—thus was engendered the most horrible of 'religious chimæras—the worship of Christ united to the service of devils.'¹

¹ Wiseman, Lectures, i. 260. I may as well quote the whole passage which this worthy doctor and Bishop of Melipotamus, and now of the "London District," delivered from a *pulpit* to his admiring party. "Lutheranism was for years forced upon the docile natives of Ceylon, and engendered the most horrible of religious chimæras,—the worship of Christ united to the service of devils! The Independents have laboured, long and zealously, for the conversion of the teachable and uncorrupted natives of the Sandwich and Society Islands, and they have perfectly succeeded in *ruining their industrious habits*, exposing the country to *external aggression*, and internal dissension, and disgusting all who originally supported them. But, on the other hand, the Catholic religion seems to have a grace and an efficacy peculiar to itself, which allows it to take hold on *every variety of disposition and situation*." Unquestionably! And it is this very versatility which has ever made it a specious speculation, fooling mankind with Dead-Sea apples—fair enough without, but bitter ashes to digestion. And is there a single country on which Rome's missionary scheme has been brought to bear, without producing "feuds, quarrels, and disputes" (the doctor's own words, vol. i. p. 197)—misery of every possible kind—instancing only *England*, as we have seen, to attest the undeniable conviction! Dr. Wiseman flippantly and boastfully scorns the Protestant missionaries "going with their *wives in litters* round countries"—

Results and consequences were commensurate with the abuses. Eight popes, in eighty years, had passed into eternity; and the Malabar rites, strengthened by the practice of a century, were more deeply rooted than ever. And now the Jesuits, blinded by success, lost sight of their usual prudence. Through the weakness of the governor of Pondicherry, who, at their repeated solicitations, gave them illegal possession of a famous Hindoo pagoda, that city was all but lost to the French, and the tumult was with difficulty appeased by allowing the Brahmins to take triumphant possession of their temple. Hebert, the next governor, at first opposed them, for their constant intermeddling in the affairs of the French Commercial Company, and for forcing their converts into families, nominally as servants, but really as "domestic spies." His description, indeed, of these marvellous neophytes is strangely different from that of the Curious and Edifying Letters. He speaks of them as men "of scandalous life,—lazy, superstitious, and almost universally given to thieving;" and reproaches the missionaries for allowing them to retain nearly all their superstitions and idolatrous ceremonies, such as the cocoa-nut at marriages, the mirror at funerals, for the dead man to see his soul, the marks on their foreheads, and the heathen music in their processions, as well as for their cruel treatment of the *Pariahs*.¹ Norbert gives his letter in full. It brought Hebert into trouble at the French court, where Père La Chaise, the royal Jesuit confessor, was powerful. Hebert was

strange words for a pulpit, opposite the "Blessed Sacrament:" but surely a wife is a more appropriate companion to a missioner than a lap-dog is to a bishop—such as the worthy doctor used to exhibit in his carriage, in his "visitations."

¹ Platel, Mem. Hist. i. 40, ed. Besançon; Mackay, p. 29.

recalled in disgrace, to be sent out, shortly afterwards, the reluctant but obedient tool of the Jesuits.

About the same time, in the year 1701, arose a persecution of the Christians in Tanjore, caused by a public outrage on the idols of the country, during one of the processions in Pondicherry. The images of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva were broken to pieces by a native Christian, who represented St. George in a religious tragedy got up by the Jesuits. Father Tachard assures us that *twelve thousand* Christians stood firm in the hour of trial, and endured the most cruel sufferings for the faith.¹ On the contrary, Norbert assures the pope that, to the shame of their Christian profession, not *one* was ready to seal his faith with his blood; and that, while a few families fled to the coast for shelter, the Christians of Tanjore flocked by thousands to the pagodas, to renounce Christ, and receive the indelible mark of Vishnu, branded on their shoulders. Two Jesuits were captured: one died in prison, the other was liberated on condition of his leaving the kingdom:—the mission of Tanjore was utterly ruined, the Christian worship being utterly prohibited.²

And then the famous struggle began respecting the Malabar rites. In their conduct towards the monkish missionaries, the Jesuits in India had exhibited the same exclusiveness which embittered the English mission.³ It may, therefore, be supposed that no good feeling existed between the religious rivals; but it would be scarcely fair to attribute the representations against

¹ Lett. Edif. x. 317; Mackay, p. 29.

² Platel, i. 74, *et seq.*

³ See Platel, i. 72, for an instance with regard to the Capuchins, whom they strove to dislodge from Tanjore.

the objectionable rites merely to "motives of envy and jealousy against the Jesuits, rather than a true disinterested zeal for the cause of religion." At all events, these representations took effect, notwithstanding the strong appeals on the part of the Jesuits, in defence of their practices. Their reasons appeared futile and merely evasive in the opinion of the Holy See; and the Jesuits were peremptorily ordered to preach the Catholic religion in all its purity, and altogether to suppress the superstitious practices, till then tolerated among the neophytes. The Jesuits, seeing that their compliance with such directions would not only put a stop to all further conversions, but also occasion the apostacy of a great many proselytes, before they gave up the point, sent deputations to Rome, in order to enlighten the Holy See on the subject. This disgusting contest was carried on in several instances with much acrimony, and lasted more than forty years before it was concluded. At length, the reigning pope, Clement XI., anxious to finish the business, sent Cardinal De Tournon to India, with the title of apostolic legate, to make personal inquiries on the subject, and report all the details to the Holy See. On his arrival, Tournon denounced the practices by a public censure; but was induced by the Jesuits, with Tachard at their head, to suspend the execution of the decree for a time, until gradual reformation could be effected. Meanwhile, they sent round among the missionaries, for signature, a document which declared all the superstitious practices absolutely indispensable to the existence of the mission. The Jesuit Bouchet actually made oath to his general, that he believed no alteration could be permitted without "evident danger to the salvation and the souls of the

neophytes." Other Jesuits took the same oath, which was attested by their signatures. Bouchet and Lainez proceeded to Rome with the document ; the Jesuits in India made every effort to put down the agitation against their system ; and Tournon, who had gone to China on the same investigation, was thrown into prison, it is said, at the instance of the Jesuits. There he died, not without accusing the fathers of his many bitter sufferings. In vain Clement XI. issued breve after breve ; in vain the Jesuits were branded as "alike obstinate and impudent :"—they firmly held to their beloved rites, and practised them as devoutly as ever.¹

At length the famous and very learned Benedict XIV., having been raised to the papal chair, and wishing to put a stop to this scandalous contest, issued a very rigorous bull in several articles, by which he formally and expressly condemned and reprobated all the superstitious practices (a list of which was contained in the instrument), till then tolerated by the missionaries, and required that the whole of them, of whatever order or dignity they might be, should bind themselves by a solemn oath, taken before a bishop, to conform themselves, without any tergiversation whatever, to the spirit and letter of the decree :—it was moreover ordered, that the decree should be read and published every Sunday in all churches and chapels, in the presence of the congregation, and a promise of submission to it be required from all the converts.²

These orders were reluctantly complied with ; and the result at once confirmed the clamorous charges against the Jesuits, with respect to the objectionable rites they permitted. A great number of the proselytes

¹ Dubois, pp. 8, *et seq.* ; Platel, iii. ; Mackay, pp. 30, 41.

² Dubois, p. 10.

preferred to renounce their new religion rather than abandon their practices. A stop was put to conversions. The Christian religion became odious to the Hindoos now that it was no longer ingrafted on the time-honoured rites of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The card-castle thus crumbling of itself, was utterly given to the winds by the hungry wars which supervened at the very time, between the French Christians and the English Christians struggling for supremacy in India. The Europeans till then almost entirely unknown to the natives of the interior—the angelic Madura—now introduced themselves in several ways, and under various denominations, into every part of the country. Then came to pass a crushing retribution. The Hindoos soon found that those missionaries, whom their colour, their talents, and other qualities, had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings—as men coming from another world—were in fact, nothing but disguised, abominable *Feringees*; and that their country, their religion, and original education, were the same as those of the other vile, contemptible *Feringees* who were now invading their country. This was the finishing stroke to the gigantic falsehood of the Jesuit-mission. No more “conversions” were made. Apostacy became almost general in several quarters. “Christianity” became more and more an object of contempt and aversion, in proportion as the European manners became better known to the Hindoos, who, to all intents and purposes, were better men, as pagans, than their religious teachers, with their despicable system of falsehood.¹

“In order to give you,” says the Abbé Dubois, “a striking idea of the religious dispositions of the Hindoo,

¹ Dubois, pp. 10, 12.

and as a strong instance of what I asserted above, that there was to be found among them, nothing else but a *vain phantom* of Christianity, without any real or practical faith, I will, with shame and confusion, quote the following scandalous instance. When the late Tippoo Sultan sought to extend his own religious creed all over his dominions, and make by little and little all the inhabitants in Mysore, converts to Islamism, he wished to begin this fanatical undertaking with the native Christians living in his country, as the most odious to him, on the score of their religion. In consequence, in the year 1784, he gave secret orders to his officers in the different districts, to make the most diligent inquiries after the places where the Christians were to be found, and to cause the whole of them to be seized on the same day, and conducted under strong escorts to Seringapatam. This order was punctually carried into execution : very few of them escaped ; and we have it from good authority, that the aggregated number of the persons seized in this manner, amounted to more than 60,000. Some time after their arrival at Seringapatam, Tippoo ordered the whole to undergo the rites of circumcision, and be made converts to Mahometanism. The Christians were put together during the several days that the ceremony lasted : and, oh shame ! oh scandal ! will it be believed in the Christian world ? no one, not a single individual among so many thousands, had courage enough to confess his faith under this trying circumstance, and become a martyr to his religion. The whole apostatised *en masse*, and without resistance, or protestations, tamely underwent the operation—no one among them possessing resolution enough so say, ‘I am a Christian, and will rather die than renounce my

religion!' So general a defection, so dastardly an apostacy, is, I believe, unexampled in the annals of Christianity. After the fall of Tippoo Sultan, most of these apostates came back to be reconciled to their former religion, saying that their apostacy had been only external, and they always kept, in their hearts, the true faith in Christ. About 2,000 of them fell in my way, and nearly 20,000 returned to the Mangalore district, whence they had been carried away, and rebuilt their former places of worship. God preserve them all from being exposed in future to the same trials; for should this happen, I have every reason (notwithstanding their solemn protestations when again reconciled to Christianity), to apprehend the same sad results, that is to say, a tame submission, and a general apostacy."¹

Elsewhere, after a sketch of the several missions in India, Dubois declares:—"You will perceive that the number of neophytes, although reduced to no more than a third of what it was about seventy years ago, is yet considerable; and it would afford some consolation, if at least a due proportion amongst them were real and unfeigned Christians. But, alas! this is far from being the case. The greater, the far greater number exhibit nothing but a vain phantom, an empty shade of Christianity. In fact, during a period of twenty-five years that I have familiarly conversed with them, lived among them as their religious teacher and spiritual guide, I would hardly dare to affirm that I have anywhere met a sincere and undisguised Christian. In embracing the Christian religion, they very seldom heartily renounce their leading superstitions, towards which they always entertain a secret bent, which does not fail to manifest

¹ Dubois, Letters, pp. 73, 75.

itself in the several occurrences of life, and in many circumstances where the precepts of the Christian religion are found to be in opposition to their leading usages, they rarely scruple to overlook the former, and conform themselves to the latter.”¹

Such then was the fate of the gorgeous mission founded by Robert de 'Nobili, and forming a large section of the mendacious absurdities which generally make up the *Edifying and Curious Letters* of the Jesuits. It will be remembered that this fate nearly chanced before, at the denunciation of the three catechists. It was then forfended by Bouchet's unblushing effrontery and heaven-defying falsehood: but it came at last—as every other retribution on the Jesuits.²

Tournon's apostolic visit to China, for the investigation of the *Chinese Customs*, was followed by the same result, their proscription being included in the papal bull which prohibited the rites of Malabar. These objectionable customs related at first to the worship accorded to their ancestors by the Chinamen,—particularly the veneration of Confucius. The Dominicans appealed to Rome

¹ Dubois, Letters, pp. 62, 63.

² For a full and well-compiled account of the Jesuits in India, see Mr. Mackay's pamphlet before named, which I have found very useful and strictly correct, with the single exception stated in a former note. It is published under the title of “A Warning from the East; or, The Jesuits as Missionaries in India,” by Cotes: London. The famous Norbert or Platel is very voluminous, but still interesting on the subject; his seven *quarto* volumes are rich in facts, set forth with energy, and always probable from the admitted principles of the Jesuits, and their undeniable conduct in other careers. Platel was fiercely persecuted by the Jesuits, and driven from country to country, until he took refuge in Portugal. The Jesuit Feller has given him a bitter notice in his *Universal Biography*, stating, among other disparagements, that he was condemned by the *Bishop of Sisteron*: but he takes good care not to state that this Bishop of Sisteron was a *Jesuit*—and a most despicable creature of the infamous Cardinal Dubois, to whose schemes he lent himself with base devotedness, as shall be presently exhibited.

against these ceremonies ; the Jesuits defended them as indispensable to the existence of the mission. Still, in the midst of the incessant bickerings of the preachers, the religion inculcated by the missionaries was allowed to flourish : the authorities finding the Jesuits very learned, skilful, and generally useful servants. But it seems that the Chinese were permitted to observe all their other peculiar customs, or the most important ; and that the nominal Christians were merely disciples of the learned Jesuits, who were pleased to consider the pagan customs mere civil observances. Certainly from the “doubts” proposed by Navarette, at Rome, in 1674, as to the objectionable practices of the Chinese Christians, the conclusion is obvious that it was as easy for a pagan to be a Christian in China, as it was in Malabar.¹ The multitudinous details which were thrown before the world, during the party-discussion of the question, present no feature of interest :—the charges on the part of the rival missionaries were met by the Jesuits with their usual hardihood ; when, at length, Benedict XIV., in 1744, “resolved all doubts,” says Cretineau, “cut short all difficulties, and sacrificed the uncertain to the certain, the hopes of the future to the realities of the present,”—by an universal proscription of every rite and practice, which had hitherto formed the necessary conditions on which the Chinamen had given in their adhesion to the rivals of the bonzas, the astronomers, the astrologers, mechanicians, philosophers, and statesmen of the Celestial Empire. This was the second fulmination of the Vatican, the first, in 1715, not having taken due effect,—for whilst the papal interference with the religious concerns of the Chinamen, had caused the

¹ See *Morale Pratique*, t. vi.

expulsion of the rival missionaries, the Jesuits had been wisely retained by the emperor as men whom he could not dispense with, due regard being had to their versatile talents and useful qualifications. Twenty learned Jesuits, with the admirable Parrenin, basked in the uncertain rays of royal favour, whilst their less gifted, less qualified, if not less accommodating rivals in the mission, were banished the country. This "singular position," as Cretineau calls it, is thus described by Father Gaubil in a letter from Pekin, in 1726 :—"The Jesuits have here three large churches : they baptise annually 3000 exposed infants. To judge from the confessions and communions there are about 3000 male communicants, and about 4000 female Christians. In this number there are only four or five small mandarins, two or three literati : the rest are poor people. I do not know the number of the literati and mandarins who, being Christians, do not frequent the sacraments ; and I do not exactly see how, in the circumstances, a mandarin or any of the literati can do so and comply with the decrees of our holy father the pope. The Christian princes, whose fervour and misfortunes you witnessed, with two other princes, have renounced their dignities and appointments to live as Christians.¹ Thus we

¹ Voltaire makes some sensible remarks on this proscription. The emperor told the Jesuits : "If you have been able to deceive my father, don't expect to deceive me in like manner." "In spite of the wise commands of the emperor," says Voltaire, "some Jesuits returned secretly into the provinces :—they were condemned to death for having manifestly violated the laws of the empire. Thus we execute the Huguenot preachers in France, who come to make their gatherings, in spite of the king's orders. This fury of proselytism is the peculiar distemper of our climates :—it has been always unknown in Upper Asia. Those nations have never sent missionaries into Europe. Our nations alone have desired to drive their opinions, like their commerce, to the two extremities of the globe. The Jesuits even brought down death upon several Chinamen, especially on two princes of the blood, who

baptise only poor people. The literati and official personages who might wish to become Christians, quit us as soon as ever we publish the decrees to them—even with the permissions conceded by the Patriarch Mezza-barba. The emperor does not like our religion. The great and the princes avoid us accordingly. We seldom appear at the court. The emperor needs our services for the tribunal of the mathematics—for the affairs of the Moscovites—and for the instruments and other things which come from Europe. He fears that should he drive us hence and from Canton, the merchants will not continue to visit that city:—these are the reasons why he permits us to remain here and at Canton, and, from time to time, even accords us certain favours and extraordinary honours. In one word, he suspects us:—a thousand secret enemies speak to him against us. The past disputes, the visitations of the two patriarchs, the generally diffused idea that we are not loyal, and that we have no fixity in our laws—all this renders the missionaries contemptible. If we continue in this condition three or four years consecutively, my reverend father, it will be all over with the cause—our religion will be ruined here—lost without resource. . . . I do not think that there are in China and Tartary, more than 300,000 Christians.¹ In Tartary, there are not

favoured them. Was it not very wretched to come from the further end of the world in order to fling confusion into the imperial family, and cause the death of two princes by public execution? They thought they could render their mission respectable in the eyes of Europe by pretending that God sided with them, and that He had caused to appear four crosses in the skies, over the horizon of China. They engraved the figures of these crosses in the *Eddifying and Curious Letters*: but if God had wished that China should be Christian, would He have only put crosses in the air? Would He not have placed them in the heart of the Chinamen?"—*Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 503.

¹ Butler says only 100,000.—*Martyrs of China*, Feb. 5.

more than five or six thousand. It is useless to fill your heart with bitterness in assuring you that, had it not been for the past disputes, there would have been four or five millions of Christians in China."¹

These were splendid prospects to be realised by the baptism of exposed infants—the frightful practice of the Chinese as rife as ever. Two thousand five hundred in two years thus “went to heaven”—*sont allés au ciel*; and but for the persecution, the work would have been regularly set on foot in several large towns, and in a few years, “we would have sent to heaven more than 20,000 little children *per annum*,—*on aurait envoyé par an dans le ciel plus de vingt mille petits enfans*.”²

Parrenin had continued the functions of grand mandarin and mediator between the Russians and the Chinese as usual. Bouvet, the imperial geographer, plied his compasses as before. Gaubil was the imperial interpreter of Europe at the Court of China, and had succeeded to Parrenin as director of the college for the young Manchous, after the death of the grand mandarin. His multitudinous labours in the service of the emperor were not interrupted. The Chinaman consented to receive the Jesuits as artists and mathematicians, whilst he rejected or proscribed them as missionaries.³ And nothing could be more reasonable than the reply made by the emperor’s brother to Parrenin, respecting the proscription of the religion in question. The Jesuit candidly published the reply:—“Your affairs,” said the prince, “embarrass me. I have read the charges against you. Your continual quarrels with the other Europeans, respecting the rites of China, have injured your cause immensely. What would you say, if,

¹ Apud Cretineau, v. 74.

² *Ib.* 76.

³ *Ib.* 77, 78, 79.

transporting ourselves to Europe, we were to do what you do here? Candidly, would you put up with it?" It was difficult to reply to that question.¹ So they had contented themselves, in their rejection as missionaries, with fulfilling their imperial duties as astronomers, mathematicians, annalists, geographers, physicians, painters and clockmakers—besides "sending to heaven" a great number of foundlings, not without danger of punishment from the Chinese Tribunal of Rites, which objected to this interference with the established process by metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls from one body to another after death.² About four-and-twenty years had passed in this fashion, three or four of which, according to Gaubil, were enough to ruin the mission completely. Everything tended to aggravate the proscription. The Chinese constantly dreaded the innovations that might be introduced by the men who came with a "national sanction" to promote the commercial views of Louis XIV. ; the horrible reverses of the Church of Japan, connected with similar practices, as shall be presently related ; the extirpation of the "Christian" religion in Tonquin ; the interminable differences of the Christians among themselves ; in fine, the striking fact, that the Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and English traders at Macao differed in religion with the Chinese Christians at Macao, though taught by Europeans—all these facts were ever present to the minds of the jealous, and shrewd, and reflecting Chinamen, when Benedict XIV.

¹ *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 502.

² *Cretineau*, v. 80. The Jesuits thus convicted of baptising the foundlings were in danger of the law. Parrenin himself interceded in vain : but the Jesuit lay-brother, Castiglione, the emperor's *painter*, was successful, and the baptists were spared.—*Cretineau*, *ib.*

fulminated the last bull against the Chinese rites, which the lapse of four-and-twenty years had ripened again in the hot-bed of the missionary scheme. "After the Bull, *Ex illâ die*," said the pope to the Jesuits, "by which Clement XI. thought he had put an end to the disputes, it seemed just and proper that those who make special profession of obedience to the Holy See, should submit with humility and simplicity to that solemn decree, and it was not to be expected that we should see them creating new obstacles. Nevertheless, disobedient and specious men have thought of evading the prescriptions of the Bull, as though it were only a simple ecclesiastical precept, or else as though it had been weakened by certain permissions granted by the patriarch Mezzabarba, when he performed the functions of apostolic visitor in these countries." The terrible Bull, *Omnium sollicitudinum*, rushed forth as the exterminating angel of the mission. The clamours of envy or the sting of resisted authority—and the deference to public opinion in Europe—roused the popedom to an expedient interference in the equivocal method of the Jesuits. As philosophers, the latter defended their Chinese scheme of Christianity; and philosophically we are compelled to award them the glory of unlimited knowledge of the character and institutions of the pagans, on whom they would engraft the religion of Rome. Based on this undeniable foundation, they were, perhaps, more than a match for their opponents—their logic ought to have been triumphant—but they were condemned. On the former occasion they had made signs of resistance. "The men the most devoted to the authority of Rome," says Cretineau, "were about to wage against it a war for the settlement of evangelical

duties and moral principles :”¹ but now, in the eventful epoch of crisis for the Company, they submitted to the papal mandate, which pronounced the doom of the China mission. And it was shattered to pieces, as the Jesuits predicted. The interference with their rites and ceremonies brought confusion and division among the people, and the laws of the empire marched forth in the usual Christian style in self-vindication. “As the Jesuits had foreseen,” says their latest historian, “their deference to the pontifical judgment was the signal of the fall of Christianity on the banks of the Hoang-ho and the Ganges. The missionaries were imprisoned, proscribed, or consigned to destruction.” Several Jesuits were put to death. The mandarins in the provinces, stimulated by the bonzas, joined in the reaction : the proscription spread like a conflagration.² Perhaps this consequence of the pope’s expedient measure attests the extent of the moral sacrifice, which those rites and ceremonies supposed in the Christianity of the mission, thus engrafted on Paganism ; if not, the papal court suffered the penalty awarded to those whose first and last desire is to “save appearances.” But it is highly honourable to the Chinamen that they confined their greatest severities to the *agents*, and did not extend them to the patients of the scheme : they seized and punished the teachers, and spared the misguided disciples. At Pekin, however, the emperor kept his astronomers and diplomatists. The missionary scheme was expiring in China, as everywhere else : the Jesuits strove to place it under the safeguard of the sciences. “Honoured with the imperial favour as literary men, execrated as Catholic priests, they *conformed to the conditions traced out for them by*

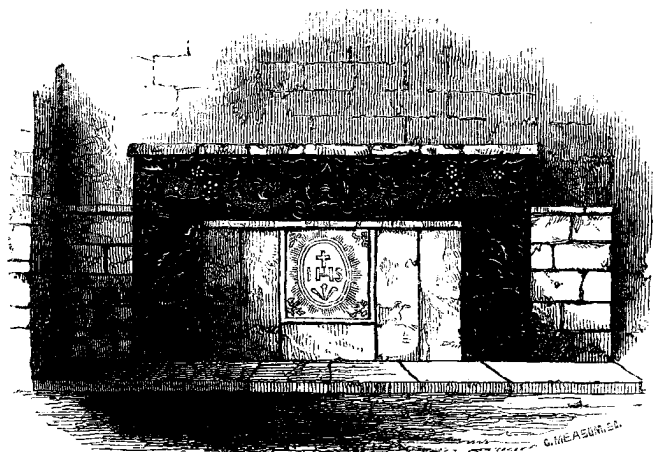
¹ Cretineau, v. 50.

² Id. ib. 83.

circumstances," says their latest historian. Father De Ventavon resided at the court in the capacity of mechanic to the emperor. The lay-brothers, Castiglione and Attiret, were his favourite painters. Father Hallerstein presided over the tribunal of the mathematics. Some of the Jesuits made clocks with moving figures; others applied to the fine arts, or the mechanical arts, for inventions that might be worthy to please Kiang-Loung: all tortured their wits to devise some means of averting the storm that growled over the heads of the Christians. Father Michael Benoît applied the principles of hydraulics. The spurting water, whose scientific management was as yet unknown in China, excited the applause of the emperor and his court. He desired to multiply the prodigy in his gardens, and Benoît was charged with the direction of the works. He thus gained frequent opportunities of seeing the emperor, in order to overcome his prejudices against the Christians and Europeans. Benoît set to the work: he did more, with the same good intention,—he studied the art of engraving in copper: he trained artists, and produced engravings. He initiated the emperor in the use of the telescope and the mystery of the air-pump. On the 23rd of October, 1774, Benoît succumbed under his labours. An artist by day, in order to be able during the night to fortify the perseverance of his catechumens, he died, to the regret of the emperor and that of the Jesuits. Fathers D'Arocha and Sikelport were the last props of that mission. In generous but barren efforts, the Jesuits exhausted their energies. At Tonquin, in the Madura, in Cochin China, the Fathers Alvarez, D'Abreu, and D'Acunha, fell under the sword of the executioner; and others, wandering hopeless, abandoned

by their flocks, beheld their hard-wrought missions crumbling to pieces, and vanishing into nought at the very time when the Company of Jesus was hurrying to her final crisis—the penumbra of fatal eclipse fringing the satellite of Rome.¹

The Dominicans, who took up the Chinese mission with reformed rigidity, only made a few fanatical martyrs, molested the nation—and then there was an end of that “Christianity.”² Neither Matteo Ricci



nor Adam Schall would have made martyrs of the Chinamen. These Jesuits and their learned followers evidently had a favourable notion of the Chinese

¹ Cretineau, v. 83, *et seq.*

² Four Dominicans were put to death, with a bishop of the same Order, and Pope Benedict had the satisfaction of pronouncing an eulogy “on the precious death of this holy bishop,” thus “sent to heaven” by the horns of his bull.—*Butler, Martyrs of China*, Feb. 5. The Dominicans entered China as early as 1556, and by 1631 “had converted the great part of the province of Fokien to the faith.”—*Butler, ibid.* The Dominicans made “martyrs,” but the Jesuits in China contented themselves with attesting their ceaseless industry and talents—the best kind of martyrdom unquestionably.

religious system—as may be evident from the sub-joined figure of one of their altars lately discovered at Shanghai. It certainly very emphatically attests the extent to which the accommodating Jesuits ingrafted their religion on that of the pagans—on their very altar of sacrifice uniting the heathen symbol of the Dragon, and the Spirit of Fire, with the Cross, the I.H.S. and nails of the Company.¹

In no part of the world did the Jesuits achieve such success as in Japan ; at all events, in their own numerical results. Judge from their asserted fact, that from 1603 to 1622, they converted exactly 239,339 Japanese ; and seven years after they numbered upwards of 400,000. Every encouragement had been granted them by **this very tolerant nation** : they availed themselves of the fact, and flourished accordingly. United to the Portuguese they made commerce subservient to the scheme of reducing the whole country to the faith, apparently with the view of establishing a thoroughly Romish dynasty in the East, or in order to effectuate such a majority of partisans in the country, as would easily transfer the kingdom to Spain. The traders of Portugal, then subject to Spain, were bound by an oath not to trade with any natives but such as were Christians—a curious invention to influence the cupidity of the nation, particularly as the commerce of the Portuguese was a source of certain wealth.

¹ This altar now stands in a cottage near Shanghai, one of the five Chinese ports opened to foreigners by the treaty lately concluded between the Chinese and the British. The drawing was taken by the Rev. T. M'Clatchie, one of the two missionaries sent by the Church Missionary Society to China. Mr. M'Clatchie remarks that one of the most prominent objects in the altar is the heathen symbol of the dragon, adopted in order to gain converts.—*From the Church Missionary Paper*, No. cxxiii. 1846.

Meanwhile the Jesuits had gained great influence with the people ; and it was on the increase, in spite of occasional hostile demonstrations on the part of the nobles. The bonzas were, of course, sworn foes of their rivals in influence : but the increasing multitude of the Christians was a source of anxiety to the emperor of Japan. An unprincipled Dutchman fired this reasonable anxiety into desperate execution. The oath exacted from the Portuguese to trade only with " Christians," had operated unto " conversions " so generally, that the Dutch heretic-traders found themselves shunned by the natives, who, besides the bond of the faith, were longer acquainted with the Portuguese, and, moreover, discovered by experience that they were more honourable traders than the Dutch. The president of the Dutch Company in Japan resolved to ruin the credit of the Portuguese with the government : he forged a letter in Portuguese, detailing the plan of a general insurrection among the Christians of Japan, against the emperor. This document was duly conveyed to the emperor, accompanied with representations still more calculated to exasperate his growing mistrust of the Christians. Unfortunately the Jesuits themselves accelerated the coming thunderbolt.¹

The fathers had converted one of the Japanese nobles and his family : his youngest son was under the care of the Jesuits, in their seminary. The Jesuits persuaded this nobleman to give them one of his houses for the use of the catechumens. They subsequently cured one of his children : he redoubled his favours to them,—but died soon after, when his eldest sons, at the court, demanded the restoration of the house in question, from

¹ Tavernier, *Voyages, Relation du Japon; Morale Pratique*, ii. 270, *et seq.*

the Jesuits. By the law of the land they could claim the tenement, as a father was not permitted to alienate his property to the prejudice of his children. The Jesuits refused to surrender the donation. The inheritors appealed to the emperor, already suspicious of the Jesuits and their Christians : the Dutchmen aggravated the incident,—gave them the forged letter before mentioned ; they showed it to the emperor. Roused to action by the supposed plot in contemplation, he forthwith commanded the extirpation of the Portuguese and the native Christians.¹

Their concealed partisans at the court notified the impending calamity, and the Christians were roused to defend their lives and *their* innocence in the approaching assault. Two noblemen headed the devoted victims—an army of 40,000 men and upwards. An imperial army was sent forth to crush the rebels : the Christians made representations to the emperor, protesting their readiness to throw down their arms, if their sovereign would consent to listen to their defence. One of the Christian leaders volunteered to be the bearer of the letter to the imperial general : he was seized and hanged in the sight of the Christians, who were forthwith attacked with impetuosity. The two armies were actually commanded by brothers—the sons of the nobleman who gave the calamitous house to the Jesuits. In the deadliest of the strife, the imperial leaders sought out their Christian brothers, whilst the latter strove to avoid their unnatural antagonists. Fierce and desperate was the struggle of the Christians : they outflanked and then surrounded the enemy, whom they routed with terrible slaughter. The utter extermination

¹ Tavernier, *ubi suprâ*.

of the Christians was then resolved. Another engagement ensued, and the Christians were again victorious, but with incalculable loss on both sides; for the emperor had commanded that no quarter should be given to the vanquished. In a third battle the idolaters were routed. Numbers were then poured upon them on all sides,—their general was killed,—they were defeated, and cut to pieces.

Then began that frightful persecution which has no parallel in history, if all its horrors be facts. The Christians were crucified in such a manner as to prolong life, whilst horrible torments were applied to compel apostacy. Every variety of slaughter was applied to the extermination of the Christians. In a work published by the Jesuits, in Europe, during the persecution in Japan, they have given engravings of all these horrible methods, just as they did with regard to the persecution in England; and as the representations of the latter were manifest exaggerations, we may trust that the persecution in Japan, though awfully conclusive in its result, was attended with only half the atrocities detailed by the Jesuits,—such as bruising the feet of the Christians between logs of wood,—cutting off or squeezing their limbs one after another,—applying red-hot irons or slow fires,—flaying off the skin of the fingers,—putting burning coals to their hands,—tearing off the flesh with pincers, or thrusting reeds into all parts of their bodies, until they should consent to forsake their faith: all which, innumerable persons, say the Jesuits, and even children, bore with invincible constancy till death. The elaborate Jesuit production, by Father Trigault, entitled “The Triumph of the Martyrs of Japan,” with frightful, but somewhat

ridiculous engravings, published in 1623, seems to have been the source of all other accounts of the persecution, written by Protestants or Catholics.¹

¹ The Latin title of the work is *De Christianis apud Japonicos Triumphis, &c.* Monachii, 1623. "I do not intend," says Tavernier, "to enter into the details of these various modes of martyrdom :—there are many special narratives in which those writers, in order to do honour to their Company, have introduced many fabulous particulars : but even to judge from the facts stated by the Dutch themselves, it would be true to say that the Church never suffered, in so short a time, so cruel a persecution." The Church of Rome has appointed a day in their Saints' Calendar, to honour the memory of "the martyrs of Japan," and "the martyrs of China"—all of them contributions either by the Jesuits or Pope Benedict XIV.,—with the usual blasphemous incrimination of "Divine Providence," and the "permission" of God Almighty. It seems that heaven, as well as earth, must be ruled and regulated by the whims and pernicious notions of "religious people" who, in all times since the Reformation, will meddle with the concerns of distant nations ;—striving to force upon them that religion which, if it were purely practised among them, would need no societies nor propaganda to induce its reception ; but which, in the universal system adopted, only serves to perpetuate affliction, and tax the credulous subscribers of Europe—whilst hungry and naked fellow-Christians cry for a helping hand around us. I cannot believe that Heaven approves of any of those rival schemes and speculations—necessarily abortive by the fact so evident to the heathen, that their would-be teachers and leaders to heaven, consign each other to the opposite place merely for differing in articles of the very faith which is promulgated as *the* Christianity. Christians should agree among themselves before they attempt to unsettle the minds of the pagans. They should, moreover, reflect on all that the pagan must change in his manners and customs before he can be a Christian. In this matter *halves* will not do : he is perhaps a much more acceptable man to his Creator, as a pagan, than as a half-Christian, or such as missionaries "report" annually, and boast of in their "Propagation Annals." It is all very fine for devotees to read these wretched romances : but when we put questions to travellers, and converse with those who habitually visit the scenes of the alleged triumphs of faith, bitter convictions ensue, and we are compelled to believe that Jesuitism is universal.

By Xavier's own account, it is evident that the bonzas of Japan were a match for the missionary in argumentation ; and in the *Conferences between the Danish Missionaries, &c.*, p. 341, there is a letter from a heathen to one of these missionaries, wherein the heathen gives the reasons why the Indians reject the Christian religion. "You are much astonished," says the heathen, "at our infidelity. But give us leave to tell you, that you have not sufficiently proved our law to be false, and altogether erroneous ; nor so clearly and evidently proved the truth of your own, that we should inconsiderately change the religion of our fathers, for that of foreigners and sojourners in our land. For, I would have you know, that as the Christians and Mohammedans derive their laws from God,—

One of the Jesuits, Ferreyra, abjured the faith to escape death, and was raised to preside over one of the tribunals for making martyrs. Five Jesuits were subsequently brought before him. "Who are you?" he asked. "Priests of the Company of Jesus," was the reply. "Abjure your faith," said the renegade, "and you shall be rich and raised to honour." But these Jesuits intimated that "martyrdom" was their object,—and they died accordingly. It is said that Ferreyra repented in his old age, recanted his recantation, and died a martyr; but this may be only an invention to save the credit of the Company.¹

Nowhere else was such a decisive destruction of the mission scheme effected. It had lived a century, and perished utterly in 1649. It perished by the same method which the Jesuits recommended in Germany for the destruction of Protestantism—namely, by the secular arm. Père La Chaise and Louis XIV. did the same, as far as possible, with the Huguenots of France.

so do we :—for certainly, you cannot imagine that we hammered and forged a religion to ourselves, any more than you did yourselves. The Mohammedan will have his religion to be absolutely the best: the Christians condemn all but themselves; and we Malabarians think our religion to be the best for us; and question not but that the Christians may be saved, if they lead lives conformable to the precepts of their religion. Which is the best religion, is a difficult task to know; for even among ourselves we have many different opinions,—some affirming that Brahma is the supreme God, others stand up for Vishnu; and there are as many learned men who plead for the God Shiva; and I think 'tis prudence not to trouble myself with the truth or falsity of your religion, till I first know which is the truest of the many opinions relating to religion that we entertain here among ourselves." Lockman very candidly asks hereupon: "Would it have been possible for an European, who had gone through a regular course of education, to have answered more pertinently?" The reply is, Decidedly not—but instead of such an answer, a volley of clap-trap controversy, or misinterpreted texts from the Bible, would be the prelude to rancorous denunciation as a heretic, infidel, deist, atheist,—if we be not "converted." For the above letter, see Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, i. 430, note.

¹ Cretineau, iii. 203, *et seq.*

The only difference was, that the Japanese authorities thought that their reign was at stake in the increase of the proselytes : and there is no positive proof to the contrary. The persecution swelled the martyrology of Rome : but the Jesuit Solier nevertheless excessively blames the violence of the Japanese ; and a certain abbé, in his *History of the Japanese Church*, “wonders at the depth of God’s judgments, that He should have permitted the blood of so many martyrs to be shed, without its having served, as in the first ages of the Christian Church, as a fruitful seed for the forming or producing new Christians.”¹ “Without presuming to inquire into the reasons which the Divine Wisdom may have for permitting at one time what it does not permit at another, it may be said that the Christianity of the sixteenth century had no right to hope for the same favour, and the same protection from God, as the Christianity of the three first centuries. The latter was a benign, gentle, and patient religion, which recommended to subjects submission to their sovereigns, and did not endeavour to raise itself to the throne by rebellions. But the Christianity which was preached to the infidels of the sixteenth century, was very different :—it was a bloody, murderous religion, which had been used to slaughter for five or six hundred years. It had contracted a very long habit of maintaining and aggrandising itself, by putting to the sword all who resisted it. Fines, executions, the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition, crusades, bulls exciting subjects to rebellion, seditious preachers, conspiracies, assassinations of princes, were the ordinary methods employed against those who refused submission to its

¹ *Journal des Savans*, 1689 ; Bayle, vi. 365 [F].

orders. Could these Christians promise themselves the blessing which Heaven had granted the primitive Church, to the gospel of peace, patience, and gentleness? The best choice the Japanese had to make was, to become converts to the true God; but not having knowledge sufficient to renounce their false religion, they then had no other choice to make but an active or passive persecution. They could not preserve their ancient government nor their ancient worship, but by getting rid of the Christians. These, one time or other, would have destroyed both: they would have armed all their new converts, would have introduced into Japan the soldiers and cruel maxims of the Spaniards, and, by hanging and slaughtering, as in *America*, would have enslaved all Japan. Thus, to consider things only in a political view, it must be confessed that the persecution which the Christians suffered in that country was a prudent means to prevent the overthrow of the monarchy, and plundering of a state. The ingenuous confession of a Spaniard justifies the precautions which these infidels took to insure their independence:—it furnished the bonzas with a specious pretence for exercising their hatred, and soliciting the extirpation of the Christians. “Being asked by the King of Tossa, how the King of Spain got possession of so great an extent of country in both hemispheres, the Spaniard answered too frankly, that he used to send friars to preach the gospel to foreign nations; and that after having converted a considerable number of heathens, he used to send his forces, which, joining with the new converts to Christianity, by that means conquered the country. The Christians paid dearly for this indiscreet confession.”¹

¹ Bayle, vi. 365 [E]. The Spaniard's confession is from the *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans*, Sept. 1691, p. 13, 14.

The four hundred thousand proselytes of the Jesuits, after swelling the martyrology with considerable contributions, became safe subjects of the emperor of Japan ; and the most effectual means were taken to scourc them for the future. At the commencement of every year the search after Christians was renewed, and all the heads of families and individuals of the nation had to sign a declaration, not only that they were not Christians, but also that they knew of no Christian, and that they abhorred and detested Christianity as a religion hostile to the state.¹ From this contemplation let us turn to a field more admirable.

By the first years of the eighteenth century, the French Jesuits had penetrated far and wide the continent of North America, and the memory of the "Black Robes," as they were called, was destined long to linger in the hearts of the Indians. "On some moss-grown tree they pointed out the traces of their work, and in wonder the traveller deciphered, carved side by side on its trunk, the emblem of our salvation and the lilies of the Bourbons. Amid the snows of Hudson's Bay—among

¹ Tavernier, *ut antea*. In the *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, ii. there are copious details respecting the conduct of the Jesuits in China and Japan. It will there be evident that the usual troubles and divisions existed between them and the other missionaries. Ineffectual complaints to the pope had been made from time to time, but the Jesuits continued their vexations. The end of the scheme was like its progress. "In Japan," says M. Martin (*Voyage de Duquesne*, t. iii. 84) "the persecution caused by the fault of the Jesuits, has so effectually banished Christianity, that no one can there be received before he has thrown down and trampled upon a crucifix. . . . The Jesuits, unwilling to resign their hold in the country, or to give up their commerce in that empire, still continue their visits, and perform the ceremony of trampling upon the crucifix ; they pretend that they only insult the metal, without ceasing to respect the object it represents"—the *recta intentio* of the casuists. M. Martin affirms the fact as undeniable, on the authority of persons on the spot. It is also stated in the *Supplement aux Reflexions d'un Portugais* (No. 90). See *Hist. abrégée des Jesuites*, ii. 89, *et seq.*

the woody islands and beautiful inlets of the St. Lawrence—by the Council-fires of the Hurons and the Algonquins—at the sources of the Mississippi, where, first of the white men, their eyes looked upon the Falls of St. Anthony, and then traced down the course of the bounding river, as it rushed onward to earn its title of ‘Father of Waters,’—on the vast prairies of Illinois and Missouri—among the blue hills which hem in the salubrious dwellings of the Cherokees, and in the thick cane-brakes of Louisiana—everywhere were found the members of the ‘Society of Jesus.’ Marquette, Joliet, Brebeuf, Jogues, Lallemand, Rasles, and Marest, are the names which the West should ever hold in remembrance. But it was only by suffering and trial that these early labourers won their triumphs. Many of them too were men who had stood high in camps and courts, and could contrast their desolate state in the solitary wigwam with the refinement and affluence which had waited on their early years. But now all these were gone. Home, the love of kindred, the golden ties of relationship, all were to be forgotten by these stern and high-wrought men, and they were often to go forth into the wilderness, without an adviser on their way, save their God. Through long and sorrowful years they were obliged to ‘sow in tears’ before they could ‘reap in joy.’ Every self-denial gathered around them which could wear upon the spirit and cause the heart to fail. Mighty forests were to be threaded on foot, and the great lakes of the West passed in the feeble bark canoe. Hunger, and cold, and disease, were to be encountered, until nothing but the burning zeal within could keep alive the wasted and sinking frame. But worse than all were those spiritual evils which forced

them to weep and pray in darkness. They had to endure the contradiction of those they came to save, who often, after listening for months with apparent interest, so that the Jesuit began to hope they would soon be numbered with his converts, suddenly quitted him with cold and derisive words, and turned again to the superstitions of their tribe. Most of them, too, were martyrs to their faith. Few of their number 'died the common death of men,' or slept at last in the grounds which their church had consecrated. Some, like Jogues, and Du Poisson, and Souel, sank beneath the blows of the infuriated savages, and their bodies were thrown out to feed the vulture, whose shriek, as he flapped his wings above them, had been their only requiem. Others, like Brebeuf, and Lallemand, and Sanat, died at the stake, and their ashes 'flew no marble tells us whither,' while the dusky sons of the forest stood around, and mingled their wild yells of triumph with the martyr's dying prayers. Others, again, like the aged Marquette, sinking beneath years of toil, fell asleep in the wilderness, and their sorrowing companions dug their graves in the green turf, where for many years the rude forest-ranger stopped to invoke their names, and bow in prayer before the cross which marked the sacred spot. But did these things stop the progress of the Jesuits? The sons of Loyola never retreated. The mission they founded in a tribe ended only with the extinction of the tribe itself. Their lives were made up of fearless devotedness and heroic self-sacrifice. Though sorrowing for the dead, they pressed forward at once to occupy their places, and, if needs be, share their fate. 'Nothing,' wrote Father Le Petit, after describing the martyrdom of two of his

brethren—‘nothing has happened to these two excellent missionaries for which they were not prepared when they devoted themselves to the Indian missions.’ If the flesh trembled, the spirit seemed never to falter. Each one, indeed, felt that he was ‘baptised for the dead,’ and that his own blood, poured out in the mighty forests of the west, would bring down perhaps greater blessings on those for whom he died than he could win for them by the labours of a life. He realised that he was ‘appointed unto death.’ ‘*Ibo, et non redibo*—I will go, and will not return,’ were the prophetic words of Father Jogues, when, for the last time, he departed to the Mohawks. When Lallemand was bound to the stake, and for seventeen hours his excruciating agonies were prolonged, his words of encouragement to his companion were—‘Brother! we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.’ When Marquette was setting out for the sources of the Mississippi, and the friendly Indians who had known him wished to turn him from his purpose, by declaring ‘that those distant nations never spared the strangers,’ the calm reply of the missionary was—‘I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls.’ And then the red sons of the wilderness bowed with him in prayer, and before the simple cross of cedar, and among the stately groves of elm and maple which line the St. Lawrence, there arose that old chant which the aged man had been accustomed to hear in the distant cathedrals of his own land :—

‘*Vexilla Regis prodeunt—
Fulget Crucis mysterium.*’¹

¹ “The banners of Heaven’s King advance,
The mystery of the Cross shines forth.”

But how little is known of all these men! The history of their bravery and suffering, touching as it is, has been comparatively neglected."¹

Such is an American Protestant's delightful description of the Jesuit-mission in North America, as deduced from the *Edifying and Curious Letters*, which he has translated and published "as a contribution to the historical records of his country." The following very graphic, and very interesting narrative of a Jesuit missionary in Georgia, completes the picture. "Permit me," writes a correspondent to the London Magazine of 1760, "permit me to give the world some particulars of a son of Loyola, which will prove that Society's attempts to found Jesuit-Commonwealths, have not been confined to South America; but that they intended also to extend their sway over the copper-coloured tribes of the northern part of the Continent, and, perhaps, the seeds of disgust sowed amongst the Cherokees and Creeks, at the time I am about to mention, may have had a more baneful effect than it could, at that time, enter into the wisest heads to conceive.

"When the brave and worthy General Oglethorpe commanded in Georgia, and, by his extensive influence over the Indian nations around that colony, kept them in friendship and subjection to this crown; and in March, 1743, whilst he, with a detachment of his indefatigable regiment, and a large body of Indians, was making an incursion to the very gates of St. Augustine, one *Preber, a German Jesuit*, as he afterwards appeared to be, was sent prisoner to Frederica, by Captain Kent, who commanded at Fort Augusta-on-the-Main. Captain Kent had, for some time before, perceived a remarkable

¹ The Rev. William Ingraham Kip. *The Early Jesuit Missions*, i. Preface.

intractability in the Creek Indians, in matters of trade, and a sulkiness in that generous nation, which betokened no good to the English. After a wise and secret inquiry, and from proper intelligence, he had great reason to suspect some ill-humours were stirred up in these people, by a white man, who had resided some time in the upper towns, after having been many years amongst the Cherokees, who always showed him the utmost deference. Upon these advices he got him privately seized, and conveyed, without noise or bustle, to Frederica, little imagining the importance of his capture; though the Indians, missing him, made it very apparent by their clamours, that they were not a little interested in his safety. The general, at his return, was surprised, upon examination, to find in this prisoner, who appeared in his dress a perfect Indian, a man of politeness and gentility, who spoke Latin, French, Spanish, and German fluently, and English brokenly. What passed at his several examinations I am unable to say; but the consequence was that he was detained a prisoner, and so remained when I left the colony, at the beginning of the year 1744, which was after his Excellency returned to England.

“Preber, as to his person, was a short, dapper man, with a pleasing, open countenance, and a most penetrating look. His dress was a deer-skin jacket, a flap before and behind, with *morgissons*, or deer-skin pumps or sandals, which were laced in the Indian manner, on his feet and ancles. The place of his confinement was the barracks, where he had a room, and a sentry at his door day and night. The philosophical ease with which he bore his confinement, the communicative disposition he seemed possessed of, and his politeness, which his

dress and imprisonment could not disguise, attracted the notice of every gentleman at Frederica, and gained him the favour of many visits and conversations.

“His economy was admirable. From his allowance of fish, flesh, and bread, he always spared, until he had by him a quantity on which he could regale, even with gluttony, when he allowed himself that liberty. ‘It is folly,’ he would say, ‘to repine at one’s lot in life. My mind soars above misfortune : in this cell I can enjoy more real happiness than it is possible to do in the busy scenes of life. Reflections upon past events, digesting former studies, keep me fully employed, whilst health and abundant spirits allow me no anxious, no uneasy moments. I suffer—though a friend to the natural rights of mankind—though an enemy to tyranny, usurpation, and oppression—and, what is more, I can forgive and pray for those that injure me. I am a Christian, and Christian principles always promote internal felicity.’

“Sentiments like these, often expressed, attracted my particular notice, and I endeavoured to cultivate a confidence which he seemed to repose in me, more especially, by every kind office in my power. Indeed, had nothing else been my reward, the pleasing entertainment his conversation imparted, would have been a sufficient recompense. He had read much, was conversant in most arts and sciences ; but in all greatly wedded to system and hypothesis.

“After some months’ intercourse, I had, from his own mouth, a confession of his designs in America, which were neither more nor less than to bring about a confederation amongst all the Southern Indians, to inspire them with industry, to instruct them in the arts

necessary to the commodity of life ; and, in short, to engage them to throw off the yoke of their European allies, of all nations. For this purpose he had, for many years, accommodated himself to their opinions, prejudices, and practices, had been their leader in war, and their priest and legislator in peace, interlarding (like his brethren in China) some of the most alluring Romish rites with their own superstitions, and inculcating such maxims of policy as were not utterly repugnant to their own, and yet were admirably calculated to subserve the views he had upon them. Hence they began already to be more acute in their dealings with the English and French, and to look down upon those nations as interlopers, and invaders of their just rights. The Spaniards, I found, he looked upon with a more favourable eye. ‘They,’ said he, ‘are good Christians, that is (with a smiling sneer) such subjects as may be worked upon to do anything for the sake of converting their neighbours : with *them* my people would incorporate and become one nation—a bull, a breve, a dispensation will bring them to anything.’

“When I hinted at the bloodshed which his scheme would produce, the difficulties he had to encounter, and the many years it would require to establish this government over the Indians, he answered in this remarkable manner : ‘Proceeding properly, many of these evils may be avoided ; and, as to length of time, we have a succession of agents to take up the work as fast as others leave it. We never lose sight of a favourite point—nor are we bound by the strict rules of morality, in the means, when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame, and we

have a merciful God to pardon us. But, believe me—before the century is past, *the Europeans will have a very small footing on this continent.*'

“Thus, the Father, or nearly in these words, expressed himself, and often hinted that there were many more of his brethren who were yet labouring amongst the Indians for the same purposes.

“The adventures of this remarkable man were extraordinary:—at present, I shall conclude this letter with one striking instance of his presence of mind and fortitude.

“On the 22nd of March, 1744, the large magazine of bombs, and a small magazine of powder, at Frederica, by some accident were set on fire and blew up with a dreadful explosion. In a moment the town wore all the appearance of a bombardment, the inhabitants left their houses, and fled with the utmost consternation into the adjacent woods and savannahs, whilst splinters of the bursting shells flew in the air to an amazing distance, considering they were not projected from the usual instruments of destruction. The worthy and humane Captain Mackay, who then commanded in the garrison, immediately opened the doors of the prisons to all the captive Spaniards and Indians, and bade them shift for themselves. A message was sent to Preber to the same purpose, which he politely refused to comply with, and in the hurry, he was soon forgotten. The bombs were well bedded as it providentially happened, and, starting at intervals, were some hours in discharging themselves. When the explosion began to languish, some of us thought of the Jesuit, and went to his apartment, which, by the way, was not twenty paces from the bomb-house. After calling some time, he put forth his

head from under his feather-bed, with which he had prudently covered himself, and cried, ‘Gentlemen, I suppose all’s over:—for my part, I reasoned thus: The bombs will rise perpendicularly, and, if the fusee fails, will fall again in the same direction, but the splinters will fly off horizontally:—therefore, with this trusty covering, I thought I had better stand the storm here, than hazard a knock on the pate by flying further?’ This was said with the same ease that he would have expressed himself at a banquet, and he continued the conversation with his usual vein of pleasantry, to the end of an explosion that was enough to strike terror into the firmest breast.”¹

Whilst this interesting Indian-Jesuit, with his band of “patriots,” was agitating the North of the Continent, their brethren in the South were rapidly carrying out the scheme—as they thought, with every hope of final achievement. Such, however, was not destined to chance. In the very system of the Paraguay reductions there was elemental decay. Under the practical fallacy of “Community of goods,” the labour-wealth of the Indians enriched the Company whose slaves they were;—their minds being made to acquiesce in that “indifference to all things” which was the devotional theory inculcated by the Jesuits. The Indians were indifferent to property; and the fathers farmed the produce of their ceaseless toil. What filial respect could exist under the system of espionage and rebuke, which the Jesuits applied to the government of the people, we are at a loss to discover. They forced marriages upon the Indians, seldom leaving the parties to choose for themselves; they thus produced the natural consequence of

¹ London Magazine, Sept. 1760, p. 443, *et seq.*

indifference between man and wife. The Indian husbands were indifferent towards their wives, the wives towards their husbands, both towards their children, and these towards their parents ; but all were bound to the Jesuits. For the Jesuits they lived ; in them they had their being. An important result ensued. It was a notorious fact, that the population tended to a natural decrease : the rapidity of new accessions concealed the fact for a time ; but at the period of their most flourishing condition, the fact forced itself to the notice of the Jesuits, who thought they could, as in everything else, devise a method for mechanically promoting what they naturally hindered. ¹

The "perfect equality" enforced was, perhaps, one of the most active elements of internal decay. Man's lowest instincts might, for a time, relish such a state of things ;

¹ This extraordinary Jesuit-method to promote the increase of population, is stated by Doblaz, governor of the province of "Conception," one of the missions, in 1781. The following is a Latin translation of the curious passage, by Mr. Robertson (Letters, ii. 79, note): "Cum audirem," says Doblaz, "horis diversis noctu, tympanum pulsari, et præcipuè ad auroram exorientem, inquisivi quorsum hic sonitus ? Dixerunt mihi, semper consuetum esse totam gentem, secundum quietem, crebrò suscitare : hujus usus originem cognoscere volenti, responderunt mihi, propter notam indolem desidiosam Indorum, qui, labore quotidiano defessi, ineunt lectum, et per noctem totam dormiunt—hoc modo officii conjugaliibus non functis—Jesuitas mandasse nonnullis horis noctu, tympanum pulsari hoc modo incitare maritos." I have taken the liberty partially to correct the translation, which is still, however, not what the Jesuits would have given, had they mentioned this strange device in their annual letters. The original is in the *Memoria sobre las Misiones*, published at Buenos Ayres in 1836, by Don Pedro de Angelis. Speaking of Doblaz, who was governor of the "Conception" in 1781, Mr. Robertson says : "This was only fourteen years after the expulsion of the Jesuits ; so that the governor had the best opportunity for obtaining correct information. The acuteness of his mind, the simplicity of his narrative, and the impartiality of his judgment, all render him, in my opinion, one of the best authorities, and most entertaining writers on the *Misiones*. The narrative of what he observed is lamentably correct and amusing ; but his well-intentioned suggestions for amelioration were speculative and impracticable."—*Letters on Paraguay*, ii. 71, note.

but force would finally be necessary to maintain it in vigour,—for it assumes a moral stagnation, of which there is no example in nature—excepting in death, which, after all, is but another state of elemental agitation.

Now the fine fanciful description of the Paraguay Indians in their holiday-attire for exhibition, however necessary it may be to copy it in a history of the Jesuits, still needs correction. “One of the greatest points with the Jesuits,” says Doblas, “perhaps the greatest point, was to keep up a perfect equality among all the Indians; as well in matters of dress, as in regular attendance at work: so that the lord and lady-mayoress were required to be the first at the spot selected for that day’s labour, and they were there joined by the other workmen:—thus it was also with the aldermen and their wives. Not one of them was allowed to wear shoes—nor any distinctive badge of clothing—not even to vary the general mode of wearing what they had:—all were put upon a footing of perfect equality. The only distinction conceded to the lord mayor and aldermen was a permission, on days of public festivity, to carry their black wands, and to dress in suits kept by the fathers under lock and key, expressly for such occasions, and for those only. The caciques, or *natural chiefs*, were generally the most miserable of the whole community, and very rare it was to find one of them who could read. They never gave them any public office, or, if they did, it was on occasions few and far between. It was shown, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits, that there were found only three cacique mayors in the thirty reductions. No doubt the fathers feared that if they added to the veneration entertained

by the people for their caciques, by conferring on them honourable offices, they might aspire to more authority than was at that time altogether convenient. . . . The consequences of this régime could be hidden neither from the curates nor their superiors ; but their private interests occupied the place of first importance in all they did ; and thus they adopted a method of their own, the grand object of which was to keep the Indians aloof from every thing that could tend to rescue them from ignorance and degradation. When men acted upon this régime, and upon these principles of political economy, it cannot be matter of surprise, that, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, the period since these establishments were formed, such immense wealth should have been found in the churches, as in that fund called 'the fund of the community.' For my part, I am not astonished at this, when I consider the vast fertility of this province ; the complete subjugation of the Indians ; that they were absolutely shut out from all intercourse with the Spaniards ; and that, knowing no other authority than that of the Jesuits, they became mere tools in their hands."

Property was rendered a dead-weight and embarrassment to the Indians. "Suppose an Indian, not spell-bound by the impressions made on his countrymen, as a result of their training and education : suppose such an Indian to be of an active laborious disposition : suppose that, stimulated by a spirit of industry, as well as by the advantages accorded to him by his township, of a free grant of arable land, and of bullocks to plough it, — he desires, by working on the days allowed him by "the Community" for this purpose, to make the fertility of the soil subservient to the amelioration of his

condition in life. Well, he ploughs up and prepares a large space of land, and sows it with such seeds as he knows will yield him the largest return of produce. The year is propitious ; and in due season, after much personal labour and pains—because he has not been able to hire the labourers of “the community” to assist him—because his wife, being also employed by “the community,” cannot help him—and because he himself is obliged to labour the half of his time for “the community,”—yet, in due season, he reaps a crop three or four times greater than he requires for the maintenance of himself and family, during the whole year. Now, what is he to do with the *surplus* of this crop ? Sell it to others ? Who *are* these others ? The Indians of his own town, or of other towns ? And these Indians, what are *they* to give him in exchange for his produce ? They have nothing of their own, except some grain or vegetables precisely the same of which the industrious Indian has already too much. He cannot export his produce from the province, either because he has not the means, or because the expense of doing so would exceed the return. Seeing now the failure he has made the first year, but still unwilling to live in idleness, the Indian, instead of sowing grain, determines the second year to plant cotton, sugar-cane, and tobacco—because he knows that cotton, sugar, and tobacco are all articles of commerce. He puts his design in execution, and sees his crops all thriving. The cotton-plant and sugar-cane yield no produce, or very little, the first year ; and for the tobacco, it is necessary, from the moment it begins to ripen till it is completely seasoned, and made ready for sale, not to leave it for an instant. But our industrious and enterprising Indian must at this very time

give his labour to "the community." So the tobacco which he has gathered in on the days allowed him, is lost during those on which he must serve the fathers ; and in the end he collects nothing, or, if he does get a little, it is of bad quality. In the following year, when he had expected to reap some benefit from his cottor and sugar-cane plantations, he is sent off as a herd to the *estancias*, as a *peon* to the yerba-plantations, or as something else to some other place, in which he is constrained to remain for some time. His whole labour has been in vain : he goes—he must go—wherever he is commanded ; and all on which he had placed his hope is abandoned, and all on which he had set his heart is lost. Cattle the Indian could neither possess nor breed—because, in consequence of his continually-required services to "the community," he cannot herd them, and because all the other Indians, being subject to similar regulations, he can hire no man as a substitute."¹

If American slavery be a desirable régime for men, then the Jesuit-régime in Paraguay may be deemed a model for governments. Accordingly, it required the utmost vigilance to keep it in its integrity, if the term can be applied to the system. One superior general presided as monarch over all the *Missiones*. He resided at Candilaria, as being a central point, from which he could readily visit the other establishments around him. He had two vice-superiors or lieutenants, under him, one on the banks of the Paraná, the other on those of the Uruguay. In addition to these functionaries, who conducted the more important business of "the community," each township had its own curate or *paî*, assisted

¹ Doblas, *Memoria sobre las Misiones*, apud Robertson, Letters on Paraguay, ii. p. 70, *et seq.*

by another priest, and sometimes two, as I have stated, according to its extent and population. The curates superintended the spiritual and temporal affairs—one ministering at the altar, and teaching the neophytes to read and write; the other presiding over the agricultural department, the herding of the cattle, and the tradesmen.¹

Though the civil government of the Indians was nominally vested in themselves, it was really in the hands of the curate or paî. Without the consent of this personage, not one single thing could be done. The court of Common Council, as it were, met every day; gave in their report to the omnipotent paî, and receiving his instructions as to what they should do, proceeded to give them rigid fulfilment.²

It remains for us now to see whether all this trouble of the Jesuits was worth their while, in a pecuniary point of view—in other words, whether the speculation “paid.”

“ No Jesuit ever took in hand
To plant a Church in barren land.”

There were no mines of gold in Paraguay: but there was a mine of labour—perhaps the best, and in the long run, most profitable mine in the economy of Providence.

“ As for the property possessed by the Jesuits, great as it was, it has, I am convinced, always been underrated; and for this reason, that those who made the estimates, never took into account *the value of the Indians*. In the Indians consisted the chief wealth; and from their labour was derived, it may be said, the sum total of the revenue of the mission-establishments. To overlook this point is to misconceive the whole matter.

¹ Robertson, Letters, ii. 69.

² *Ubi suprâ*, p. 70.

“There were a 100,000 Indian inhabitants in the missions, including men, women, and children. I value them at 40*l.* a-head, on this principle:—supposing only 30,000 of these to be working men, and that they earned only 20*l.* a-year, each; and of which 10*l.* went for their own subsistence and clothing, and 10*l.* to ‘the community’ of the Jesuits, these men earned, by the labour of their slaves, 300,000*l.* per annum: that is, the clear gain arising from the labour of 30,000 working men at 10*l.* each, being 300,000*l.* Now, if you take the whole Indian population at a 100,000, and value them, as property, at 40*l.* a-head, this will give the sum of 4,000,000*l.* An interest of 300,000*l.* upon this, amounts only to seven-and-a-half per cent., which, in that country, is a *low* interest. The fact is, however, that the Jesuits got a great deal more, when all their mercantile profits arising from the labours of the Indians are taken into account; but allowing the statement to stand simply thus, the following may be taken as a correct, and by no means exaggerated estimate of the wealth of the Jesuitical body in the towns of *Missiones*. There were thirty of these towns. Some of them were on the eastern, some on the western banks of the Paraná. Candalaria was the capital; but if we take the establishment of San Ignacio Miní, in the territory of Entrerios, as an average of them, both with regard to population and other property, by finding the value of that establishment, and by multiplying the result by 30, we shall come to as near a demonstration as figures can afford of the whole missions, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. On this principle, the following calculation will be found very accurate:—

VALUE OF THE MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENT OF SAN IGNACIO MINI.

3500 Indians at	£40	0s. a head.	£110,000
5000 head of horned cattle	0	8	”	2,000
1600 horses	0	4	”	320
2000 mares	0	2	”	200
700 mules	0	8	”	280
500 asses	0	4	”	100
5000 sheep	0	2	”	500
Buildings (church and residence)				20,000
Territory, 4 leagues square=16 leagues, at 40 <i>l.</i>				640
Church-ornaments and plate				24,000
So that the value of this Mission or Establishment was				£188,040
Now multiply this by 30, and what will be the result ? Why,				5,641,200

“More than five million and a-half of our money ; which was truly the capital possessed by the Jesuits in Missions alone : to say nothing of the value of their sumptuous *Casas de temporalidades* and churches in every town of America. Now this was certainly too great a capital for any body of men to possess in that comparatively poor country, especially as the influence arising from it was increased by religious awe, political importance, and the means of physical resistance. Considering that the most wealthy merchants in Assumption were not in possession of more than seven or eight thousand pounds ; the shop-keepers not more than four or five thousand ; the landed proprietors not more than three or four ; seeing that all these, bent upon their own individual aggrandisement, were incapable of being appreciated, as a body, for any purpose of national resistance, especially at the expense of their own fortunes, and not only so, but that a large portion of them were absolutely in league with the Jesuits ; it must be confessed that the latter had a great deal more than their due share of influence in the country. Every year was adding new proselytes to their sect, and fresh

adherents to their party ; so that what by their wealth, their religious and political sway, and their growing interest with private individuals, the measure of the expulsion of the Jesuits, if at first it appear to have been harsh, will not perhaps be found, upon reflection, to have been either uncalled for, or premature.”¹

¹ Robertson, Letters on Paraguay, ii. 50, *et seq.* From a statistical table of the missionary towns of the Jesuits, drawn up at the time of their expulsion, it appears that the items of their temporalities in man and beast, were as follows :— 21,036 families ; 88,864 souls ; 724,903 tame cattle (the wild being innumerable) ; 46,936 oxen ; 34,725 horses ; 64,353 mares ; 13,905 mules ; 7505 asses ; 230,384 sheep ; 592 goats—all in thirty towns, ranging over three degrees of latitude,—from 26° 53' S. to 29° 48' S. See the table, apud Robertson, *ubi supra* ii. Appendix.

BOOK IX. OR, CODURIUS.

THE matchless efforts, success, and reverses which we have hitherto contemplated throughout the heathen world of Jesuit-adventure, from the commencement of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, have had their counterpart in the contemporaneous expansion of the Company in Europe. Men, such as we have seen at their work, went forth to the ends of the earth, crossing every sea ; and created power for the Company ; and they were adapted for their enterprise. But they left their equals behind,—men equally adapted for theirs,—which was not less comprehensive.

And how were these men qualified for their achievements ? What was the mental-training of which every Jesuit might take advantage, in order to qualify himself to perform his part in that drama, which the Company of Jesus was exhibiting to the wondering universe ? Let us accompany a Jesuit through his “ Education.”

An examination preceded the admission of every pupil to the benches of the Company. The Jesuits tested the quality of the metal before they undertook to coin their circulating medium. When the celebrated Clavius was admitted into a college of the Jesuits he

was passed through the ordeal—failed in all points, and was on *the* point of being dismissed as a hopeless block-head, when one of the Jesuits tried him in geometry. Nature responded : Clavius remained on the benches ; and became one of the first mathematicians of the age—having a share in the construction of the Gregorian Calendar, and sending forth his pupil, Matteo Ricci, to repeat his lessons to the Chinese, and build a Mission on lines, curves, and angles. This preliminary scrutiny, and sagacity in the discrimination of individual talent, not a little contributed to the exaltation of the Company.¹

The future Jesuit had to pass through five schools or grades of “inferior studies,”—as they were named ; but still, consisting of three gradations in grammar, the “Humanity,” and Rhetoric—one entire year for each of the five, unless evident competence justified an ascension or “skip” into a higher school or grade. The lowest class of grammar was confined to the rudiments of Latin and Greek. The pupil’s memory was practised by the lessons he repeated, and there was an appointed hour for a contest (*concertatio*) between the master and the pupils, or among the pupils themselves on the day’s lessons, when their judgment was exercised. On

¹ “How different from this manner of education is that which prevails in our own country !” says Addison ; “where nothing is more usual than to see forty or fifty boys of several ages, tempers, and inclinations, ranged together in the same class, employed upon the same authors, and enjoined the same tasks. Whatever their natural genius may be, they are all to be made poets, historians, and orators alike. They are all obliged to have the same capacity—to bring the same tale of verse, and to furnish the same portion of prose. Every boy is bound to have as good a memory as the captain of his form. To be brief, instead of adapting studies to the particular genius of a youth, we expect from him that he should adapt his genius to his studies. This, I must confess, is not so much to be imputed to the instructor, as to the parent, who will never be brought to believe, that his son is not capable of performing as much as his neighbour’s, and that he may not make him whatever he has a mind to.”—*Spectator*, No. 307.

Saturdays, all the lessons of the week were repeated, followed by a contest. The pupils had to translate from their vernacular into Latin, or from Latin into their vernacular—with constant examination as to the details of grammar—declensions, conjugations, and the simple rules of syntax.¹ The middle class of grammar occupied another year, with a wider range of reading in Cicero's Epistles, or Ovid, and an advance in Greek grammar, when the Company's Greek Catechism might be read:—of course, the same method as to memory, and the exercise of judgment was practised. In the highest class of grammar, the whole scheme of Latin, and the greater part of Greek grammar were compassed. Cicero's Epistles, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Paradoxa*, and the like, with expurgated selections from Ovid's elegies and epistles, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Virgil's eclogues; in Greek, Chrysostom, Æsop, Agapetus, and the like. The same exercise of memory and judgment, as before, was now enhanced by a "*Praelectio*," which required the pupil to compose, on a given argument in Latin and his vernacular: he then gave the Latin of his vernacular composition; lastly, he was required to explain and elucidate the meaning of passages by one or two examples from the author he construed. He had to develop and explain his translation, and briefly notice its historical or scientific allusions. The metrical art was rigidly inculcated, and Cicero was the model of Latinity, in his beautiful epistles. It is evident that a thorough grounding in the languages is the main object of these three years. The humanity-class to which he ascended was the *soil of eloquence*—*veluti solum eloquentiæ*. The ethical treatises of Cicero, the historical works of Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and the

¹ Ratio Studiorum, Reg. Prof. Inf. Class. Gram.

like, with parts of Virgil, selections from Horace, and the elegiac and epigrammatic poems of the ancients, "purged from all obscenity," tended to expand his knowledge of the Latin, giving him facility and copious expression, which, in the last half year of the term, was further promoted by a selection from Cicero's orations. The usual contests, prælections, and weekly repetitions, were constantly practised. The theory of rhetoric was thoroughly learnt and applied. For his Greek, the pupil read Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and the like. "Rhetoric" proper then succeeded, "to mould the pupil unto perfect eloquence;"—it included poetry and oratory; its result must be proficiency in the theory of eloquence, style, and erudition. Cicero's rhetorical books, and Aristotle's Rhetorics and Poetics furnished the rules of useful art and ornament. Meanwhile, religious instruction went hand-in-hand with the courses throughout: the pupils heard mass every day, had instruction in Christian doctrine, and pious exhortations on stated days; the worship of the Virgin was a prominent object, with that of the Angel Guardian. The Lives of the Saints formed their spiritual reading; the pupils were bound to go to confession once a month.

Premiums for composition were awarded, and great display attended the proclamation of the successful competitors—whilst private and public declamations stimulated as effectually the Loyolan efforts to reach perfection. Nor was a prefect of the whip or public corrector, wanting. Those pupils who refused to submit to the rod, were forced—if it could be done with safety—*si tuto possint*; "big boys" were to be expelled the benches. *Pedagogues*, or advanced students appointed as teachers, prepared the students below them for the classes; there was a public Censor, "or if that name

did not please," a Decurio Maximus, or Prætor, appointed from among the boys, to keep them in order ; whilst a general Prefect ruled and managed the whole mass of juvenile intellect and morality, under the immediate control of the Rector, who was under the Provincial, over whom the General at Rome had authority.¹

Mathematics succeeded, with Euclid for its basis. After two months' grounding in the abstract, the pupil was led to the concrete, "somewhat of geography and the sphere" and the like, being united to Euclid. Every month, or every other month at least, in a great concourse of philosophers and theologians, some famous mathematical problem was solved by the pupil, and followed by an argumentation.

Thus prepared, the pupil entered upon Moral Philosophy. He was initiated in Aristotle's ethics, and the mysteries of metaphysics—all "well shaken" by frequent disputations among the students.²

Three years of Philosophy, properly so called, ensued :—interminable Logic agitated the first year, with its prædicaments, tropes, syllogisms, fallacies, and sophism ; Physics occupied the second, with all their curious experiments, as set forth by the inexhaustible Kircher, not excepting Generation according to the views of Aristotle : the Theory of the Soul, and the higher metaphysics, in a searching study of Aristotle, completed the third year of Philosophy. Monthly disputations, as usual, clenched the acquisition. Then might you hear the *Nego majorem*, the *Concedo minorem*, and the everlasting *Distinguo*.³

Such was the training given to every student of the

¹ Reg. Prof. Studior. infer.

² Reg. Prof. Mathem.

³ Reg. Prof. Schol. Theol. No. 20.

Jesuit-schools, during a period of *ten* years. At its completion, with the novitiate duly intervening at the time appointed, the professional course of the Jesuit commenced. Scholastic Theology unfolded unto him, “the solid subtlety of disputation together with the orthodox faith and piety.” *Four* long years were required to build up the ponderous edifice. Beginning with the Nature of Angels, through Faith, Hope, and Charity, Justice, Right, Religion, and the Incarnation,—the Sacraments in general, Scripture, Tradition, the Church, the Roman Pontiff, Restitution, and Usury and Contracts, the Jesuit-mind advanced to hard *Controversy* for the heretics, and soft *Casuistry* for the orthodox.¹

The method with the last was as follows:—the students prepared themselves for the consultation by “reading up” the “cases”—just like a medical student for his lecture. When they assembled, the teacher briefly delivered his opinion on a case: the students expressed their several views of the matter; and he “collected the safer and more probable doctrine.”² Thus, amidst the multitudinous expositions of the Jesuit casuists, the science was still, apparently, subject to fluctuations, according to individual organisations and the exigencies of the day.

Fourteen years might prepare the Jesuit for his enterprise: but the ordeal was not necessarily confined to that period of indoctrination:—it was still longer protracted if the student did not, in the given period, attain the requisite proficiency. None were permitted to advance to Philosophy without a competence in Rhetoric, nor to Theology without acquiring more than mediocrity in Philosophy.³

¹ *Ubi suprâ, passim.*

² Reg. Prof. Casuum Conscient., No. 9.

³ Reg. Provincial.

If any one, in the course of his studies, was found to be incompetent for Philosophy or Theology, he was transferred to the dissecting room of *Casuistry*, or made a teacher of the inferior studies.¹ Thus, it appears, that a casuist needed neither philosophy, nor theology to guide him in the concoction of those "safe" and "probable" opinions which guided the consciences of men.

To enter into further details on Jesuit education might be interesting; but sufficient has been said to "give an idea" of the important fact—namely, how the Jesuit was manufactured. Such a pains-taking method could not fail to send forth the wonderful workers whose achievements we have witnessed; and by the middle of the seventeenth century it had produced numberless authors to attest, at least, that indefatigable spirit of *industry* generated by Jesuit-education. And, if it have no other merit, to have inspired this *spirit of industry* was to fulfil one of the highest aims of education—and the very highest in a practical point of view; for it includes all the happy results of education, if disconnected from party-dogmatism, and professional warping.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Company had produced works in all the languages, ancient and modern—Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, &c., English, French, Dutch, German, Spanish, Hungarian, Illyrian, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, in the languages of India, and those of the savage-tribes of America, where the Jesuits actually created a vernacular—that which was common to all the Paraguay reductions. Upwards of seventy Jesuits had already treated on grammar in all

¹ "Si qui ergo in studiorum decursu inepti ad philosophiam, aut ad theologiam eo modo deprehensi fuerint, ad casuum studia, vel ad docendum Provincialis arbitrio destinetur."—*Reg. Provincial.*, § 4.

languages, and of every tongue : more than twenty had illustrated philology and the art of criticism : as many had elucidated the art and theory of versification, to be subsequently farther promoted by the Jesuit Aler with his still enduring *Gradus ad Parnassum* ; and about a hundred and fifty poets scampered up the steps, if they never got admission to Parnassus. Andrew Denys with his "Allurements of Love Divine ;" Frusius with his "Epigrams against the Heretics ;" a tragedy on Nebuchadnezzar, by Brunner ; a poem on Ignatius of Loyola, by Antonio de Escobar ; the "Convert Martin, a tragedy-comedy," by Sempervivus ; and "Joseph the Chaste, a simple comedy," by Cornelius Crocus ; Campion's "Nectar and Ambrosia, a tragedy," and Southwell's beautiful "Peter's Complaint," with endless elegies, lyrics, epics, heroics, on Christ, the Virgin, the Saints, and every possible subject that can be imagined, from the "Pious Desires" of humanity to "the Death of Henry IV. King of France," and the "Martyrs of the Company of Jesus," laid the very extensive foundations of the Jesuit-Parnassus. Most of these poems were illustrated with exceedingly curious emblems, displaying the liveliest fancy and invention. Nothing can be more amusing than the emblems of the Dutch Jesuit, William Hesus, in his pious work entitled "Sacred Emblems on Faith, Hope, and Charity." An angel gazing at his shadow—"seeing what he does not see"—shows how "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," Heb. xi. 1. A bird in a cage, supposed to be singing merrily in the ignorance of her captivity, typifies the words of Peter : "Though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable," 1 Pet. i. 8. An angel walking on the tight

rope embodies the words of Paul : “ And thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear,” Rom. xi. 20. To show how we lose faith by desiring ocular demonstration, we behold a curious angel opening a vessel and a bird escaping, to his evident affliction, saying, “ Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed,” John xx. 29. And to show how irresistible is faith, in Latin, *Fides*, this Dutchman exhibits a dapper little angel playing the *fiddle* before a door, with prominent hinges, to show that it is intended to open, as conveyed by the following cut and verses.

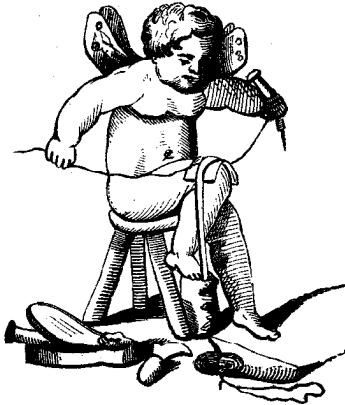


“If faith remain, thou needst not die—
 Faith, life’s support and company :
 Strike up a tune,
 And very soon
 Relike they’ll ope that door to thee.”¹

¹ “Cur tamen hic moriere, fides si vivida restat !
 Illa comes vitæ, subsidiumque fides.
 Tende fidem, et digitis impelle fideliter istis ;
 Credibile hanc clausas pandere posse fores.”—

Hesi Emblem., lib. i. Emb. xxiv.

Hope is very strikingly typified by a *kettle on a blazing fire*; “whilst *Charity*, which is patient,” appears in the shape of the cobbler’s work, pierced and threaded on all sides, with this vigorous little angel and the verses below.



—*Patientia mater amantium est.*

Quid, ô deliciose, delicate,
Ictos ferro timos, amoris ietus ?
Non his frangitur ille, sed ligatur ;
Neu dissolvitur, at redintegratur.
Jungunt vulnera cara dissidentes ;
Et unum poteris timere punctum ?¹

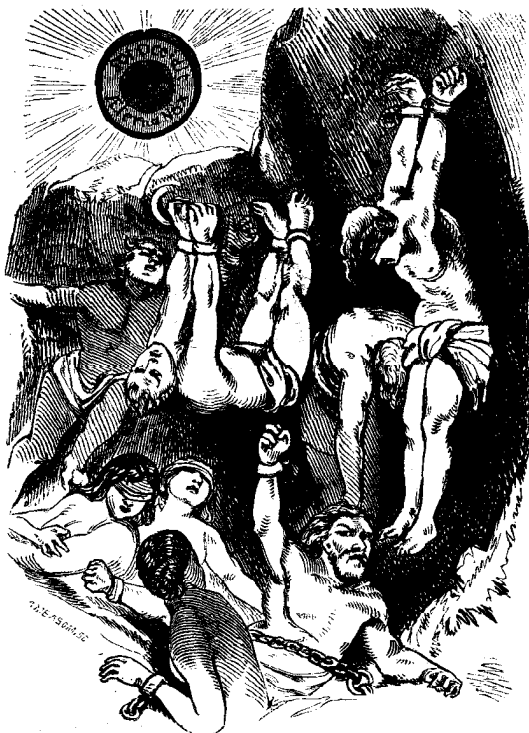
Think not, however, that the Jesuit-mind confined itself to these pleasing, though somewhat irreverent symbols. The Jesuit-spiritualists aimed at effect: by emblems, they captivated attention: hence the numberless pious books which they accompanied with illustrations. Whilst Hesus tickled the fancy, the awful Drexelius struck terror into the stoutest heart by his pictures of “Hell, the Prison, and Fire of the Damned.”² No adequate idea can be given of this horrible and

¹ Hesi Emblem., lib. iii. emb. vii.

² Infernus Damnatorum Carcer et Rogus, ab Hier. Drexelio, Soc. Jesu, 1632.

presumptuous concoction. "Two-fold," says he, "is the darkness of hell. I call the one the body's darkness, and exterior, the other is that of the soul and interior. Those of the body far exceed the horrible, thickest, palpable darkness of Egypt. Fire in hell can burn, but it cannot give light. What Wisdom said of the Egyptian darkness, must be said of infernal darkness: they shall be bound altogether with one chain of darkness,—

*"Clausi tenebris et carcere cæco."*¹



"Your love-songs and lascivious warblings—your

¹ *Ubi suprâ*, p. 18.

choral dances shall be expiated: instead of them an eternal Wo! Wo! Wo! shall resound. The damned will curse God, the saints, themselves, and all the companions of their sins—the son will execrate his parent, the parent his son, the daughter her mother, the mother the daughter—all will whelm with malediction the days and years of their life, and the day of their birth.”¹



He assumes the number of the damned to be about one hundred thousand millions, all confined in a flaming prison, only one German mile in length, breadth, and height, and gives the following scene to illustrate the

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 41.

seventh torment of hell—that of “the *place and company*, above measure wretched and very detestable.”¹



One more sample from this Jesuit-demonologist: it is “The inexplicable or ninth torment of the damned.” After stating the ten plagues of Egypt, Drexelius proceeds: “Though God afflicts his enemies in hell with nine most grievous torments, he never adds a *tenth* whereby to end their existence. No end—no death—no destruction! Yea, as Gregory saith, death without death, and end without end, because that death still lives, and that end is always beginning,—an eclipse whose darkness cannot diminish. What was the greatest torment of the Egyptians, would be the greatest comfort

¹ *Ubi suprâ*, p. 127 and 129.

to the damned—namely, to have their throats cut—*jugulari*, and be utterly ‘done for’ at last—*funditus tolli*.¹ And here’s the Jesuit’s notion of the “inexplicable ninth torment of the damned.”



Is it possible to conceive anything more ridiculous in its horror?—Yes; and the Jesuit-philosopher Kircher supplies it. In his work on the *Magnetic Art*, he argues that the spherical is the only form that “fire, water, sand, and other liquid bodies,” can assume at the centre of the earth. Hereupon he builds a *conjecture*. “If it be true,” says Kircher, “as it is most true, which is handed down by the almost unanimous consent of all

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 183.

the holy fathers, namely, that hell has been placed in the lowest part of the earth by God—so that those who have removed themselves furthest from God by the gravity of their sins, should deservedly hold the last and remotest place in nature, which place can be no other than that vast whirlpool of the fiery crater round the earth's centre: now, certainly, it clearly follows from the preceding demonstrations, that after the universal resurrection of the flesh, all the bodies of the damned are to be *heaped into a ball*, because *no superficies but the circular can there be conceived*. Thus they will endure their punishment, as long as God shall be God, for endless eternities—rolled up and jammed even as *herrings in a tub—quemadmodum haleces in doliis*.¹

“Hence,” says the Jesuit, “the Christian soul may learn to depart from sin,”—lest they be jammed for ever even as herrings in a tub! Such were the pious notions inculcated by these interesting Jesuits of old, and even now admired—for there is a “*Protestant*” translation of a part of Drexelius’s *Infernus*.

As may be supposed, the Art Rhetoric was copiously cultivated by the Jesuits: upwards of twenty disputed the palm with Cicero, or, at all events, borrowed his glorious title of *De Oratore*, either collectively or in

¹ Si verum est, uti est verissimum, quod unanimi ferè omnium sanctorum patrum consensu traditur, infernum in infimo terræ loco à Deo constitutum, ut qui peccatorum gravitate à Deo se quam longissimè removerunt, ultimum meritò, et remotissimum in sensibili naturâ locum occupent, qui cum alius esse non possit, quàm ingens illa ignei crateris circa centrum universi constituta vorago; certè ex præmissis luculenter patet, post universalem carnis resurrectionem, damnatorum corpora omnia in unum globum coacervanda, cum nulla ibi superficies nisi circularis concipi possit. Quemadmodum itaque haleces in doliis, ita ea conglobata pœnas peccatis suis condignas, quam diu Deus erit Deus, id est, omnis finis expertes tanto acerbiores, quanto centro terræ fuerint propinquiores, in perpetuas æternitates sustinebunt. Discat hic Christiana mens à peccatis recedere, &c.—*De Arte Magn.*, lib. iii.; *Physiol. Kircheriana*, p. 4, and Drexel., *ut antea*, p. 130.

detail, discursively evolving all the principles of Tully's art in all its branches ; and as many more Loyolans gave to the enlightened world models of the art, in the shape of orations, panegyrics on the saints, the kings, and nobles, who befriended the Company, and funeral laudations in immense numbers, which points at once to the credit of the "fashionable preachers."¹

Not less fruitful were the Jesuit-schools in mathematicians. At the head of a septuagint of Euclids, the first place must be given to Christopher Clavius, the master of Matteo Ricci. Gregory XIII. chose Clavius to superintend the reformation of the calendar, in which capacity he had to endure and reply to the attacks of Joseph Scaliger, Vieta, and others of less renown. As a mathematical writer, Clavius is distinguished by the number of his works, the frequency with which they were reprinted, his rigid adherence to the geometry of the ancients, and the general soundness of his views. The most learned Germans resorted to Rome to converse with Clavius, and he deserved the esteem in which he was held by the Company ; for no member served her more indefatigably than Clavius. His works extend through five volumes, and consist of commentaries on Euclid, a treatise on Arithmetic, Gnomonics, the Astrolabe, Algebra, Practical Geometry, and "Defences" against those who attacked him, in the matter of the Calendar, of which he gives an account. As Clavius did not possess any great original talent, his works are now of little consequence, except to the mathematical historian. All the other mathematicians of the Company wrote chiefly on the practical applications of the science to Astronomy,

¹ See, in the *Bibl. Scrip. Soc. Jesu*, a list of these orators, extending through eight columns folio, pp. 530, *et seq.*

Optics, the construction of clocks, Music; and Paul Guldin sent forth a "Dissertation on the Earth's Motion, tending to change its Centre of Gravity;"¹ and Wolfgang Schonsloder enlightened the Company on the art of Musical Composition.²

The Company could boast of few metaphysicians, but in logic, physics, philosophy in general, ethics, and politics, she had numbered more than a hundred writers. Some of their subjects were very curious. "On the Magnetic Ointment and its Use;"³ on "Hydrology, or the Art of Navigation;"⁴ "Flora, or the Cultivation of Flowers;" "On the Cure of Wounds by Magnetism, and the Armarian Ointment;"⁵ and "On the Birth of Infants by the Cæsarean Operation."⁶ But one of the most curious specimens of the Jesuit-mind is Nieremberg's "*Curiosa Filosofia*, or Curious Philosophy and Treasury of Wonders." Its title admirably beseems the work. In the four hundred pages of a small duodecimo, he has heaped together an immense number of entertaining "facts," with a copiousness of illustration never tedious. He enlarges on Sympathy and Antipathy, and does not think it impossible that music has an effect on certain plants, and he deduces the hypothesis most ingeniously. There are plants which are "sensitive," or contract at the touch. Now philosophers explain musical sounds as the joint effect of aerial vibrations. Therefore, when the air is set in motion by the sound, it *touches* the said plants, which consequently *hear* music! And what is his object in the book?—To

¹ Paul. Goldin, Dissertatio de Motu Terræ ad Mutationem Centri ipsius.

² De Modo Musicè componendo Architectonice Musices universalis.

³ Gaspar. Wenckh, Notæ Unguenti Magnetici et Uctionis ejusdem.

⁴ Georg. Fournier, Hydrologia, seu de Arte Navigandi, lib. xxiv.

⁵ Joan. Roberti Tract. IV. De Magneticâ Vulnerum Curatione, et Unguento Armario.

⁶ Raynaud. De Ortu infantium per Sectionem Cæsariam.

show that “the Sacraments are typified in Nature !” All the mysteries of the Faith in like manner he finds figured in Nature—the Incarnation, Redemption, the Passion of Christ, the Resurrection, the Vocation of the Gentiles.¹ In fact, Nieremberg completely levels Faith to the meanest capacity, and leaves no room for doubt in the man who has eyes to see, and ears to hear—for everything in nature proves something in “religion.” Somewhat in the same track went Daniel Bartoli with his book entitled “Geography transported to Morality.” It is a combination of geographical emblems without plates. The “Fortunate Isles” represent, in a long dissertation, “court-favour.” The “Frozen Ocean” is “wise fear, or stupid timidity ;” the “Dead Sea” is “nobility of blood lost by the corruption of morals ;” and the “Holy Land” suggests an exhortation to the reader to make his own house worthy of that name.² Strange vagaries! and, however amusing, well adapted to render the object in view as ridiculous as the illustrations employed.

The fields of the Company’s operations employed many pens, as well as souls and bodies. More than a hundred and fifty Jesuits had published to the world the exploits of the Company in the *Terra Incognita* of the Missions, together with curious information on the “incidents of travel,” and edifying sentiments and inventions for the devout. Whithersoever the Jesuits went, they were discoverers. In China they collected materials for the history of that empire ; in India their investigations in all the branches of science and history, were more or less valuable contributions to knowledge ; in America they found time, amidst their gigantic labours, to interest

¹ Curiosa Filosofia, c. 24, f. 23, et seq., and c. 66, et seq.

² Della Geografia trasportata al Morale.

and amuse the curious, as well as edify the devotees of Europe. Paez, who figured in Abyssinia, discovered the source of the Nile.

In history, the Company shone by the light of her wayward son Mariana, the historian of Spain; and hundreds of minor lamps shed feeble rays on the obscurities of the past. Orlandinus and Sacchinus wrote the history of the Company.¹ The Belgic

¹ "Self-conceit and leisure," says Ranke, "gradually induced most of the Orders to narrate their own histories in detail. But none of them did this so systematically as the Jesuits. Their aim was to give to the world, under their own hands, a connected and comprehensive history of all their Order had achieved. In fact, the *Historia Societatis Jesu*, known to us under the names of Orlandinus and his continuators, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the Order—nay, we may say, for that of the century in general." His latinity and style are in imitation of Livy, and occasionally bombast, with involved and periphrastic obscurities. "His successor in this task," continues Ranke, "was Sacchinus, clearly the most distinguished of the historians of the Jesuits. He was the son of a peasant: his father sometimes visited him in the Roman College, where he taught rhetoric; and it is to his honour stated, that he was not ashamed of his birth. After this, he devoted himself for eighteen years to the composition of his history, in the probationary-house upon the Monte Quirinale, which he hardly ever quitted. But he nevertheless passed his life in the contemplation of the great events of the world. The restoration of Catholicism was still in the most vigorous progress. Sacchinus felt distinctly the one grand peculiarity of his subject—the universal battle fought in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy," but which was combined with so many more grovelling sentiments in the vast majority of its champions. "I narrate wars," says Sacchinus, "not those of nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and powers of hell: wars that embrace not single provinces, but all lands and seas; wars, in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom, is the prize of victory." In this tone of Jesuitical exultation he has described the generalship of Lainez, 1556—1564; of Borgia, up to 1572, and Mercurianus, up to 1580; each in one volume containing eight books, and the first ten years of Aquaviva's rule, in the same number of books. His work makes four rather thick and closely-printed folio volumes: nevertheless he apologises for being so brief. Juvenci, in 1710, published a continuation of Sacchinus, comprising the last fifteen years of Aquaviva. Juvenci's work was a failure: it was condemned in France, and "the Order even entertained the intention, at one time, of having that whole period re-written upon the model of Sacchinus." Cordara continued the History, from 1616 to 1625, adhering to the model of Sacchinus: "but the spirit of the earlier times was irrevocably lost. Cordara's volume is very useful, but not to be compared in freedom or

Province put forth the famous *Imago Primi Sæculi Societatis Jesu*,—the Image of the First Century of the Company,—in the year 1640. It was prepared to celebrate the *hundredth year* of the Company's duration. Several Jesuits contributed to the gigantic production. Tollenarius was the director, assisted by Henschenius, Bollando, Hoschius, and De Poirtres,—the two last named being the poets of the Image.

No enemy of the Jesuits could have put forth a more damaging burlesque of the Company. I have given numerous specimens from the engravings which teem throughout the work ; but these specimens are far from being the most ridiculous and fantastic in that monument of mental extravagance. Historically, it attests that bewilderment which, at the period in question, was driving the Company to destruction.

Imagine a huge folio of 952 pages, every one of which is devoted to a fantastic emblem or the most extravagant self-laudation. "The Company," says this Image, "is Israel's chariot of fire, whose loss Elisha mourned,—and which now, by a special grace of God, both worlds rejoice to see brought back from heaven to earth, in the desperate condition of the Church. In this chariot, if you seek the armies and soldiers by which she daily multiplies her triumphs with new victories, you

power with its older predecessors, or even with Juvenci. It appeared in 1750. Since then, the Company had to struggle too hard for very existence to think of any continuation of its history. Moreover, had any such been produced, it would have displayed a greatly diminished splendour." Besides these, there are numerous histories of the various provinces, such as Germany, England, Italy, Portugal, &c. Bartoli's enormous six folios exhaust the subject in India, China, and Japan, and he is, perhaps, the only Jesuit-annalist worth reading for style. Gioberti, the present foe of the Jesuits, gives Bartoli more praise than Tiraboschi awards to his brother-Jesuit.

will find (and I hope you will take it in good part), you will find a chosen troop of angels, who exhibit under the forms of animals, all that the Supreme Ruler desires in this chivalry.”¹

“As the angels, enlightened by the splendours of God, purge our minds of ignorance, suffuse them with light, and give them perfection—thus the Companions of Jesus, copying the purity of angels, and all attached to their origin, which is God, from whom they derive those fiery and flaming movements of virtue, with rays the most refulgent, putting off the impurities of lust in that furnace of supreme and chastest love, in which they are consumed (*excoquantur, cooked*),—until, being illuminated and made perfect, they can impart to others their light mingled with ardour—being not less illustrious for the splendour of their virtue than the fervour of charity with which they are divinely inflamed.”²

“They are angels like Michael, in their most eloquent battles with the heretics,—like Gabriel in the conversion of the infidels in India, Ethiopia, Japan, and the Chinese hedged in by terrible ramparts,—they are like Raphael, in the consolation of souls, and the conversion of sinners

¹ Imago, lib. iii. p. 401. “Hic est currus ille igneus Israëlîs, quem Eliseus olim plorabat ereptum; nunc uterque orbis, singulari Dei beneficio, afflictis Ecclesiæ rebus, gaudet à cælis adductum: in quo si acies quæras et milites, quibus triumphos suos quotidianâ accessione multiplicat, invenies (absit verbo invidia) delectum Angelorum, qui sub animalium formis produnt quod ab iis Supremus Imperator in hæc militiâ requirat.”

² Imago, lib. iii. p. 401. “Itaque, quemadmodum beatæ illæ mentes, magnæ illius Mentis purissimæ quedam velut scintillæ, et sempiterni luminis facibus accensæ . . . animos nostros à rerum aliquarum ignoratione purgandi vim habent, eosque illuminandi et cumulatissimè perficiendi: ita Socii Jesu, angelicæ puritatis æmuli, totique origini suæ, id est Deo, affixi, à quo igneos et celeres virtutis motus, splendidissimosque radios hauriunt, absumptâ voluptatum colluvione, in fornace illâ supremi et castissimi amoris excoquantur, donec probè illuminati et perfecti, lucem, ardore mixtam, aliis communicent,—non minus illustres splendore virtutis, quam divinitus inflammati fervore caritatis.”

by sermons, and the confessional. *All* rush with promptitude and ardour to hear confessions, to catechise the poor, and children, as well as to govern the consciences of the great and princes:—*all* are not less illustrious for their doctrine and wisdom—so that we may say of the Company what Seneca observes in his 33rd Epistle, namely, that there is an inequality in which eminent things become remarkable: but that we do not admire a tree when all the others of the same forest are equally high. Truly, in whatever direction you cast your eyes, you will discover some object that would be supereminent, if the same were not surrounded by equals in eminence.”¹

In other words, each Jesuit was neither a triton among the dolphins, nor a whale among the sprats.

In a similar strain we are told that the Company’s advent was “predicted by the prophet Isaiah,” when he said “*Ite, Angeli veloces*—Go forth, ye swift messengers,”² and verily it may be so, for the whole passage applies most strikingly to the Jesuits and the popedom—“Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and *peeled*, to a people, terrible from their beginning hitherto,—a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land

¹ *Imago*, lib. iii. p. 402. “*Invenies in hâc Societate, qui pro Dei sui gloriâ, et Ecclesiæ defensione cum hæreticis et schismaticis ore et calamo disertissimè decertent: Michaëlem hi referunt. Alios qui ad Indos terribilibus circumvallatos custodiis Sinenses Gabrielem illi adumbrant. Alios qui pauperum satagunt Raphaëlis isti vestigia sectantur Ut quod Romanus sapiens suo more prudenter expendit, hic locum habeat: Inæqualitatem scias esse ubi quæ eminent notabilia sunt: non est admirationi una arbor, ubi in eandem altitudinem tota silva surrexit. Sanè, quocumque miseris oculum, id tibi occurrit, quod eminere posset, nisi inter paria legeretur.*”

² *Ibid*, p. 60.

the rivers have spoiled!" And verily again, there is a terrible reminding in the words that follow: "For, afore the harvest, when the bud is perfect, and the sour grape is ripening in the flower, He shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning-hooks, and take away and cut down the branches. They shall be left together unto the fowls of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth; and the fowls shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them."¹

Could these bewildered Jesuits have possibly chosen a more unfortunate text to prophesy their coming?

Need I enlarge in quotations from this stupendous *olla podrida* of the Jesuits? They are all lions, eagles, heroes, chosen men, thunderbolts of war; they are born with helm on head; each man is equal to a host.² The Company is a great miracle, like the world; and therefore she need not perform other miracles.³

Ignatius is greater than Pompey, Cæsar, or Alexander,—yea, greater than all the conquerors of the world.⁴

The Company is not only compared to "the Church," but to Jesus Christ himself;—in fact, the whole book is an effort to show how the Jesuits thought they had equalled the God whose name they disgraced, and condemned to everlasting obloquy in the word Jesuit:—in this word they certainly carried the name of Jesus to the uttermost bounds of the earth, and have left it everywhere in no enviable odour.⁵

¹ Isaiah, xviii. 1, 2, 5, 6. The last verse in the chapter may certainly be applied to Protestantism, in order to complete the allegory: "In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of hosts, of a people scattered and peeled;" &c. &c.—*Isaiah*, xviii. 7.

² *Imago*, pp. 402, 410.

³ *Ib.* p. 621.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 280.

⁵ In Arnould's *Morale Pratique des Jesuites* (t. i. 64—170), there is an

The IMAGO is pompously dedicated to God Almighty. The Jesuit-editions of the "Fathers" and other

excellent analysis of the Imago, with very apposite remarks and reflections. The frontispiece to the work is perhaps the most astounding part of the whole performance—as it were the miniature of the whole Imago. The Company is represented as a young girl, with three angels above her head crowning her with three diadems—one of virginity, the other of learning, the third of martyrdom. On her right she has an angel sounding a trumpet, with the words *Ignatius has numbered a hundred years*; and on the left, another angel sounding with the words *Let him fill the whole world*. The female figure has the name of Jesus on her breast, and says: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis*. She has a pen in her right hand, and with her left she holds a cross in flames. On the right, at her feet, is the emblem of Time; and on the left, also at her feet, are a mitre and a cardinal's hat. Along the borders of the picture there are six emblems, corresponding to the six books of the Imago—five representing the Company in general, and the sixth the Belgic Province, which produced the work. The first emblem is a name of Jesus which is made to represent a sun, and a new moon, with this inscription, *The Company born of Jesus—Societas à Jesu nata*: below, another states that *She receives all things from the Sun—Omnia solis habet*. The second emblem is a globe of light, with this inscription above, *The Company spread all over the world*; and below, *She shines through the universe*. The third emblem is a moon at midnight, with this device, *The Company does good to all the world*; and below, *She preserves all things in the middle of the night*. The fourth is the moon eclipsed by the interposing earth 'twixt herself and the sun, and the upper motto is, *The Company suffering evils from the world*; the lower is, *The Company eclipsed by the opposition of the earth*. The fifth,—a sun, a moon, and the shadow of the earth, with these words above, *The Company becomes more illustrious by persecutions*; and below, *The shadow only serves to make her more beautiful*. The sixth is the province of Belgium;—it is a Lion in the zodiac *Et hanc Leo Belgicus ambit*. At the foot of one of the columns is a palm-tree, to show that the Company will flourish for ever; on the other side, is a Phenix, to show that she will flourish like a Phenix. There are two little angels at the feet of the image; one holds a mirror with these words, *Without spot*; the other has the words *sine cere*, *Without brass!* But the emblems signify the Company's chastity and poverty.

Exactly in the same vein were Tanner's two works, entitled *Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis et Vitæ profusionem militans*, giving all her martyrs; and the *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix*, which is lavish with her professional operations throughout the universe. Tanner has the full measure of Jesuit-vanity and impudence. In the latter work he represents Ignatius in a cloud on high, whence, like another Messiah, he scatters over the universe his mighty mind in the form of tongues of fire. All the other images are equally extravagant and impious. I need not state that all these works were published with the Company's sanction in every particular; the *Imajo*, in 1640, Tanner's works in 1675 and 1694.

ancient luminaries, have long enjoyed a merited reputation. About sixty Jesuits were engaged in this obstetric department of the enterprising Company. Fronto Ducaeus edited, amongst others, the voluminous writings of Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil and Clement of Alexandria; whilst Andrew Schottus mounted not less than twenty of these great guns of the Church for the arsenal of faith. Jacob Gretser, styled by the Jesuits "the conqueror and sledge-hammer of the heretics," won immense consideration in this department. Such was the industry of this Jesuit, in the midst of numerous bodily ailments, that within the space of twenty years he wrote and published more than a hundred works, almost all of them against the heretics,—besides editing about a score of the antiques. Nicremberg, with whom the reader is acquainted, published extracts from all the ancient Fathers, sacred doctors, and learned writers of the Church.¹ This must be a very useful work to the writers of spiritual books, and sermons. It does great credit to the industrious Jesuit; for the book is not a mere tissue of isolated extracts, but all the extracts are selected in such a manner that they form continuous homilies or discourses, each of which is the joint-production of at least a dozen antiques. Without admitting that it requires as much genius well to apply a quotation, as to compose the sentiment, still, the manner in which Nieremberg has performed his task, is quite equal to the composition of the most original production. Admirable order, tact, and discrimination everywhere preside over the selection of his materials. The work is a model of its kind. It would be a great

¹ "Homiliee Catenatee, sive Collectanee ex vetustis Patribus, sacris doctoribus, et eruditiss scriptoribus." Ant. 1651.

acquisition to our literature, if the same method were applied to reproduce the thoughts and sentiments of our Elizabethan worthies, in continuous dissertations all contributing to uphold some striking argument.

There is another work of this extraordinary genius which really deserves notice. It is entitled, *Questions of Curious Reading*.¹ Nieremberg's object is to start questions on various passages of the ancients unexplained, and to offer his answers or conjectures in explanation. It is divided into twenty-two decades, thus proposing 220 "questions of his curious reading;" which he prefaces with some very solid and useful hints to all readers. "As study, without results, is next door to ignorance, so is useless reading not far from idleness. But what reading is more useless than that which we do not understand? He who understands as he goes along, reads without trouble. The hunting of truths is a literary pursuit. We hunt ideas whilst we read: these must be pursued and caught. Such is the use of reading. But, as in other things, we are intemperate in our reading: few apply literature to the benefit of the mind; we pour ourselves out on unprofitable trifles."² The object of some readers is not to become acquainted with books, but to go through them voraciously, to turn over new ones, to understand none—just like misers who covet gold which they use not.

¹ *Erotemata Curiosæ Lectionis*, appended to the work just noticed.

² Without for one moment questioning the ability of the author, still the most popular humourist of the present day is a striking illustration of the spirit of the age. So vast is the circulation of his laughter-making productions, that his last work could not have cost the public less than £30,000! Unquestionably laughter promotes digestion, but to pay so large a sum for the function of tickling, does seem, in a philosophical point of view, very absurd. What a mass of solid, digestible, suggestive, thought-producing information might have been laid on the tables of the people, with less than a fortieth part of that mighty

We should use, and not abuse erudition by excess. We should not scamper over words, but investigate their meaning, discussing what is doubtful." Such is the greater part of Nieremberg's preface to his very curious and suggestive production. A sample or two may be interesting.

"Why did Orpheus call Jupiter *χρονοκάρδιον*, that is, *the heart of time*? Is it because time is dead when it is passed without God? The memory of God is the fortune of life, and vital is the day which religion occupies."¹

sum! But then there is no *taste* for the proposed substitute, is the reply. And how comes the deficiency? From defective *early education*. Accustomed from our youth upwards to *kill time*—we have only to bury our intellect by piece-meal, throughout that period of this mortal pilgrimage (so delightful if we chose to make it so) in which we should reap the fruits of early sowing, and treasure up the crop for the time when words of wisdom shall honour the venerable locks of age. It is a fallacy to say that "light reading" is a necessary recreation—any more than *tippling or dram-drinking* is a necessary aid to the stomach. D'Aguesseau said that "a change of study was always a recreation for him"—and every hearty student can attest the fact,—which results from the healthy vigour and *desire* for exercise in each faculty of every well-constituted, well-trained intellect. Now, it should be the object of education to arouse and stimulate the taste or desire most salient in the intellect of each individual. Thus trained he will have "something to do" throughout existence, and he will abhor to "kill time" almost as much as to commit any other murder. His education will never end; each day and hour he will be learning something new to him; and all so pleasantly that we may affirm that the intellectual activity which results from a sound mental constitution, duly trained by the early habit of labour, is a promoter of happiness and health, by God appointed. To such a man nothing without or within, is useless or without its application. His mind clings in delight to every object in creation, whose beautiful economy is suggested through endless ramifications even by the sight of a flower or a leaf—ay, by the very grains of sand which grit beneath his feet. And the joyous consciousness of health—freedom from pain—keen relish for all God's blessings in nature—the constant conviction of a benign providence over all, whose every design, every effort, is to promote the happiness of every creature—in such a state of the mind we have no time to "pour ourselves out on unprofitable literary trifles."

¹ "Cur Jovem vocavit Orpheus *χρονοκάρδιον*, id est, *cor temporum*? An quia

“Why did Orpheus call Hercules ἀλλόμορφον, that is, of various forms? Is it because the patient and persevering man appears in a two-fold aspect—the one being a certain outward mask of afflictions, and the other the inward face of true felicity? Perhaps he spoke of him in the same sense, saying,

Ὅς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἧῶ, καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

For indeed the persevering man bears alike the darkness of night, and the brightness of day. To him reason ever shines; amidst the darkness of calamity his splendid mind is illumined; amidst the miseries of life he knows how to be happy.”¹

Thus always interesting, Nieremberg performs his promise in his preface, to put forth certain problems which may, perhaps, be useful to some—*quæ aliquorum fortasse usui servient.*

He was born of German parents, in Madrid, where he seems to have passed his life. In the Jesuit college at Madrid he professed Natural History, and subsequently the Holy Scriptures. His works are very numerous—among the rest the “*Varones Illustres,*” or “*Illustrious Men of the Company of Jesus,*” in six double-columned folios, and in choice Castilian, which always compensates for the absurdities which he relates *professionally*

tempus est mortuum, quod sine Deo transigitur? Memoria Dei usum vitæ fortunat, et vitalis est dies quem Religio occupat.”—*Dec.* xvi. No. 4.

¹ “Cur Orpheus vocat Herculem ἀλλόμορφον, hoc est *variformem*? An quia patentis et constantis viri duplex sit species, exterior quædam larva ærumnarum, et interior veræ felicitatis facies? Fortasse eodem sensu de illo inquit—

Ὅς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἧῶ, καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

Fert quidem constans sibi vir diem serenum et noctem nigram. Illucet illi semper ratio, ejus inter calamitatum tenebras fulget splendidus animus, et inter miserias hujus vitæ scit beari.”—*Dec.* xv. No. 8.

—like many others, without half the recommendations of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg—a thorough German.

Amongst the editors of the Fathers, was Theophilus Raynaldus, a very remarkable Jesuit. He passed sixty years in the Company, although constantly harassed and crossed by his brethren, and in spite of the solicitations with which he was urged to leave the Society. A wild, expatiating genius, who thought for himself on many points—with a penetrating intellect, brilliant imagination, and a prodigious memory—one of the few which find it difficult to cast away, not to retain, what it has once received.

Apparently the mildest of men in domestic intercourse, pen in hand he was a very savage to the objects of his vituperation. Nothing can exceed his biting sarcasm under the name of *Pretus à Valle Clausâ*, a satire against the monks of St. Dominic. The parliaments of Aix and Toulouse condemned the book to be publicly burnt—the curious method then in vogue for burking an author—like the wholesale denunciation of our modern critics when they have “good reasons” for the process. Raynaldus subjected himself to reproof in the Company, for certain slighting remarks on Ignatius—nay, “injurious and opprobrious to our holy father,” as the general wrote to the whole Company; but, luckily, Theophilus was dead at the time when the treatise appeared in the collected edition of his works.¹

As a sample of the comical turn of his mind, or the extraordinary perceptions of the Jesuit, and the originality of his discursive genius, in one of his treatises he

¹ See Bartoli, Dell' Ital. lib. iii. p. 348. The title of the tract is: “De exsolutione à votis Religionis substantialibus,” in the 18th volume of the works of Raynaldus. Bartoli is very savage with Raynaldus for charging him with having

heads a chapter on the "Goodness of Christ" as follows:—*Christus—bonus, bona, bonum*—which he evolves with all the fecundity of a Nieremberg. In his *Heteroclitia Spiritualia*, he denounces fantastic and exotic devotion, as repugnant to solid piety and *good taste*.

Many of his works were put on the Roman *Index*,—that is, prohibited at Rome, on account of their free opinions. There was, therefore, no wonder that the author should write a work, entitled, "Questions concerning Good and Bad Books,"—*Erotemata de bonis et malis Libris*.

All his works were published collectively in 1665, two years after he died, aged eighty years. They filled twenty volumes in folio; but the sale was unsatisfactory, and the publisher, Boissat, was ruined, and died at the hospital.¹

In the biographical and hagiographical department of literature, the Jesuits were most prolific. About 240 writers on these subjects were produced by the

transformed Ignatius from a father into an executioner. Raynaldus was another Mariana in the Company—only he wisely contented himself with expressing his opinions on abuses.

¹ Feller, xvii. 139. As the "spirit" of a publisher is the result of a certain success following his tact and discernment, in catering for the public taste, these voluminous and thoughtful publications of former times, stand in the most striking contrast with our modern literary issues. The ponderous folio dwindled to the quarto, where it lingered awhile, and then the triple octavo became sacred to fiction, whilst to the Muse of History the now stately *Demy Octavo* is the *ne plus ultra* of typographical adventure. If the innumerable publications of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, may be taken as a test that they "*paid*," and considering that all these publications were of an intellectual cast, how the contrast with the present age of publication is deepened! Unquestionably it was the Reformation which gave the impulse to education; but the gigantic educational scheme of the Jesuits promoted the intellect of the age, and created numerous tastes which their numerous authors gratified with wonderful fecundity. At the present day the public generally lead the author and certainly the publisher; but perhaps, with some tact and management, a spirited publisher, with commensurate literary aid, might lead that public taste, which is

Company ere she numbered her hundredth year. It was in the early part of the seventeenth century that the famous *Bollandist* speculation was conceived. The Jesuit Rosweyde was the first to imagine the enterprise ; he began the task, but left it to John Bollandi, who, in 1643, published, at Anvers, the first two volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, or Lives of the Saints. It was a gigantic undertaking, and a generation of hagiographers were needed to ensure success. Two other Jesuits joined Bollandi, — Henschen and Papebroek. These crudités are the famous *Bollandists* to whom the leader's name was justly given. They died ; but their spirit lived in the successors which the Company incessantly gave to every enterprise :—she flung her men, just like Napoleon, into the thickest of the fight. Fourteen other Jesuits continued the work—chiefly *Germans*, as may be supposed. Such was the success of the work that, at the suppression of the Company, the capital realised by the publication amounted to 136,000 florins, about 13,600*l.*,—yielding an interest of about 900*l.* per annum, subject to an annual augmentation of 240*l.* by the yearly continuation of the work. In its present state it consists of forty-four enormously thick folios, with numerous plates—not, however, in the best style of the art. Of course all this capital and property were confiscated at the suppression of the Company.¹

now imperious. And if educators would promote a healthier development of mentality in their pupils, it would only require a single generation to display the most cheering results to humanity. The public taste which has been systematically vitiated since the days of Walter Scott (admirable as he was) might be restored universally to that healthy state, which is the object, or certainly the effect, in giving solid food to the minds and hearts of the people.

¹ Mem. sur les Bollandistes et leurs Travaux, by Gachard, archivist of Belgium, 1835 ; Cretineau, iv. 307.

Always insisting on the worship of the Virgin, more than a hundred Jesuits celebrated Mary in prose and verse, in every possible view of the Roman image,—whilst the Life of Christ and the incidents of the Passion did not occupy more than a fourth of that number. Mystic theology, collections of prayers, and meditations, ascetic or spiritual books, went forth in immense profusion—many of them illustrated, like those of Drexelius. From three to four hundred Jesuits were employed in feeding the minds of their devotees—“Goads to Sinners,” “the Worm of a Bad Conscience,” “the Fount of Spiritual Delights,” and hundreds of similar “catching” titles, everywhere recommended the fashionable confessors of the Company. In polemics or controversy, the Jesuits were of course immensely prolific:—the number of their productions in this department equalled that of their devotional lucubrations, which they backed with numberless catechisms for the young in various languages.

Nearly a hundred casuists were engaged on the consciences of men, and an equal number on scholastic theology, whilst double the number sent forth voluminous commentaries on the Old and New Testament, every book, chapter and verse of which, from Genesis to the Revelation, were learnedly expounded by the Jesuits.¹

Such was Jesuit education, and such were its results, in the circumstances of the epoch. Numerous followers expanded the scheme with indefatigable energy—so that it is difficult to name a single subject which a Jesuit-pen has not attempted.

In the mathematics the Company ever continued to

¹ See the *Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu* for the list of the Company's writers.

produce minds of the highest order, although few, if any, of them enjoy, at the present day, that reputation which they so justly won in the times of the Company's glory. Need I repeat the mere names of these authors without a description of their labours? The history of Jesuit-literature would itself fill volumes—and not without interest and profit.

Galileo was a pupil of the Jesuits; and though thwarted by some of the body, still the Jesuits Riccioli and Grimaldi verified and supported his "hypothesis." Astronomers, philosophers, and geometricians, they investigated gravitation. Riccioli, with immense erudition, put forth a work, in which he combined all that had been contributed to the science of astronomy by the ancients and the moderns: he discovered and named the spots in the moon, whilst Grimaldi added five hundred stars to the catalogue of Kepler. Grimaldi put forth his treatise on light and the colours of the rainbow,¹ and the Jesuits claim the honour of having thus suggested to Newton the fundamental principles of his optics. The Jesuit L'Hoste, professor of mathematics in the royal school of Toulon, having passed much of his time on ship-board as chaplain, gave the world the results of his experience in useful treatises on navigation, naval architecture, naval evolutions, and a compendium of mathematics most necessary to an officer. For more than a century his treatises were indispensable in the navies of France, Holland, and England. The British midshipman thumbed this "Jesuit's book," as it was called, without running any risk of conversion. Other marine Jesuits sailed in the wake of L'Hoste; among the rest, Jean-Jacques du Chatellard gave thirty years of his

¹ "De Lumine et Coloribus Iridis."

life to the training of the young guards of the royal marine. Charles Borgo elucidated the "Art of Fortification and the Defence of Places."

Athanasius Kircher left nothing untried. Deeply initiated in Hebrew and other Eastern languages, he skimmed over the surface of all the sciences, not without occasional depth and penetration : perhaps he stumbled on Newton's gravitation: Of extensive and varied erudition he was a copious writer ; but his judgment was defective : he lacked criticism, and jumped too hastily at conclusions, as we have seen with regard to his infernal hypothesis in the earth's centre. It is said that he fancied he could resolve any question. Very credulous, as most of the learned Jesuits, his works present a strange medley of useful knowledge, applicable hints, ridiculous notions and devotional platitudes—and yet interesting throughout, from the numberless curious experiments which he describes with the utmost precision. His pupil Kestler published the sum of all his philosophical works in a folio volume, entitled *Physiologia Kircheriana Experimentalis*, which is worth perusal—a translation of the work, with corrections, would be highly advantageous to youth, by directing their curiosity to objects of science. It is illustrated throughout. Kircher collected a valuable museum of antiquities, which he left to the Roman College. In Kestler's Compendium, before-named, there is a full description of it, with illustrations. In his *Polygraphia*, or the Artifice of Languages, he unfolds a method "whereby any one, with only his maternal language, might correspond with the natives of many other countries." Of course the "Tower of Babel" engaged his attention, together with *Noah's Ark*, whose architecture and construction he describes in

four books, superadding "curious investigations touching the state of things before the Deluge, during the Deluge, and after the Deluge"—all in a ponderous folio.¹ In the course of about forty years, he wrote and published more than forty volumes—many of them in folio; and died at Rome in 1680, aged seventy-eight. These publications did not materially interfere in his educational avocation as a professor of philosophy and oriental languages at Würzburg, and of mathematics in the Roman College: this chair he filled for eight years, and then resigned it to devote himself exclusively to his favourite studies. *Bonhomie* and a striking self-complacency are the prominent expressions of his expanded German physiognomy, as exhibited in his portrait.

And the Company had her artists as well—painters, sculptors, architects. Jacques Courtois painted battles, Andrew Pozzo and others investigated the rules of perspective; and even to the present time "The Jesuit's Perspective," according to Wolfius, "will answer your purpose, without engaging you in the intricacies of the *Theory*."² To one of the Company's painters, Daniel Seghers, a golden palette was presented by Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, in attestation of the Jesuit's skill and success. Father Fiammeri was a

¹ In his theory of universal language, Kircher applies his method to Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and German. The vocabulary which he invented consists of about sixteen hundred words, and he expresses by signs to be agreed upon, the variable forms of verbs and nouns. The same work gives a treatise on *Stenography* or Short-hand Writing. Kings and nobles united to assist this indefatigable Jesuit, and even Protestant princes supplied him with money for the prosecution of his experiments, besides contributing to his museum all the curiosities they could collect.

² Wolf. *Element Mathææ*. The title of the book is "The Jesuit's Perspective: an easy method of representing Natural Objects according to the Rules of Art," with plates, 4to, 1765.

sculptor ; Raut, Massé, and the brothers Matlange, were architects ; whilst Father Ventavon, and the lay-brothers Paulus and Thibault, were distinguished clock-makers. Erasmus Marotta became “ a celebrated musician,” and Christopher Malter distinguished himself as a physician. And the Jesuits were the inventors of the air-balloon ! As early as 1631, Lana-Terzi had conceived the art of Montgolfier, whose practicability Leibnitz doubted, just as Davy ridiculed the idea of lighting up London with gas, and as Lardner scoffed at the notion of crossing the Atlantic by steam—which he lived to do himself a few years ago. Never was there an invention which was not at first laughed at—from the construction of Noah’s Ark down to the Electric Telegraph—which last, I have an idea, has its prototype in Kircher’s *Onomatomania Magnetica*, elaborately described and illustrated in the *Physiologia Kircheriana*. It was Lana-Terzi, also, who invented the sowing-machine, now in use on the Continent ; he it was who, a hundred years before the Abbé De l’Épée and Sicard, taught the method for teaching the deaf-and-dumb to write and converse, and fashioned the mysterious figures by which the blind can correspond with each other, and interchange their sentiments on all that their bereavement renders so interesting to their active minds and ever-glowing hearts.

Lana left the balloon without being able, for the want of means, to test the invention ; but another Jesuit, Gusmao, without having read Lana’s book, hit upon the same idea, and in the rich and glorious days of the Company, constructed the first balloon. It was in Brazil : he started forthwith for Lisbon with

his balloon, and offered to exhibit his experiment. The Portuguese Inquisition took alarm—the Jesuit made a joke of their perturbation, and, by way of encouragement, he told them laughingly, that if they liked, he would, at one stroke, raise up into air both the holy office and the grand inquisitor together! This was outrageous:—the people gave out that the Jesuit was possessed of a devil; and the inquisitors summoned him to their tribunal on a charge of magic. Vain was his defence of his invention, in which he boldly persisted: he was thrown into a dungeon; but his brother Jesuits succeeded in obtaining his liberation, or rather his escape from the hands of exasperated bigotry, at a time when doom was darkening on the fortunes of the Company.

Such were the labours of the Jesuits—wild and universal—a gorgeous phantasmagoria around the elements of ruin and destruction within, expanding, hand in hand, with all the outward glories of the Company of Jesus.



BOOK X. OR, BROUET.

IN 1640, the Company had celebrated her “secular year,” or centennial anniversary—“an infant of a hundred years.” Vast were the rejoicings of the members on that festive occasion. Numberless extravagant poems, emblems, allegories, besides the Imago, glorified the event with pomp and magnificence—all the world was forced to open its million eyes to the wealth, talent, and therefore *power*, of the imperial Company.

On that occasion, Vitelleschi, the general, addressed to the fathers and brothers of the Company a memorable epistle. It was, indeed, an occasion of triumph—a glorious jubilee for all ;—but prophetic sounds boomed, with the stifled muttering of the muffled horn, sounding

the dismal alarm in the morning watch of the camp, when the scouts have announced the enemy at hand.

After feelingly bewailing the tendency of mankind to make all the members of a body responsible for the crimes of a few, he urges the necessity to *act* upon the maxim ; quoting the words of Augustin—"What *thou* doest, the *Society* does, on whose account thou doest it, and whose son thou art." With strong words of earnest impeachment—and yet so *cautiously* that he prefers to quote old dead authors and Scripture, rather than bring a pointed accusation—he insists that the primeval ardour and spirit of the Society must be restored.

"Thy youth shall be renewed as the eagle's." On this theme he quotes a curious exposition of Augustin, giving the diagnosis of the eagle's disease ; to the effect that there happens to have grown on the tip of the beak of this queen of the birds a stony induration, the upper and lower beak being united by a sort of fleshy tie or membrane, so that they cannot open to feed : hence, says he, she is sorely distressed by the languor of old age, and pines away for the want of food. But, he adds, she is instructed by nature to retrieve her better days ; for, striking, and worrying, and rubbing the excrescence of her crooked beak against a stone, she wears away by degrees the morbid obstruction, and at length opens a way for food. Then she sets to, in right good earnest, enjoys her meal ; the vigour of all her members returns—her feathers shine again ; with the rudder of her wings she cleaves the upper air as before ; she becomes, after her old age, a young eagle.

Vitelleschi continues :—"I do not deny the truth of these observations ; let the authors whom Augustin reads answer for it. I am satisfied that somehow in this

manner, whether by the infirmity of age, or some carelessness on our part, an indescribable mass of affections, curved to the earth, and desires, is gathering on the lips of our hearts—whence, as it were by fleshy curbs,¹ the mouths of the mind are violently closed, so that they cannot be opened to heaven, and be refreshed by Divine food. The royal prophet lamented the same affliction in a different figure :—‘ I am stricken as hay, and my heart is dried up.’² Behold our languor and old age! But what is the cause? ‘ *Because I have forgotten to eat my bread.*’ * * * *

“ But whence can we suspect the cause of our insipidity in Divine things?—our laborious irksomeness in recollection?—in checking the wanderings of our vague imaginings, frequently tending to that direction which is least to be desired, because we have not repressed them when we could? What is that tenacious and entangling love³ of the lowest objects—the world, honour, parents, and worldly comforts? That greater authority conceded to the rebellious flesh and blood, rather than to the spirit—in *actions*, for I care nothing for *words*—that enervated, exhausted weakness in resisting the petitions of the adversary in our conflicts with the domestic enemy—perhaps not entirely yielding, but still not evidencing that alacrity and exaltation of mind to which the name of victory is given? These are the fruits of tepidity and of a dissolute spirit; which, unless it is raised betimes and warmed anew, is clearly approaching a fall and destruction.”⁴

Remissness in the superiors—the fear of giving offence

¹ “ *Carneis lupatis.*”

² The reader will remark this forced application of the text.

³ “ *Tenax amor et viscus.*”

⁴ Epist. 4, Mutii Vitelleschi; ed. Antwerp. 1665.

to the inferiors ; too great indulgence, favouritism, self-love, self-interest ;¹ excessive care and solicitude in worldly matters—such are the notes of preparation prophetic of a fall, that Vitelleschi kindly and considerately alludes to in this curious epistle,—“which,” he says, to use his own expression, “has been ploughed out of his own and inmost heart, and the very blood of his soul—for it would be his last to the Company.”² The conclusion is strong and urgent : “I eagerly call all to witness, and proclaim to them that, with Bernard, I expect an answer to this epistle—but an answer of *deeds*, not words.”³ The letter is dated Nov. 15, 1639.

What a lamentable contrast is this letter to its contemporary, the *Imago*, whose representations of the Company we have just perused !

The exhortation had no effect :—the torrent was rushing on ; no human power could check or resist its violence.

From 1645 to 1649, the virtuous general of the Company, Vincenzo Caraffa, strove in like manner, and in vain, to forefend impending ruin. “Caraffa was a man of little learning, but of extraordinary piety and devotion. He would never have a carriage for his use, nor be treated in any respect differently, as to food or raiment, from the humblest of the brethren :—as for others, he wished that the Jesuit-fathers would truly lead the lives of religious men, ceasing to meddle

¹ “Privatus in seipsum amor cum proprii nominis, et commoditatum acriore studio conjunctus.”

² “Utique scripta ex peculiari meo et intimo sensu, et animi sanguine exarata.”

³ “Omnes cum B. Bernardo impatientius obtestor, iisque denuntio expectare me ad hanc epistolam benignitatis vestræ responsum ; sed responsum facti, non verba.”

in politics and to frequent courts. The insurmountable difficulties he encountered in trying to effect this, were the primary cause of his death.”¹

Caraffa wrote an epistle to the Company, exhorting the fathers and brothers to “a preservation of the primeval spirit of the Company.” He pointedly alludes to infractions of the vow of poverty, dividing the various delinquents into five classes, and throwing some light on the various animal instincts which prevailed among the members. He indirectly alludes to the indiscriminate literary pursuits of the Jesuits, as contrary to the spirit of the Order ;—“for how monstrous will it be to consign the chalice, which is dedicated to the altar, to profane uses, following the example of the sacrilegious Balthasar ! But the matter is not a little more serious when the mind of a religious man is defiled by the refined knowledge of empty topics.” The following passage is very striking :—

“If you ask me, what it is to read unchaste books ; books conceived by the instinct of the evil spirit, composed and published in his own type, to indicate to men the way of destruction, as if it was not already known and precipitous ? [If you ask me this question] you will hear me repeat that it is to drink to the devil in the sacred cup ! It is to labour to gratify the devil and afflict God, as far as possible. For, if this proscribed reading of such books prevails in the world, how much more detestable is it in a religious man—in a Jesuit²—in a student of the sacred pages—in one who is appointed for the conversion of souls, and, by the function of his institute, for the defence of the faith ! Nor does the

¹ Diario, Deone, 12 Giugno, 1649, apud Ranke, who gives the original, p. 307, note.

² “In homine de Societate.”

excuse avail, namely, the language and eloquence of such books, whose brilliancy some allege as a cause of their reading—to acquire that recommendation.”¹

After pointing out the mighty evils that overwhelm the spirit by this practice, and alluding to profane, worldly conversation in general, Caraffa says :—

“Nor can I possibly pass over in silence, that these errors result, in a great measure, by the error of the superiors.”²

That the practice existed, may be evident from the following :—

“I speak particularly to our younger scholars, and I wish this exhortation to penetrate deeply in their minds; but I enjoin the superiors, that, if they detect any one (which heaven forbid!) reading such books, or having them in his possession, let them, without admitting any excuse or intercession, send him at once back to the novitiate, there to imbibe the spirit of religious virtue, which he has not hitherto tasted.”

Some pertinent advice follows, such as to refrain from all worldly affairs—“they are not ours, they are foreign :”—*nostra non sunt, aliena sunt.*³

“Our procurators,” he says, “should be more *cautious*; for although they seek what is just, by lawful right, still

¹ “Nec valet excusatio linguarum et eloquentiæ quarum inde nitorem se petere nonnulli causantur.”

² “Nec posse videor tacitus præterire, quæcunque hic errantur, magnam partem Superiorum errore venire.”

³ “Sunt nec toti spirituales,
Sunt nec toti seculares,
Sed in omnibus æquales.

“Eminent inter clericos,
Imperant inter laicos,
Excellunt inter aulicos.”

Jesuito-graphia, in *Elixir Jesuiticum*. Anno primi Jubilæi Jesuitici, 1645.

they seem to seek it with avarice and cupidity; and exhibit too much avidity that smells of the world.”¹

Nevertheless, I find in the “*Instructio pro Procuratore*” the following very pertinent language—in reading it one fancies it is the character of a griping attorney. “The office of procurator is defined under five heads. 1st. He must preserve the goods and rights of the college. 2ndly. He must take care that the revenues do not decrease, but rather be augmented. 3rdly. He must exact with the greatest diligence the debts that are owed to the college. 4thly. He must see that the goods and moneys be properly disposed of. 5thly. He must take care to be able to give an account of what he has received or delivered. Whence it is especially evident that to this function should be destined a very prudent, skilful, and faithful man, one who is not engaged in any other occupation which can impede his duty.” After this summary, a minute detail is given, most cleverly enumerating all the particulars to which he has to attend in his farming-book—the number of acres, quality of land, products of wheat, wine, olives, fodder, and wood, &c. “He must be present when the products are measured, sown, and collected, and when the vintage takes place, and the olives are pressed; and must not trust too much to the rustics. At the same time, he must get back what he has lent to the labourers, and must recover from

¹ *Avare et cupide videntur petere.*

“Sunt periti mendicantes,
Sunt quasi nihil habentes,
Et omnia possidentes.

“Opulentes civitates,
Ubi sunt commoditates,
Semper quaerunt isti Patres.”—*Ubi supra.*

other debtors at stated times, and must not be too indulgent,—for, by conceding a long delay in the payment of debts, it comes to pass at length that they are not paid at all.” And yet, this griping Procurator is, in the three last lines, told to confide in “Divine Providence”!¹ Caraffa concludes his epistle before quoted, in the following urgent obtestation:—

“I can add nothing more to this epistle, for if this be done, it is sufficient,—*si hoc fiat, sufficit*,—to renew the Society, and to restore her to her primitive complexion and health: but I again and again desire that these words should not vanish into air, but be ratified by deeds.” To aid them in this object, he strongly recommends “all to renovate and bring to perfection their piety in the worship of the most holy mother of God.”² They had praised her so much with their endless poems and treatises, that they “got sick of the subject.”³

Piccolomini succeeded to Caraffa. Instead of striving to stem the torrent, he anxiously shunned all vigorous

¹ Instruct. pro Administratione, &c.—Pro *Procuratore*. Corp. Instit. Soc. Jesu, ii. p. 243, et seq.

² Epist. R. P. N. Vincent. Caraffæ. Inst. Soc. Jesu, ii.

³ It was at this time that the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer petitioned the pope to effect a reformation in the Order, instancing twenty-nine abuses of various kinds. The pope suggested the matter to the Congregation which elected Caraffa, but nothing was done. Soon after there appeared a work entitled *Monarchia Solipsorum*; or, *the Monarchy of Themselves alone*, allegorically but most systematically dissecting the whole state of the Jesuit-Order. It is an admirable performance, and could not have been written by any one not a Jesuit of considerable standing in the Company. Its effect was immense, and stirred the Jesuits with suspicions of a traitor. Suspicion fell on Inchofer, whom they resolved to banish and carry off to some distant locality. He was treacherously seized and hurried away by the emissaries of the Jesuits: but the pope being informed of the matter summoned Caraffa, who doubtless knew nothing of the matter, as he stated. Still, the pope commanded the immediate restoration of Inchofer, which was done accordingly. Of course, the Jesuit apologists deny the deed, but their *argumentation* is not conclusive against the *fact*. See the preface to the *Monarchie des Solipses*: Amsterdam, 1721.

and decisive measures, though naturally inclined to severity. He was frightened into submission to his aristocratical subjects, and only pondered how he might give satisfaction to his brethren of the Company. For by this time it was no longer advisable to attempt any change in the Order. Alessandro Goffredi, who succeeded in 1651, would fain have done this, and strove at least to set bounds to the aspiring ambition of the members; but the *two months* of his tenure of office were enough to bring upon him the universal detestation of the Company:—the Jesuits hailed his death as a release from tyranny. Still greater was the aversion which the next general, Goswin Nickel, drew down on himself. He could not be charged with contemplating any very sweeping measures of reform: he left things, on the whole, to go on as they were: only he was accustomed to adhere obstinately to opinions once adopted, and his demeanour was rude, discourteous, and repulsive; but this was enough to wound the self-love of powerful members of the Order so deeply and so keenly, that the General Congregation of 1661 proceeded to measures against him, the possibility of which we could scarcely anticipate from the monarchical theory of the Constitutions. They first begged permission of Pope Alexander VII. to associate with their general, a vicar with the right of succession. It was granted; and the Roman Court pointed out Oliva for the office, and the Order complacently elected that favourite of the palace. After some discussion as to the power which Oliva was to wield, it was decided that the general, Nickel, had forfeited all his authority, which was to be entirely transferred to the vicar; and then they inserted a mendacious decree in the decisions

of the Congregation, stating that Nickel had voluntarily asked to resign the authority, from ill-health and fatigue.¹ Thus it happened, that the Company, whose very first principle was unconditional obedience, itself deposed its chief, and that without any real transgression on his part. This was the climax of the aristocratical tendencies of the Professed—the burlesque of Loyola's Constitutions.² Now, what was the cause of this demonstration against Goswin Nickel? His denunciation of abuses. In 1653 he signalled “with grief” those members who were devising specious arguments for relaxing the vow of poverty. Decency and necessity, says he, were the pretexts, “names clearly innocent in themselves, and therefore adapted to deceive.” He says there were six hundred machinations of the devil whereby the Jesuits were endeavouring, with all their might, to subvert the vow of poverty. “But, although this true vanity and pride, under the false name of decency, may affect all, still they affect much more easily those who perform splendid functions, particularly those who frequent the courts of princes.”

After alluding to the love of individual comforts—inclination to particular places—he proceeds thus:—

“What shall I say of those who, when they are ordered to remove to another place, carry away so many moveables, that if one may judge the matter by the baggage, you would think that a whole family, not a single man, was migrating! Suppose one of the men of our ancient Society, not as yet acquainted with baggage and effects—were to meet these men thus burthened? Peter Faber, for instance, who returned the precious gifts of a

¹ Dec. XI. Congr. dec. I.

² Ranke, with contemporary vouchers, p. 307.

cardinal, saying that he was one of those who carry all their goods with them.”¹

Extravagance in the purchase of books calls for animadversion: “nor are those to be praised who consign the books which they have bought with the alms of pious men, to another college, and thus defraud the one wherein they happen to dwell.”

Intermeddling in the temporal affairs of their relatives—its sad effects—the difficulty of curing that disease—are feelingly brought forward.

“But what of those who, relinquishing the culture of the Lord’s field, and of their neighbours, turn themselves to the negotiation of worldly affairs?”

Extravagance has been lashed; its opposite vice, avarice, too, has unfortunately “crept in.”

“There are those who honour their hardness of heart and filth (the vice of their nature) with the name of economy and frugality; and whilst they are griping—*tenaces*—they wish to seem to be lovers of poverty. Hence they hoard up much, lay out little; clutch what they have, and dispense even what is necessary with a sparing hand; and, lest their inferiors should complain, they thrust in their faces everywhere, and lament the penury of the establishment.”²

Three years after, Nickel had written a desperate and stirring manifesto “to the fathers and brothers,” respecting “the pernicious provincial and national spirit” which had spread disunion in the Company. Nickel justifies the severity of his animadversions by the

¹ “Cum hoc fastu dignitatis
Jungo votum paupertatis,
Et decus humilitatis.”

² Epist. i. R. P. N. G. Nickel.

numerous letters,—*non unis literis*,—which he had received on the subject, and admits his belief that the complaints and representations were substantially correct.¹ The forced resignation and real deposition of the general ensued as the result of these animadversions, which were discourteous to the lordly aristocracy.

General Oliva was a man who loved outward repose, good living, and political intrigue—and was therefore just the man for the Company. He had a villa not far from Albano, where he cultivated the rarest foreign plants, doubtless supplied by his numerous apostles all the world over. Even when in the city, he used to retire from time to time, to the novitiate-house of Santo Andrea, where he gave audiences to no one whatever. His table was furnished with none but the choicest meats.

“Indiæ galli, capones,
Turdi, lepores, pavones,
Sunt horum patrum bucones.

“Pinguî carne vitulina,
Non bovina sed ovina,
Horum plena est culina.”

He never went abroad on foot : in his dwelling comfort was carried to an excessive degree of refinement.

“Claras ædes, bonum vinum,
Bonum panem, bonum linum,
Et pallium tempestivum.”

He enjoyed his position and his power :—assuredly such a man was not fitted to revive the ancient spirit of the Company. In fact, the Company was now daily departing from the principles on which it was founded.²

¹ “Ego quoque subesse aliquid, idque *non levis momenti*, tot querelis, scriptiõibusque suspicr.”—*Epist. ii. Gos. Nickel ; Corp. Instit. Soc. Jesu*, ii.

² Ranke, p. 308.

“ Vivunt unà joviales,
 Agunt dies feriales
 Quot optarent esse tales? ¹

“ Soliciti de gloriâ
 Semper et de pecuniâ
 Et augendâ familiâ.”

The members of the colleges had often more leisure than their relatives who were engaged in the active pursuits of life :—these members managed their business for them, collected their money, and carried on their lawsuits. But the mercantile spirit seized the colleges as well in their corporate capacity, as we have seen with regard to the English College at Rome. The Jesuits wished to secure their prosperity ; and, as large donations were no longer made to them, they endeavoured to make up for them by means of trade. Easily they found a “probable opinion” to justify the departure from their vows and Constitutions. The earliest monks had increased their wealth by tilling the ground, and so the Company might multiply her gold by trade and banking. The “Roman College” engaged in the manufacture of cloth at Macerata, at first only for its own use, then for that of all the colleges in the province, and finally for the public. Their agents attended the fairs. Their close connexion between the several colleges gave rise to a money-changing traffic or banking. The Portuguese ambassador at Rome was directed to draw upon the Jesuits of his own country. The transactions in the colonies were particularly prosperous ; the commercial connections of the order spread like a net over the two continents, having its centre in Lisbon.

¹ In a tract entitled *Specimens of Jesuit-Enjoyments—Deliciarum Jesuiticarum Specimina*, there is a glorious account of one of their banquets at the German College. “*Sic itur ad astra,*” &c. See *Arcana, Soc. Jesu*, p. 254, *et seq.*

Wherever there was a province, or a mission, there was Jesuit-traffic. This was a spirit which, when once evoked, necessarily affected the entire economy of the Order.¹

Still the Company held up the principle of giving gratuitous instruction. Presents however were accepted on the admission of pupils, as from the first, according to the distinct assertion of Hasenmüller. On certain festival occasions, occurring twice a year at least, wealthy pupils were welcomed by preference. On the benches there was always a marked distinction shown to the nobles—as expressly enjoined in the *Ratio Studiorum*.² Now the consequence of this was, that these youths felt a proportionate consciousness of independence, and would no longer submit to the strictness of the ancient discipline.

A Jesuit who raised his stick against his pupil was stabbed by him with a poniard. A young man in Gubbio, who was treated too harshly by the Father Prefect, killed him. Even in Rome, the commotions in the college were the incessant theme of conversation in the city and the palace. The Jesuit-teachers were once actually imprisoned a whole day by their pupils! The demand of these young insurgents was complied with—their rector was actually dismissed to please “the boys;” for the Jesuit-authorities had compromised themselves by many an act of base subservience, and they could not resist the authority thereby acquired over them by their pupils. In a word the influence of the Jesuits had passed its meridian;—they had taught mankind to suspect them of the basest motives in their

¹ Ranke, p. 308; Quesnel, i.; Discours Prélim. 97, *et seq.*

² Reg. Prof. Studior. Inf. 29. “*Nobilibus commodiora subsellia.*”

pursuits and measures.¹ The violences of their college-pupils in Poland were frightful and notorious.

Low tricks and cunning then, more than ever, promoted the transient objects of the Jesuits. They strove to operate on all ranks of society, by means of agents more or less connected with the Company—men and women who bound themselves by vow, like the English priest, to some particular member or the whole Company, to be guided in all their actions by that authority, always ready to execute any command.² They

¹ Ranke, p. 308.

² In the early part of the 17th century men were amused with the concoction of a new Order of religious ladies, by the assistance of the Jesuit Roger Lee—another affliction to the English mission. Their project was to live in community, under certain vows, but without any obligation of enclosure,—to instruct young ladies,—and to ramble over the country; nay, even to the Turks and infidels, in order to “gain souls.” No wonder that “the Jesuits mainly supported their cause, and took great pains to obtain them an establishment.” They became notorious, and went by various names, such as English Jesuitesses, Wardists, from a Mrs. Ward, their foundress; also, Expectatives, from their expecting the papal approval of their Order; and lastly, they rejoiced in the appellation of “Apostolic Viragoes,” and “*Gallopings Girls*,” with reference to certain “improper behaviour in those who were permitted to ramble abroad, upon the pretence of carrying on their interest.” It appears that these Jesuitesses of England knew how to enjoy life and dignity, as well as make vows and win souls. “Mrs. Mary Alcock,” says Tierney, “the first mother-minister of this institute, speaking of Mrs. Ward, says: ‘She came like a duchess to visit the Ignatian prisoners at Wisbeach, in a coach, attended with two pages riding with her in the said coach, and two or three attendants of her own sex;’ and she adds,—‘It is notorious that Mrs. Ward and her company lived at Hungerford House, in the Strand, very riotously, with excessive charge both for costly garments and dainty fare; not omitting to dress herself and the rest in the newest and most fantastical manner.’” In fact, it seems that they were a scandal to the mission, and justified the worst suspicions against them, when the English clergy memorialised the pope on the subject—not failing to urge the fact “that the Jesuits were expressly forbidden by their rules to meddle or mix in the government of women, and yet the Jesuitesses make use of the Jesuits alone, in all their concerns, in England and abroad, so that they seem to think it a crime to permit any other priest to hear the secrets of their conscience in confession.” In spite of opposition they besieged the pope with petitions for the confirmation of the Order; and it was then that they offered the “fourth vow” in behalf of the Turks and infidels: but so many “odd histories” were told of

were, for the most part, persons of the middle and upper ranks,—widows, and merchants (many of whom were veritable lay-brothers), and were enabled by their totally secular exterior, with the secret instructions



imparted by the Jesuits, to bring about those delightful windfalls, in the shape of donations or legacies, which might be piously set forth as “the blessings of a special Providence,” ever watchful for the wants of the fathers. Members who, for any particular purpose or by any necessity, were separated from the body, and still continued under its patronage, came under the same

them, that Pope Urban VIII., in 1630, suppressed the sisterhood, and sent the ladies to the world again, which, doubtless, they had never left.—*Tierney*, iv. Append. p. ccxxix. *et seq.*, and p. 111, note.

denomination. Thus, Father Maimbourg, one of the best historical writers of the Company, wrote against the court of Rome, in favour of the French clergy, then struggling against the papal pretensions. To punish the man, Pope Innocent XI. commanded the general to expel Maimbourg, who thenceforward, with a pension from the French king, and the Company's patronage, became a secularised Jesuit.¹

There was another class of men engaged in the pay of the Company, consisting of persons for whom the Jesuits obtained pensions, livings, or abbacies. Dispersed over Europe in every court, these men were of great service in building up the Jesuit-monarchy, and the constant agents in that systematic *espionage* which enabled the Jesuits to be always *prepared* for the disastrous events which were unavoidable. And by this artifice they managed to influence the affairs of Europe, so that "the greater part of all the transactions in Christendom passed through the hands of the Jesuits; and those only succeeded which were not opposed by the Jesuits."²

Among the manuscripts of the British Museum, there is a passport given by the Jesuits in 1650, for the consideration of 200,000 florins (10,000*l.*), to Hippolite Bracm, at Gand, promising "to defend him against all infernal powers that might attempt on his person, his soul, his goods, and means."³

¹ This happened in 1682. Feller, xiii. 351. In the following year appeared a clever work entitled *Le Jésuite Sécularisé*, in the form of a dialogue between Maimbourg and a friend, who bitterly denounces the Jesuits. The book took effect, and the Jesuits soon put forth a denunciation of the stinging wasp.

² MS. Bibl. Harl. 3585, f. 371, entitled *Discrittione per Istruizione a' Principi, fatta da persona religiosa*. It enters into the whole régime of the Jesuits, towards the end of the 17th, and beginning of the 18th century.

³ MS. Bibl. Harl. 6895, f. 143. "Nous, soussignés, protestons et promettons

In positive fact, the enormous privileges granted, at their request, to the Jesuits by numerous popes, accelerated their downfall by facilitating abuse and perversion. The Jesuits might absolve sinners from any and every crime—from all ecclesiastical censures, pains, and penalties, with only two exceptions, of no material diminution to their power.¹

They might build churches, chapels, houses, anywhere and everywhere, and no one was to molest them in the enterprise. They might sell, exchange, or otherwise transfer all their property, moveables, and immoveables, present and to come, *pro illorum UTILITATE seu necessitate*—for their utility and necessities, to any persons, of every rank and condition—in other words, they might *trade*, traffic, barter, and sell.²

They might excommunicate those who presumed to leave the Company, as we have seen. There is no appeal from the chastising power of the Company. Powers before confined to bishops, such as the consecration of churches, vestments, and the like, were conceded to the Jesuits. Whoever seized the goods or money of the Company, or belonging to persons connected with it, whether colleges or houses, unless restoration be made

en foi de prestres et de vrais religieux, au nom de notre Compagnie à tel effet suffisamment autorisé, qu'elle prend maistre Hippolite Braem, licentié en droit sous sa protection, et promet de le défendre contre toutes puissances infernales qui pourraient attenter sur sa personne, son âme, ses biens, et ses moyens, que nous conjurons et conjurerons pour cet effet, employans dans ce cas, l'autorité et crédit du Sérénissime Prince notre fondateur, pour être le dit Le Braem par lui présenté au bienheureux chef des apôtres, avec autant de fidélité et d'exactitude comme notre dite Compagnie lui est extrêmement obligée. En foi de quoi nous avons signé cet, et y apposé le cachet de la Compagnie. Donné à Gand, le 29 Mars, 1650. Souscrit par le recteur Seclin et deux prêtres Jésuites." Raumer has published this document in his valuable *Hist. of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ii. 436, *note*.

¹ Compend. Privileg. *Absolutio*.

² *Ubi supra*, *Alienatio*.

in three days, incurred the penalty of excommunication. The Jesuits might commute or compound for all vows—might “relax” each other’s oaths, “without prejudice of a third party”—a proviso left entirely to the decision of the absolver. They might impose censures, penalties, even pecuniary fines on all who rebelled against them or otherwise offended, when they were constituted judges and conservators—they might even place a country under an “interdict” or minor excommunication. Their power to absolve in cases of homicide, and to grant dispensations in downright murder, has been already quoted. In the matter of the tender passions they had important powers of dispensation.¹ It is necessary to remember, that, according to Escobar, “a dispensation is an act of jurisdiction whereby any one is exempted from the obligation of a law, or by which the obligation of a law is suspended.” Immunity was granted to all who took refuge in their churches, and all persons were prohibited from laying hands on such fugitives, under penalty of excommunication. In the word churches, says the privilege, are included colleges, houses, gardens, offices, all places.

Numerous indulgences were granted to the Jesuits for the performance of the most trivial actions; also to the fathers and mothers of the Jesuits, were they even in Purgatory,—*in Purgatorio existentes*.

Under penalty of excommunication all are forbidden to impugn the “Constitutions,” &c.

Even during the time of an Interdict, the Jesuits could open their doors, say mass, hear confessions, &c.

¹ “Dispensare ad petendum debitum cum iis qui consanguineum aut consanguineam sui conjugis, post matrimonium carnaliter,” &c.—*Ubi supra*, *Dispensatio*, 8; see also 9, 10.

Hence it is evident that their conduct in resisting the Venetian government was not a necessity on them, as papal subjects.

Such were a few of the privileges of the Company.¹ The Jesuits had all the strong passions of men, as we have seen affirmed by their own generals as well as by facts; they had the power of bishops in their professional march through the world; they were omnipotent in the confessional by their specious and accommodating casuistry. And now those extravagant opinions of the Jesuit-teachers arrested attention.

In 1651, Piccolomini sent forth his *Ordinatio* respecting the questions that might and might not be mooted by Jesuits. In the introduction to this mandate, he says:—

“There are not wanting serious complaints from the various provinces, respecting certain teachers of philosophy and divinity, both in the Eighth and Ninth congregation.”²

A list of permitted and forbidden topics is subjoined—all curiously illustrative of “the activity of the Jesuit-mind” at that period—mere trifles and momentous questions following each other in admirable confusion: the diurnal motion of the earth, and the motion of the planets being among the *proscribed* topics. The “hypothesis” had not yet become a “theory.”

Six “other propositions” are superadded—not that he believes any member of the Society has taught them—but because they have been “*brought forward by the deputies.*” The first proposition is the following: “God is the cause of sin.” All the other five propositions

¹ See the *Compendium Privilegiorum*, Corpus Instit. Soc. Jesu. ii.

² *Ordinatio pro Studijs Superioribus.*

refer to the attributes of the Divinity. The general continues :—

“ However, we do not at all censure all the aforesaid propositions ; but we only forbid them to be taught in our schools—for the sake of greater uniformity, and more solid and copious fruit in the hearers : nor should the authority of any authors be alleged, if perchance any of these propositions be found in their works, or in the books already published by our men, even with some approbation—for it were to be wished that *many of the Revisors had been more diligent and severe.*”¹

It follows from what we have read, that the conscientious or more *prudent* members of the Society were seriously alarmed by the extravagance of opinions that had begun to characterise the Jesuits.

The Jesuits are fond of quoting *Voltaire* in their defence. The authority is suspicious : it has just about as much weight in the question as the authority of Jack Sheppard would have when quoted by a highwayman in his own defence. In a letter which *Voltaire* wrote to a Reverend Father, alluding with considerable pungency to the Provincial Letters of *Pascal*, he says :—

“ *De bonne foi*, is it by the ingenious satire of the Provincial Letters that we should judge of the morality of the Jesuits ? Assuredly, it is by *Father BOURDALOUE*, by *Father CHEMINAIS*, by their other preachers, by their missionaries.”²

I would agree with *Voltaire*, if I could permit myself the mental reservation, *subintelligendo*, as to the *public* morality of the Jesuits.

Was it at all likely that a public preacher would dare to hold forth, in the pulpit, such doctrines as *Escobar*,

¹ *Ibid. ut antea.*

² Lettre de Volt., au Père La Tour.

Hurtado, Salas, Busembaum, &c., infused into the young confessors of the Society for inculcation in the *confessional* ?

Herein is the terrible peculiarity of this Society ; that its moral needle, turning on the pivot of expediency, points to heaven and hell, as steadily as the magnetic needle points to the north and south.

It is the *good* inextricably blended with the *evil* that stamps the Jesuit-system with its unenviable originality.

Again, if the men whose immoral opinions and permissions were denounced, had been *profligate* in their outward conduct, we might be disposed to overlook the evil, as bereft of influence ; thus rendered, comparatively, impotent by the acknowledged character of the authors. But the case is different. The Jesuit-casuists were men of "character" in the Society : Escobar died an "exemplary" member of the Society of Jesus !

What reason could an "exemplary" teacher have for inculcating "rather lax opinions ?" He shall tell you himself.

"But if I often seem to adhere to rather lax opinions, that is not to define what I think myself, but to put forth what the learned shall be able to apply practically, without a scruple, whenever it shall seem *expedient* to quiet the minds of their penitents ?"

Another question—what proof have we that others before him inculcated these "rather lax opinions ?"

Again he shall answer :—

"This I candidly declare, that I have written nothing in the whole book that I have not received from some *Doctor of the Society of Jesus*."

Consequently his book has the "Approbation, License, Consent, and Permission" of the respective functionaries,

and professes to be an exposition of the opinions, in cases of conscience or casuistry, of *twenty* doctors of the Society, for the instruction of young confessors—in Questions and Answers.

In this stage of the Company, it was no longer her aim to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion : rather had their own spirit stooped to the world's ways ; their only endeavour was to make themselves indispensable to mankind, effect it how they might. And strange it was to see, that, by the very tribunal of confession, which had been their first fulcrum of power, they began their universal downfall. To say that the *object* of the Jesuits was to corrupt mankind, would be as unjust as it is improbable : but that such must be the result if their confessional doctrines were carried into practice, is beyond all contradiction. Unquestionably, such principles as the casuists inculcate, very often lead mankind ; but far from striving to set such consciences at rest, the guardians of religion should ever uphold the strictest and simplest doctrine of moral integrity—leaving the consciences of individuals to themselves and their Creator. Now, “according to the doctrine of the Jesuits,” says Ranke, “it is enough only not to will the commission of a sin *as such* : the sinner has the more reason to hope for pardon, the less he thought of God in the perpetration of his evil deed, and the more violent was the passion by which he felt himself impelled : custom, and even bad example, inasmuch as they restrict the freedom of the will, avail in excuse. What a narrowing is this of the range of transgression ! Surely no one loves sin for its own sake. But, besides this, they admit other grounds of excuse. Duelling, for instance, is by all means forbidden by the

Church ; nevertheless, the Jesuits are of opinion, that if any one incur the risk of being deemed a coward, or of losing a place, or the favour of his sovereign, by avoiding a duel ; in that case he is not to be condemned, if he fight.¹ To take a false oath were in itself a grievous sin : but, say the Jesuits, he who only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending it, is not bound by his oath ; for he does not swear, but jests.² These doctrines are laid down in books which expressly profess to be moderate. Now that their day is past, who would seek to explore the further perversions of ingenuity to the annihilation of all morality, in which the propounders of these doctrines vied, with literary emulation, in outdoing each other. But it cannot be denied that the most repulsive tenets of individual doctors were rendered very dangerous through another principle of the Jesuits, namely, their doctrine of ‘ probability.’ They maintained that, in certain cases, a man might act upon an opinion, of the truth of which he was not convinced, provided it was vindicated by an author of credit.³ They not only held it allowable to follow the most indulgent teachers, but they even counselled it. Scruples of conscience were to be despised ; nay, the true way to get rid of them, was to follow the easiest opinions, even though their soundness was not very certain.⁴ How strongly did all this tend to convert the most inward and secret promptings of

¹ Busembaum, lib. iii. tract. iv. cap. 1. dub. 5. art. 1. n. 6.

² “ Qui exterius tantum juravit sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi, forte, ratione scandali, cum non juraverit, sed luserit.”—Busemb. lib. iii. tract. ii. dub. 4. n. 8.

³ Em. Sa. Aphorism. Confess.

⁴ Busemb. lib. i. c. 2. “ Remedia conscientie scrupulose sunt 1. Scrupulos contemnere. Assuafacere se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas.”

conscience into mere outward deed. In the casuistic manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of life are treated of, nearly in the same way as is usual in the systems of civil law, and examined with regard to their degree of veniality: one needs but to open one of these books, and regulate himself in accordance with what he finds there, without any conviction of his own mind, to be sure of absolution from God and the Church. A slight turn of thought unburthened from all guilt whatever. With some sort of decency, the Jesuits themselves occasionally marvelled how easy the yoke of Christ was rendered by their doctrines!"¹

And such was the turn of events. That Company, which went forth to restore Catholicism, became at length the corrupter of all morality—led away by that mental extravagance which was the result of the position in which she was placed by events and her bruited successes. How strangely sound the following sentiments, from the lips of a member of that Company which undertook to present models of ascetic perfection! Listen to Father Lemoine painting a rigid Christian of the school which opposed the Jesuits. "He is without eyes for the beauties of art and nature. He would believe that he has laden himself with an irksome burthen, if he has indulged in any pleasure. On festival days he walks among the tombs. He prefers the trunk of a tree, or a grotto, to a palace or a throne. As for affronts and injuries, he is as insensible to them, as if he had the eyes and ears of a statue. Honour and glory are idols which he knows not, and to which he has no incense to offer. A beautiful woman is a spectre to his eyes. And those imperious and haughty visages,

¹ Ranke, 309.

those agreeable tyrants who everywhere make voluntary slaves, and without chains, have the same power over his eyes as the sun has over those of the owl." ¹

Nine editions of Escobar's objectionable casuistry, entitled *Moral Theology*, rapidly succeeded each other,—an evidence that they were adapted to the age,—and, perhaps, that the Jesuits were preparing those moral convulsions which ended in the Revolution, to continue ever after down to the present epoch of French history. What an example to Revived Catholicism was that, when the Jesuit Cheminot, confessor to Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, permitted his ducal penitent to have two wives together! Nay, he boldly did more. In the face of public scandal, he stubbornly defended his conduct with argument; persisted, in defiance of papal mandates and the repeated remonstrances of Vitelleschi, to live at the ducal court, with the bold voluptuary and his concubine. At last he was excommunicated, and he submitted to the general,—but not before six long years had continued to brand his Company with indelible disgrace. It was currently affirmed that fourteen Jesuit-doctors had sided with the duke and his accommodating confessor;—nor have we any reason to doubt the probability, considering the immoral extravagance of the casuistical notions then prevailing in the Company. ²

Under Louis XIV. of France, the glorious king of ginger-bread and tinsel, the Jesuit La Chaise, his confessor, winked at the voluptuary's disorders, and by

¹ See Capefigue on this subject for a very fantastic view of Jesuit-casuistry. He quotes Lemoine in support of his view.—*Louis XIV.* i. chap. 5.

² See Cretineau, iii. 455, *et seq.*, for an account of the transaction, which he endeavours to shift from the Company to the member exclusively.

position, at least, exhibited the horrible connexion between religion and vice. They called him an "easy chair," punning on his name, but really asserting an evident fact—for there was the king wallowing in adulterous profligacy, with his Jesuit-confessor always at hand, excepting when he was enjoying his delightful villa at Ménilmontant, where, like the general Oliva, he cultivated his rarest plants, strawberries from the east, beautiful peaches of Bagdad, and pears from England.

His noble figure, so interesting to behold, his soft and pliant character, polished and insinuating, that apparent simplicity and candour which concealed the politician, captivated the king, over whom La Chaise achieved a lordly ascendant. In recompense for his method of morality, which "conciliated salvation with that life of weakness and propensity which God has left in the heart of man," the king yielded every temporal blessing to the Company which had vouchsafed him such a guide to heaven, through the swamps of sensuality. Whilst he presided over the royal distribution of all the benefices, he procured for his Company a multitude of very rich ones, often without the usual formalities—a *vivæ vocis oraculum* being sufficient to enrich the excessively poor and needy Jesuits, and displayed himself a brilliant equipage, with sumptuous banquets—not without criminal gallantry, if contemporary descriptions may be credited to the extent which the Jesuits demand for their edifying and curious letters." ¹

¹ See the "History of Father La Chaise," vol. ii., "containing the most secret particulars of his life : his amours with several ladies of the highest quality ; and the pleasant adventures that befell him during the whole course of his gallantries." "From the French original." London, 1695.

Never, throughout man's history, was there moral relaxation without its counteracting rigour of conduct and inculcation. The Puritans in England were justly roused by the abuses of a Protestant Church Establishment sinking more and more into Romanism :—a weak-minded king, incessantly tampering with Rome, as proved by the memoirs of Panzani, the papal envoy to England, paid the penalty of prevarication with his death on the scaffold.¹ Thus the Jansenists of France, with their rigid conduct and maxims, rose up to oppose the lax morality of the Jesuits. It was then that Pascal transfixed the Jesuits with the slashing sword of his *Provincial Letters*, which may be styled the "hand-writing on the wall" against the Company of Jesus.² But bitterly did the Port-Royalists feel the vengeance of their rivals, in possession of the king's bad conscience. The very nuns whom they directed, were included in one vast and whelming destruction. Unsatiated by the calamities of the nuns, the vengeance of the enemies of Port-Royal was directed against the very buildings where they had dwelt, the sacred edifice where they had worshipped, and the silent tombs in which their dead had been interred. The monastery and the adjacent church were overthrown from their foundations. Workmen, prepared by hard drinking for their mission, broke open the graves in which the nuns and recluses of former times had been treasured in their rest. With obscene ribaldry, and outrages too disgusting to be

¹ See "Berington's Memoirs of Panzani," for a full account of the transactions and the doings of the Jesuits throughout the whole period of the machination—their continued opposition to the clergy of their own communion—just as in the days of Parsons.

² For an admirable description of the *Provincial Letters*, see the "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxiii. p. 341.

repeated, they piled up a loathsome heap of bones and corpses, on which the dogs were permitted to feed. What remained was thrown into a pit, prepared for the purpose, near the neighbouring church-yard of St. Lambert. A wooden cross, erected by the villagers, marked the spot where many a pilgrim resorted, to pray for the souls of the departed, and for his own. At length no trace remained of the fortress of Jansenism to offend the eye of the Jesuits, or to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious dead with whom they had so long contended.¹ Was there no retribution thereupon made necessary?

And thus had the Jesuits done, throughout their career in every region of the globe. One of their most recent persecutions, before that transaction, was the fate of the venerable Palafox, a catholic bishop, who resisted their practices in their missions. In bitterness of heart and from the midst of his sufferings, he wrote to Pope Innocent X. craving justice and defence—driven from his diocese by the Jesuits, and compelled to flee to the mountains.²

And a change came over the spirit of the royal voluptuary. Madame de Maintenon converted him when his passions were nearly exhausted. When Peter the Great, on his visit at Paris, got leave to visit this woman in her decrepit old age, he merely drew aside her bed-curtain, gazed upon her—and turned upon his heels, uttering never a word. Her character is, indeed, a mystery still; and if, according to the Jesuit Feller,

¹ Reuchlin, *Geschichte von Port-Royal*, "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxiii. p. 361. The reader will find in that article a full and most interesting account of the subject.

² See *Vie du Venerable Dom Jean de Palafox*, *passim*. Ed. Cologne, 1767.

her glorious exaltation was predicted to her by an astrological stone-mason, it is another instance of "celestial" ends brought about by human nature. The frightful persecution of the Huguenots, with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—civil degradation, social proscription, ruin, and expatriation—these were results which the Jesuits might exult in—but another doom impended thereupon—the tree of the French Revolution was planted long before, and now it was growing, nurtured by the Jesuits—for, to quote a writer who gives the Jesuits credit for policy in their moralities,—what did Pascal lay to the charge of the Company? "He reproaches the Jesuits for not enjoining rigid fastings, macerations, everlasting penances—for permitting loans on interest, vast commercial gains, the propensities of the heart indulged in a life where all is propensity; for not rigidly enforcing the Christian law, when all the principles of social life consisted in a mere approximation of man's sensualism to that inflexible law. I know of nothing more illiberal than the Provincial Letters, the meditations of a mind which declaims against the morals of the age."¹ Now the whole of these points were directly signalling the propensities which evolved the *French Revolution*. And they were promoted, encouraged by the Jesuits, *quondam* restorers of Catholicism:—when subsequently a Jesuit predicted the downfall of religion in France, 'mid the horrors of the Revolution, it was a sort of providential conviction from the lips of a member of that Company, whose wildness of intellectual extravagance, and moral inculcations had made the religion of the land a scoffing and a jest.²

¹ Capefigue, Louis XIV. i. 200.

² See Alison, Hist. of Europe, i. c. ii.

La Chaise died. The Jesuit Le Tellier stepped into his place, and undertook the royal conscience. Dark, gloomy,—ardent, inflexible, impetuous,—hiding his violence beneath a cold exterior—full of roguish contrivance ; such was Le Tellier. He persecuted and tormented the Cardinal de Noailles for his repugnance to the Company ; in the bitterness of his fate, Maintenon turned her back upon her friend, and left him at the mercy of the Jesuit in the conscience of the king. Le Tellier procured the famous Bull *Unigenitus* to be demanded from the pope by Louis XIV., whose only effect was to exasperate the dissensions in the Gallican Church, adding to the growing contempt in the nation's intellect, for the religion of the land. It was Le Tellier whose ferocious mind drove the plough over the ruins of Port Royal, and roused a tempest of foes against his Company—never to be satisfied until she sank in the gulf of a whelming retribution. Who has not heard of the “Roguary of Douay, or the false Arnauld—*La fourberie de Douai, ou le faux Arnauld ?*” Le Tellier was its contriver.¹

¹ In 1690, during a dispute, M. de Ligny, Professor of Philosophy at the Royal College at Douay, fell out with Father Beckman, a Jesuit-professor. Driven to extremities in the argument, he menaced his opponent with revenge, saying : *Ego te flagellabo*—I'll give you a whipping. Fifteen days after, Ligny received a letter under the false signature of *Antoine A * * ** ; that is, *Antoine Arnauld*, with an address for the expected answer. Arnauld was the great Jansenist opponent of the Jesuits, joint author in the *Morale Pratique*, which dissects the Company with searching acuteness, numerous facts, and general fairness. Now, the professor, flattered by the honour of receiving a letter from so famous a man as Arnauld, replied to the letter, and continued the correspondence—so that at last, the impostor, under the name of Arnauld, drew from Ligny the names of those who opposed the Jesuits, all of them doctors and professors in theology. The impostor thereupon began and continued a correspondence with these doctors, who supposed they were writing to the true Arnauld, the staunch opponent of Jesuit-doctrine. Ligny even begged the invisible Arnauld to be his spiritual director, and sent him a general confession of the state of his conscience. Here-

In England, Catholicism had won a sort of support in James II. Jesuit-schools were opened : the Jesuit Petre was actually made a privy councillor : the pope was requested urgently by the king to make the Jesuit a bishop, but the pope rejected the supplication. The Prince of Orange and Protestantism came over very soon after, and James took refuge under the wings of the devout King of France, and there he died "in the odour of sanctity."

Let the scene be shifted once more. The evening is come : night will soon follow ; and after that a morning will return to the Company.

I have studied the quarrel of Jansenism, and have found nothing in it adapted to develop the object of this work ; namely, the system of the Jesuits. The *Provincial Letters* only accelerated events which the Jesuits themselves, unwittingly, had been preparing during the course of the preceding century. They had given an impulse to the age by their universal development of education ; intellectuality was in the ascendant. A similar process has, in the present age, been in operation for the last fifty years or more. The idea of universal equality, or the "levelling" mania, is one of the abuses of intellect, trained without the moral sentiments being raised to pilot the adventurous bark on the trackless ocean of mind. The pursuit of knowledge, after the example, or

upon he was induced to leave his chair, his benefice, and to send all his papers to the impostor, whilst he set out, by the same command, to a place appointed, which was Paris. He went to St. Magloire, but found no Arnould, proceeded from place to place, until at last the simple Fleming found that he was duped. Meanwhile, however, all the *professors* before alluded to were denounced by the Jesuit Le Tellier, and exiled to various towns of France ; and Ligny himself was sent to Tours. Of course the *affair* made a great noise : the Jesuits denied their share, of course ; but it is now even admitted by the Jesuit Feller in his "Universal Biography," art. *Le Tellier*.

under the sanction of the great educators, had become a mania : the result was that yearning after change which flatters the heart with the accomplishment of every desire. At the present day, are we not hurrying to the same result ?

In the case of the Jesuits, novelty had lost its charm ; Escobar, Busembaum, and other “ moralists ” of the Society had been made to cover the Jesuits with shame or suspicion,—the finger of scorn was raised with impunity. Their name became a term of reproach ; every language had consecrated it to fraud, cunning, and duplicity. It is hard to battle against ridicule and evil fame when deserved.

Portugal was the first kingdom in which the influence of the Jesuits became paramount : it was the first effectually to strike it down. If Philip II. humbled Portugal by the aid of the Jesuits,¹ the vengeance of Pombal was a fearful retribution—such as may be ever and anon recognised in the history of man, and especially in the history of the Jesuits.

In 1753, the kings of Spain and Portugal made an exchange of provinces in South America : the inhabitants respectively were to change territories. The religious subjects of the Jesuits refused to obey. I applaud the conduct of these men, if they thought they could resist with effect ; for, unquestionably, the mandate was tyrannical. On the other hand, it was to be expected that the “ mother country ” would enforce the demand ; and the result was the destruction of this Jesuit-republic. The Jesuits deny that they aided the Indians with their advice and martial science ; they deny that they stimulated them to resistance ;—if there

¹ Rabbe et Chatelain, Hist. de Portug.

was no chance of success, the denial is probably correct.

Pombal followed up this first assault. Strange! that such a man should proclaim, as the motive of his persecution of the Jesuits, that "they had remained less faithful than their predecessors to the principles of Ignatius!"¹

The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and its dependancies. In 1728 they had been banished from Savoy.

The Jesuits lent themselves to the infamous Abbé Dubois, whose promotions they worked for like hearty servants, and scandalised the world by making a bishop and a cardinal of the Catholic Church, out of an unscrupulous libertine and unprincipled intriguer. The Jesuits Lafitau and the bishop of Sisteron, were the man's emissaries at Rome, and nothing can exceed in disgusting baseness their practices on the wretched pope, whom they menaced and bribed alternately. All the princes of Europe were stirred to get the abbé made a cardinal—among the rest his Britannic Majesty, George I.²

In 1764, the sons of Ignatius were expelled from France. This event is certainly connected with an offended woman, Madame de Pompadour. Her confessor

¹ Saint Priest, Fall of the Jesuits.

² See *Mémoires Secrètes du Cardinal Dubois*, par M. De Sevelinges, t. i. pp. 275 and 297. "Il me serait impossible," writes Destouches from the English Court, "de vous exprimer l'empressement de milord Stanhope à exécuter ce que vous avez souhaité, et la joie avec laquelle le roi de la Grande Bretagne s'est employé en cela pour votre satisfaction. En vérité, le maître et les ministres vous aiment de tout leur cœur, et ne sont jamais plus ravis que lorsqu'ils peuvent vous le témoigner; mais il faut avouer que vous avez en milord Stanhope un ami, dont le zèle et l'attachement pour vous sont sans borne," &c., addressed to Dubois, 30th Jan., 1720. Throughout the work, the Jesuit Sisteron plays a conspicuous part. His letters to Dubois are very curious, but not edifying.

De Sacy, a Jesuit, refused to sanction what she styled her "purest attachment for the king, Louis XV." The reader, who is aware that Father Cotton, another Jesuit, was confessor to the tender-hearted *Henry IV.*, and who has probably read the curious *Historiettes* of Tallement des Réaux, will be pleased to see this contrast of affairs. The lady resolved on the expulsion of the Order, and was successful. Previously to this, the Company had become the laughing-stock of Paris by the affair of Father Gerard, one of the Jesuit-rectors, in the case of a misguided woman whose ambition was to rival St. Catherine of Sienna with her stigmata or sympathetic wounds. She accused the father of immoral conduct towards her—in fact, seduction; a trial took place; the Jesuit was acquitted by the majority of a single vote. It is impossible to pronounce upon his innocence or his guilt from the accounts set forth in thirty-eight memoirs, and printed in a huge folio, bound in calf, with gilt edges. Great must have been the interest excited, to warrant so expensive a publication. Pamphlets, songs, logic, and sarcasm, swarmed like a nest of hornets—the Jesuits were become contemptible. Voltaire, a pupil of the Jesuits, D'Alembert, all the "philosophers" were in the zenith of their fame. The Jesuits cannot speak of their downfall without stigmatising the "philosophers;" for my part, I believe that the Jesuits prepared their own destruction: they have the merit of having ruined themselves. Besides, their Fathers Berruyer and Hardouin and many others had roused incredulity by their extravagances—and the same may be said of their intellectual education with its external devotions.

The affair of Lavalette supervened,—another lever

of destruction. This Lavalette was the Jesuit-procurator of the West India missions. Jesuit-missionaries in South America had endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the poor African, but Lavalette *owned* slaves in Dominica. An epidemic disease broke out among his negroes, and several died. In addition to this the English cruisers took his freighted ships—he became a bankrupt for a large sum, which the Society *refused to pay*. This was a fatal imprudence in the Jesuits, or the result of deception; they suffered the matter to go before the French Parliament, and were condemned to pay the full amount of the debt.

Louis XV., “wearied out rather than convinced,” yielded to the solicitations of Madame de Pompadour and Choiseul, his minister; the Jesuits were expelled.

In 1767, the Jesuits were suddenly and unexpectedly driven out of Spain by Charles III., a pious, zealous, most Catholic sovereign, if history is to be credited. This act took the Jesuits totally to windward—it mystified even them; and to this day the motives that dictated their expulsion from Spain remain inexplicable, if we may not believe the exclamation of the King, alluding to a frivolous revolt some time before, which the Jesuits suppressed so easily that they were suspected of having fomented it. The King is said to have declared “that if he had any cause for self-reproach, it was for having been too lenient to so dangerous a body;” and then, drawing a deep sigh, he added, “I have learned to know them too well!”¹

I pass over the sufferings of the Jesuits; their utter dereliction by all who had before been served by them, when, on the same day, and at the same hour,—in Spain,

¹ Dispatches of the Marq. of Ossun to Choiseul, quoted by Saint Priest.—*Fall of the Jesuits.*

in the north and south of Africa, in Asia and America, in all the islands of the Spanish monarchy—the alcaldes of the towns opened the dispatches which they received from Madrid, commanding them, under penalty of death, to enter the establishments of the Jesuits, armed, to take possession, to expel them, and transport them, within twenty-four hours, as prisoners, to such port as was mentioned. The latter were to embark instantly, leaving their papers under seal, and carrying away with them only a breviary, a purse, and some apparel. “Nearly six thousand priests, of all ages and conditions—men illustrious by birth and learning—old men oppressed with infirmities, despoiled even of the most indispensable requisites—were stowed away in the hold of a ship, and sent adrift upon the ocean, with no determinate object, and without any fixed direction.”¹ They neared the coast of Italy; the pope refused to receive them. What were his motives for this apparently unchristian act in the father of the faithful? Perhaps their numbers suggested the fear of famine! If Ricci, their general, as is alleged, joined in or suggested the refusal, it was a sad indiscretion at a time when the reputation of the Society was at its lowest ebb.²

¹ Saint Priest.

² “Of course the utmost secrecy was observed in the execution of the mandate, and it is a well authenticated fact, that in Peru, with the exception of the viceroy and his agents, no one knew anything of the affair. But the same ship which conveyed the king’s commands to the viceroy, had on board the necessary instructions to the vicar-general in Lima, from the superior of the Jesuits in Madrid, who was fully acquainted with the king’s design. The preparatory arrangements were made under the seal of perfect secrecy, and at ten o’clock at night the viceroy assembled his council, and communicated to them the royal commands. It was determined that no one should be permitted to leave the council-chamber until the blow was struck. At midnight some confidential officers, with the requisite assistance, were dispatched to arrest the Jesuits, an accurate list of whose names lay on the table before the viceroy. The patrols knocked at the gate of San Pedro, the *Colegio Maximo* of the Jesuits, an establishment possessed of enormous revenues, for all the finest plantations and best

The Courts of France and Spain now determined to effectuate the total abolition of the Society of Jesus, by the pope himself!

After long and tedious negotiations on the part of the respective potentates, nothing was done in the matter : the death of the Pope Clement XIII. raised the hopes of those princes bent on the destruction of the Jesuits.

houses in Lima were the property of the Order. The gate was immediately opened. The commanding officer desired to see the vicar-general, and the porter ushered him into the great hall of the convent, where all the members of the Order were assembled, evidently expecting his visit. The holy brethren were prepared for immediate departure, each being provided with a bag or trunk containing such articles as were requisite on a sea-voyage. Similar preparations had been made in all the other houses of the Jesuits. The surprise and disappointment of the viceroy on receiving this information may be more easily conceived than described. Without delay he ordered the whole brotherhood to be conducted under a strong escort to Callao, where they embarked. In the course of a few days inventories were made of the effects in the houses. At San Pedro it was expected that vast treasures in specie would be found ; but how great was the dismay, when instead of the millions which it was well known the Order possessed, only a few thousand dollars could be collected ! All the keys, even of the treasury, were politely laid out in the chamber of the superior. This was a cruel mockery ! The Jesuits could not have taken a more ample revenge on the treachery which had been practised on them. It was suspected that the treasures were concealed partly in the house of San Pedro, and partly in the plantations. According to the evidence of an old negro at that time in the service of the convent, he, together with some of his comrades, were employed during several nights in carrying heavy bags of money into the vaults of the house. Their eyes were bandaged, and they were conducted by two of the brethren, who helped them to raise and set down the bags. The negro, moreover, declared his conviction that there was a subterraneous spring near the spot where the treasure was deposited. The searches hitherto made have been very superficial, and it seems not impossible that, by dint of more active exertions, this concealed wealth may yet be brought to light."—*Tschudi, Travels in Peru*, p. 67. But there can be no doubt that the Jesuits have long since managed to abstract their concealed treasure. This fact of the preparation, like many others, shows why no money of any amount worth naming, and no damaging documents were even found in the suppressed houses. All had been carefully put out of harm's way by the wily fathers. In the *Reflections of a Portuguese*, the English reader will find an ample account of the causes which directly conspired to the destruction of the Company—in truth the cup was full—and the *world's vengeance* came as a whirlwind demanding satisfaction. See also Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay*, ii. pp. 80, *et seq.* ; Smith's *Mem. of Pombal*, i. 168, *et seq.*, and George Moore, *Lives of Alberoni, Ripperda, and Pombal*, pp. 295, *et seq.*

The election of Clement XIV., which followed in due time, was effected by these princes. This is not denied by any party. The princes of the earth placed in the papal chair a man who was to fulfil a written promise to suppress the Jesuits. So the vicegerent of the Redeemer—the exponent of councils over which the Holy Ghost presides—sold himself to a party, and the price was the honour of the pontificate!

Ricci was the last general of the Jesuits before the suppression. If the accounts respecting the doings at Rome, during the period in question, be correct, that man was bitterly humbled by his former friends; still he exerted himself to his utmost in endeavouring to avert the ruin of his Order; but failed. Ganganelli assumed the tiara; and after the most disgraceful tergiversations, displaying a degree of weakness that would cover the pettiest prince of Europe with scorn—the *Pope* of Rome condemned the Jesuits—the *Pope* did this—compelled by the kings of the earth, whom his predecessors had trampled to the dust! Here was a retribution indeed! The Breve of Suppression was ready on the 21st of July, 1773, and began with the words,—“Our Lord and Redeemer!”

Dread must have been the anxiety of the Jesuits whilst that conclave was preparing their destruction! If the authorities of Count Alexis de Saint Priest be true—(he seems to be an impartial historian), the last struggles of the Jesuits were truly *systematic*, that is, in accordance with the theory by these pages unfolded.

Father Delci started for Leghorn, with the treasures of the Order, intending to transport them to England; but Ricci stopped the pusillanimous flight.

The fortune of Cromwell was decided, the star of Napoleon was made a sun, by that supernatural bold-

ness inspired by the emergency of life or death! Ricci put forth his character, or rather, he rose with the occasion. Anxious, disturbed, he was seen hurrying from place to place;—"one while mingling in the numerous bodies of the Guarda Nobile, the pompous escort of the dinners of the cardinals, which are carried through the city in rich litters; at another time, mixing in the groups of the grave Trasteverini, or the motley crowds of cattle-drivers and peasants assembled from the Sabine territory, Tivoli, Albano, and every part of the Pontine marshes, to witness the grand ceremony. At daybreak Ricci was on foot, traversing every quarter of the city, from Ponte-Mola to the Basilica of the Lateran. The Jesuits *de consideration* (so styled in a cotemporary document), imitating the example of their chief, were continually engaged in paying visits to the confessors and friends of the cardinals; whilst, loaded with presents, they humbled themselves at the feet of the Roman princes and ladies of rank. Nor was all this attention superfluous: the current of public favour had already been diverted from the Jesuits; and, amongst other fatal prognostics, the Prince de Piombino, a partisan of Spain, had withdrawn from the use of the general the carriage which his family had for more than a century placed at his disposal." The last general of this redoubtable Society threw himself at the feet of the cardinals; and in tears, "commended to their protection that Society which had been approved by so many pontiffs, and sanctioned by a general council—the Council of Trent: he reminded the cardinals of his services, and claimed the merit of them, without casting blame upon any court or cabinet. Then, in an under tone, and in the freedom of secret conference, he represented to the princes of the church the indignity of the yoke

which these courts were attempting to impose upon them.”¹ But the honour of the popedom was sold and bought ; *Judas, the Iscariot*, with the price of blood in his hands, not *Peter* in repentance, was now to be the papal model !

Joseph II. of Austria would be present at Rome on that pregnant occasion. On this straw of royalty the Jesuits fondly relied : he stooped to *insult* the men who could not resent the injury ! He paid a visit to the *Gran Gesù*, a “house” of the Order, and a perfect marvel of magnificence and bad taste. The general approached the emperor, prostrating himself before him with profound humility. Joseph, without giving him time to speak, asked him coldly when he was going to relinquish his habit ? Ricci turned pale, and muttered a few inarticulate words : he confessed that the times were very hard for his brethren, but added that they placed their trust in God and in the holy father, whose infallibility would be for ever compromised if he destroyed an Order which had received the sanction and approval of his predecessors. The emperor smiled, and, almost at the same moment, fixing his eye upon the tabernacle, he stopped before the statue of St. Ignatius, of massive silver and glittering with precious stones, and exclaimed against the prodigious sum which it must have cost. “Sire,” stammered the father-general, “this statue has been erected with the money of the friends of the Society.” “Say, rather,” replies Joseph, “with the profits of the Indies !”²

Clement XIV. died. Very suspicious symptoms attended his death ; he was probably poisoned : but I can find no proof that the Jesuits promoted the crime,

¹ Saint Priest.

² Saint Priest, Fall of the Jesuits.



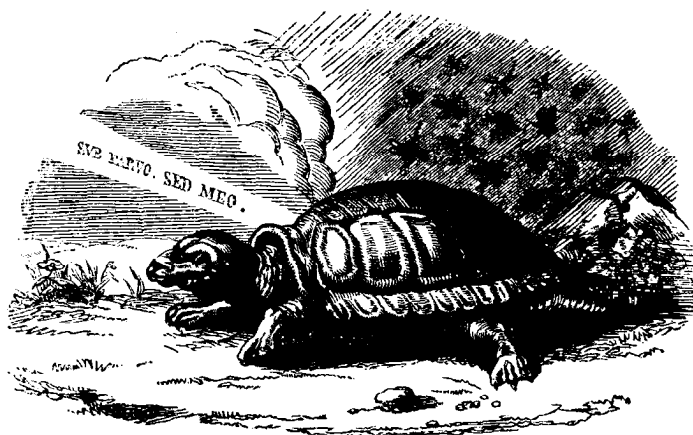
G. Cook, sc.

though such is the implied accusation. Nay, Ricci, the general, is said to have visited the "prophetess" who *foretold* the pope's death!¹

What motive could the Jesuits have for desiring the pope's death? I discard the idea of mere *revenge*,—but was there hope in the probable successor? This is the most dismal page of their history; if guilty of all the alleged crimes and misdemeanours, they became doubly so by their humiliations—such is the world's judgment.

The successor of Clement XIV. connived at the disobedience of the Jesuits in not being abolished. Frederick, the King of Prussia, gave them an asylum, and they were permitted to open a Novitiate in Russia by the Empress Catharine, and by the ambiguous will of the pope who, like his predecessor, feared to offend the crowned heads, the foes of the Jesuits, who had caused their suppression.

¹ Saint Priest. In the *Documents concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, there is a frightful account of the pope's horrible disease. The object of the Jesuit-writer is to impress the idea of a Divine judgment, but on reading it, I felt convinced more than ever that Clement XIV. was poisoned. See *Documents*, t. iii. *Extinction de la Comp.* Cretineau published last year an account of the suppression, entitled *Clement XIV. et les Jésuites*. He brings forth nothing more of importance on the subject—except additional proofs of the baseness of the Roman Court—thus disgracing his Church to shield the Jesuits—the usual process when no other offers itself. Ricci, the bishop of Pistoie and Prato, states his belief that Clement XIV. was poisoned. This bishop was related to the general of the Jesuits, but by no means blind to the corruption of the Company. See his *Mémoires*, by De Potter, i. 23, and p. 151, for the account of the pope's malady and death, sent by the Spanish minister to the Court of Madrid. See also pp. 198, *et seq.* for the examination of the ex-general. De Potter observes: "However guilty were both Ricci and his Company (a fact which we can no longer doubt), still, he had the right to be treated legally, without there being secret and inquisitorial interrogatories and extra-judicial measures of rigour to give all the appearance of a persecution to a procedure which had become indispensable to the safety and tranquillity of all Catholic governments."—*Ubi supra*, p. 30. Saint Priest's work, *Histoire de la Chute des Jésuites* is the best book on the suppression. There is an English translation which is very correct.



EPILOGUE OF THE REVIVAL.

WHAT a striking metamorphosis of that vigorous eagle which, two hundred and thirty years before, arose on ardent pinions from the centre of Catholicism, flapped her resounding wings over the universe, alighting where she listed! What was the object of the Ignatian scheme? To restore Catholicism—to win back all that the popedom had lost—to achieve a complete restoration of the ancient faith. We have witnessed the efforts of the Jesuits—we have seen their triumphs—and now, what is the fact—the mighty fact which stared them in the face? Why, that their downfall was the most undeniable evidence that the popedom was sunk in hopeless degradation—the spirit of Catholicism scarcely anywhere unalloyed by doubt, or indifference—the Catholic kingdoms of Europe shorn of their greatness—whilst the *Protestant* dynasties (the object of Jesuit-machination from the beginning) soared triumphant in the

sphere of politics, deriving their power, wealth, and glory, from the expanding energies of Protestantism.

Their missionary schemes were totally ruined or completely unproductive of the results specified in the charter of their apostolate, as the one thing needful—all had vanished, though the Curious and Edifying Letters may continue to mystify a portion of mankind for ever.

Their educational-scheme, so universal, that it absorbed the children of all ranks, from the scions of royalty to the sons of the peasant, had only stimulated the spirit of transition by the nurture of intellect amid the formalities of fantastic devotion. In truth, the Jesuits boast of many a great name, whose bearer had conned his lessons on their benches. This could not be otherwise when they so effectually pushed themselves forward, that all rivals shrank before them and resigned the monopoly of education to the fashionable Jesuits. From their own Company went forth the writers who unsettled the minds of mankind,—from their benches a boy, predicted by his Jesuit-master to become “the standard of Deism in France,”—François Marie Arouet, *alias* Voltaire. These were unfortunate coincidences—and there were many others; but they are facts for consideration nevertheless.¹ Whose names were more frequently repeated during that highly-intellectual and sensual age than those of the Jesuits *Hardouin* and *Berruyer*? Though Jesuits, that is, professionally orthodox, these writers seconded the growing scepticism of the age, and sanctioned its extravagance respectively. *Hardouin* put forth ridiculous doubts as to the authenticity of the ancient classics, excepting only Cicero, Pliny's Natural History, portions of Horace and the Georgics of Virgil

¹ See Alison, Europe, I. p. 136, for an interesting account of Voltaire.

—extending his doubts publicly, even to the Councils of the Church. La Croze, a Protestant, alludes to these facts with alarm at the very time ; and there can be no doubt that the spirit of religious doubt was intimately connected with these intellectual vagaries of the Jesuits. Their Father Petarius, a learned theologian of the Company, maintained opinions which induced his readers to rank him among the Socinians, whilst the same Hardouin whom I have mentioned, maintained the most fantastical notions on the Trinity, in his Commentary on the New Testament.¹ To say that Hardouin was censured by the general is quite beside the question—his opinions went forth—the world received them—and they were in exact accordance with the spirit of the age—in *France*, at least, where the mighty social volcano was about to explode. The Jesuit Berruyer published his *History of the People of God*, being the History of the Bible ; I have read his work with no edification whatever. His object is evidently to assimilate the sentiments and motives of the scriptural characters with the sentiments and motives of the age for which he wrote—substituting the concoctions of his extravagant imagination for the simplicity of the bible-narrative. His Jews are fantastic Frenchmen, and his angels are argumentative Jesuits. The book was laughed at, and condemned by the pope—but still the original effect was unimpaired. Voltaire called Berruyer a fool—and religion was associated with the Jesuit.²

¹ It was my intention to examine more comprehensively the works of this extravagant Jesuit ; but though the materials are before me, I am compelled, for want of space, to dismiss them without further discussion.

² Nor must we forget the awfully silly prodigies which the Jesuits had put forth, as performed by their saints. Think of their Life of the Jesuit Colnagus, who was stated to have made water hot with a sign of the cross—to have turned thistles into roses—and changed “a glass of generous wine” into vinegar—and all for the mere fun of the thing, or the whim of the moment—as is expressly

Now, in the midst of these results, the Jesuits, as a body, adhered unswervingly to the doctrines of ecclesiastical authority and subordination. Whatever was at variance with these, whether actual unbelief, Jansenist notions, or reforming tendencies, all alike met with their uncompromising condemnation. This was in accordance with professional instinct : it was an infatuation ; for their moral inculcations were, as we have seen, completely accommodated to the spirit of the age. Thus they contributed to the motive-power of society, and yet would clog and stop its wheels, now rushing to a consummation, which the two preceding centuries of "religious" strife, amidst profligacy and despotism, rendered one of the most natural results in the history of mankind. The Churchmen, ever buttressed with abuses, became more or less contemptible in the generation which followed Bossuet. They had "got rid" of the Huguenots ; "the Church" seemed triumphant—they enjoyed the mock-security. The "philosophers" sprang up : there was no talent in the Church to meet them with argument. In this deficiency, they nevertheless annoyed, insulted, exasperated the spirit of liberalism around them. The Jesuits especially drew upon themselves marked hatred and opprobrium. The battle deepened. The first attack made on them was in the domain of thought and literature. They opposed to the multitude and vigour of their assailants rather a stubborn tenacity to doctrines once adopted, than the genuine weapons of intellectual warfare. "It is incomprehensible," observes Ranke, "that neither they themselves, nor any of their colleagues in the faith, produced

evident in the narrative ! See *De Vita et Virtutibus R. P. Bernardi Colnagi à Soc. Jesu.* à J. Paullino, "ejus Societatis conscript." *Anno Virginici partus*, MDCLXII.

a single original and effective book in defence of their cause, whilst the works of their antagonists inundated the world, and fixed the character of public opinion."

Once defeated in the field of doctrine, of science, and of intellect, it was impossible for them long to maintain their hold of power—which was in opposition to the spirit of the age. The Jesuits and ecclesiastical domination were arrayed against liberalism and political ambition—*exactly the position of Europe when their Company was established*. This is a striking fact, and completely attests the failure of Loyola's scheme, in its leading motive.

Now, in the middle of the eighteenth century, during the struggle of these two tendencies, reforming ministers came to the helm in almost all the Catholic states of Europe:—in France, Choiseul,—in Spain, Wall and Squillace,—in Naples, Tanucci,—in Portugal, Pombal; all of them men who had made it the great aim of their lives to bring down the ascendancy of the Church and its principles. In these politicians the opposition to ecclesiastical domination obtained representatives: their personal position was founded on that opposition; open warfare was the more unavoidable, since the Jesuits obstructed them by personal counteraction, and by their influence in the highest circles.¹

Meanwhile the history of the Jesuits, through more than two centuries of endless interference, affliction to humanity, was before the world. The abuses of the Company were prominent: she would consent to no reformation: she refused to yield a hair's breadth, and doggedly rejected every compromise which bore the slightest appearance of reform, in her intolerable pride and self-sufficiency. Thus she pronounced her doom—

¹ Ranke, p. 324.

and Pope Clement XIV. expressed it as follows : “ Inspired by the Divine Spirit, as we trust, urged by the duty of restoring concord to the Church, convinced that the Company of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded, and moved by other motives of prudence and wise government which we keep locked in our own breast, we abolish, and annul the Company of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions.”¹ The Jesuits had been expelled from more than thirty places and countries during their career : the Company now possessed, all over the world, 39 Provinces, 24 Houses for the Professed, 669 Colleges, 61 Novitiates, 176 Seminaries, 335 Residences, 223 Missions, and 22,787 members. And in this condition the Pope of Rome abandoned the Company to the *Catholic* reaction against ecclesiastical domination.

Unquestionably, this triumph was a dreadful blow to Catholicism. Defection from the Church spread more and more—yea, even Austria, with its Joseph II., shook off many of the papal shackles ; and even Naples obliterated the last traces of feudal connection with the see of Rome.

The Jesuits and their friends ascribe the French Revolution to their suppression. What ignorance of history is assumed in this assertion of pitiful conceit ! A thousand volumes detailed the numberless causes which produced that scourge of humanity :—diseases of royalty, diseases of nobility, diseases of the Church, diseases in the public mind, aggravated by the most ruinous and disgusting abuses ;—these were the causes of the French Revolution ; and had the Jesuits existed as a Company during the sixteen years after the suppression, they would unquestionably have deepened the

¹ Ranke, p. 327.

frightful contest, and enhanced the horrors of that victory which they could never have prevented.¹

The ex-Jesuits were dispersed over the world as chaplains, teachers, professors, and authors, whilst the English members went on as usual. Indeed, it would appear from a letter of Pombal, that the English government secretly patronised the Jesuits, for political purposes. Saint Priest publishes the letter : if its statement be false, it still shows that Pombal feared "the immense power of the Jesuits."² Of course, the Jesuits made no demonstration against the blow which struck them down :—it would have been utterly useless ;—nay, would have aggravated their calamity. One of them, in the foreign missions, dropped down dead on the spot when the suppression was announced to him.

Frederick, the Protestant king of Prussia, with whom the ex-general Ricci had corresponded, craving his protection, gave the Jesuits an asylum in Silesia. He had annexed that Catholic province to his dominions, and he thought the Jesuits would conciliate the minds of the people to subjection, since the Jesuits generally seconded the powers which befriended them : besides, the Jesuits were still influential in Poland, and Frederick thought he had better make friends of them, to suit his purposes.³

And Catherine II. of Russia received the Jesuits. She gave them an establishment in the Polish province of the empire. Her motive was political : the Jesuits gave her powerful support in her designs on Poland. In 1772, when the first division of Poland was made, the Jesuits had at Polotsk a magnificent college, surrounded with vast domains, and possessed, as serfs, 10,000 peasants, a part of whom were on the left bank,

¹ See Alison, Europe, I. c. ii. for ample details on the subject.

² "Chute des Jésuites," Append. I.

³ Saint Priest, *ut antea* p. 25.

and the rest on the right, of the Dwina. Over the whole country they had immense influence. When the pope suppressed the Company, they passed over from the left bank of the Dwina, which was Polish, to the right, which was already Russian,—and swore fidelity to Catherine. At their instigation the publication of the Breve of Suppression was prohibited in all the Russias ; and they maintained their position exactly as though the Company had not been abolished by the popedom. Strange, that the Jesuits themselves should give an example to the world of disobedience to that power which they were established to obey implicitly, and defend to the utmost of their power. Nay, they set up, or at all events supported, a Catholic primate or patriarch in Russia. The man had been a Calvinist, had married, and become a priest of doubtful Catholicity. Yet an ex-Jesuit became his coadjutor ; and, backed by Catherine, he went to Rome, and boldly and haughtily demanded the pallium for the “ Archbishop of Mohilow,” as the creature was titled. Pope Pius VI. demurred : the Jesuit, Benislawski by name, protested he would not leave the papal antechamber until his demand was granted. Pius VI. gave way : then a nuncio went to St. Petersburg ; and the pope secretly encouraged the Company in Russia, whilst he maintained its suppression. Strange situation for a religious Order—rebellious to the popedom—supported by all the powers separated from Rome, against all the powers connected with its religion,—and still more strange the fact, that the popedom was now at variance with itself,—condemning and yet encouraging the Company at the same time ! Enough, surely, are these facts for the meditation of Catholics.¹

¹ Saint Priest, *ut antea*, pp. 251, *et seq.*

The Jesuits elected one Grouber for their general, and everything went on as usual. The numerous literati of the ex-Company laboured with great industry; and the most lasting works of the Jesuits were published during the period of the suppression. Boscovich, the celebrated mathematician, astronomer, and *poet*, flourished in those days. It is curious that the Royal Society of London recommended this Jesuit as a proper person to be appointed to observe the transit of Venus in California; but the suppression prevented his acceptance of the appointment. The ex-Jesuit Andrès found an asylum at Mantua, under the roof of the Marquis Bianchi. He was the author of numerous works, among the rest a History of the Origin, Progress, and Actual State of Universal Literature, in seven volumes quarto. It is discursive and bottomless; but still a valuable contribution to the literature of his Company.¹ The Jesuit Tiraboschi professed rhetoric with great distinction at Milan, and was subsequently knighted, and promoted to a place in his cabinet, by the Duke of Modena; whilst the city inscribed his name in the list of its nobles. He was a voluminous writer, and his "History of Italian Literature, Ancient and Modern," is a work of immense erudition, admirably written, and must ever maintain for its author a place amongst the most distinguished critics. It extends to thirteen volumes in quarto.²

Numerous other works were published by the ex-Jesuits, among the rest, an *Universal Biography*, by *De Feller*, which was a clever scheme of Jesuitism; for it enabled them to do as they liked with the characters of history, in connection with that of their own Company.

¹ "Dell' Origine, de' Progressi, e Dello Stato Attuale d'Ogni Letteratura."

² "Storia della Letteratura Italiana, del Cavaliere Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi."

The groundwork of the publication was copied from a similar work by Chaudon ; but, for the reason above given, Feller's Dictionary is full of errors, and displays a revolting partiality. It is the standard biographical authority of the Catholics, and has gone through numerous editions, considerably enlarged by subsequent editors.

In 1814, Pope Pius VII. restored the Jesuits as an Order, revoking the breve of Clement XIV., for the pope whom Napoleon had humbled into strange steps for the awful Head of the Church to take, was led to believe that the public sanction of the Company, by a formal restoration, would give an impulse to the Catholic cause ; but considerable resistance was made to the restoration in Catholic kingdoms.¹

Two years after, in 1816, the Emperor Alexander expelled the Jesuits from Russia for making " conversions,"—which, I suppose, were scrupulously refrained from by the primitive refugees of Jesuitism.

In 1824 the Jesuits met with a formidable opponent in the Count de Montlosier, who vigorously denounced the Company as " a system religious and political, tending to overturn religion, society, and the throne." It was a stand against *Ultramontanism* or the views of the papal court—to uphold which in France was the leading motive of Pius VII. in restoring the Jesuits. Montlosier's work is well-written, forceful, and highly deserving of attentive perusal.²

Soon after, the Abbé De la Roche-Arnaud published his " Jesuites Modernes," in which he drew a frightful

¹ See Hist. des Jesuites, ii. c. xi. for a striking summary of Pius VII.'s pontificate.

² "Mémoire à consulter sur un Système religieux et politique tendant à renverser la Religion, la Société, et le Trone, par M. le Comte de Montlosier."

picture of reviving Jesuitism in France ; and then he wrote his "Memoirs of a Young Jesuit," detailing his own experience among the fathers, for he had been a novice at Mont-Rouge. Nothing can exceed the disgusting things he relates of the Jesuits in their private conduct ; and traces the history of the Jesuits in France throughout the Revolution and the subsequent reigns, with damaging details, if true :—but Cretineau says that the author repented, and retracted all he had written ; a fact which needs better confirmation than Jesuit authority.¹

Michelet and Quinet, with Eugene Sue, in 1845, took the Jesuits in hand, with great effect—and the Company was expelled from France, by way of a "retirement," commanded by the General Roothan. Just before, the Jesuits had been robbed of 10,000*l.* by their procurator, one Affnacr, a consummate rogue, who falsified their accounts, and spent the Jesuit-money on his horses, mistresses, and boon companions.² This large loss did not ruin them, and the fact is important. All their property had been confiscated, and yet, after the suppression, we find them flourishing in abundance. In Ireland they bought a mansion for 20,000*l.* It is difficult to account for these large means, without taking it for granted, that the Jesuits were wise enough in their generation to help themselves, before they permitted their needy foes to clutch their earnings.

The late expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland has been followed by their banishment from Bavaria, Austria, Naples, and *Rome itself*, for siding with Austria, an event which in former times would have been an epoch in the world's history : but Pope Pius IX.

¹ "Mémoires d'un Jeune Jésuite," &c. ; it was translated into several languages.

² Cretineau, vi. 498.

expelled the Jesuits without the slightest difficulty, and they have taken refuge in England, where, with their general, Roothaan, they now enjoy the hospitality of a Catholic nobleman in one of his mansions. Their pupils maltreated them when they left the Roman College—an event disgraceful to the pupils, but still significant. When they lost the respect of their pupils in former times, they were advancing to their downfall.

The rich province of England is likely to be the general refuge of the Company. The origin of the Jesuit-wealth in England is interesting. When their colleges at St. Omer, Bruges, and Ghent crumbled under the horns of the Papal bull, the establishment at Liege was somehow spared. The French Revolution supervened: that avenger included the Jesuits in its fearful retribution; the college at Liege was destroyed; the Jesuits and their pupils were expelled. This misfortune was the harbinger of prosperity to the Belgian Jesuits. They took refuge in England; and the generous Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, a Catholic gentleman, presented the exiles with the domain of Stonyhurst.¹

It is impossible to state precisely the number of the modern Jesuits; certainly it is not less than 7,000 of all ranks in the Company, scattered and lurking over France, Italy, Germany; settled in various "Missions" in the East and the West, whence they contribute "edifying letters" for the "Annals of the Propagation;" but these letters are very far from being as "curious" as those of old: the energy, the talent of the Company passed away with the last failures of the original Company. The modern Jesuits may have,

¹ For details on Stonyhurst, see "The Novitiate," pp. 36, *et seq.*, 2nd edit.

according to Gioberti, all the craft and cunning of their forefathers, but neither as apostles, nor as men of science, nor as authors, nor as teachers, can they claim the slightest right to be named with the Jesuits of old.¹ It was to me a most remarkable fact, that whilst at St. Cuthbert's College the educational system of the Jesuits was carried out to the utmost extent (as I can attest from the experience of six years nearly), I found little or nothing of the sort at Stonyhurst; and the pupils

¹ The following summary gives the numerical force of the Jesuits in 1845.—

In the province of Turin the number of the Jesuits increased between the 1st of January, 1841, and the 1st of January, 1845, from 379 to 428. They have in Turin a "noble" college, another college and a *pensionnat*, including 81 Jesuits; a professed house at Genoa; novitiates at Chiari and at Cagliari; colleges and *pensionnats* at Aosta, Chambery, Genoa, Nice, Novara, Cagliari, San Remo and Voghera. Since the commencement of the year 1845, a new college has been opened at Massa.

The establishments of the province of Spain have been disorganised by the political events which have convulsed that country. In 1845, there were 113 Jesuits disseminated in Spain, particularly in the dioceses of Toledo, Seville, Pampeluna, and Valencia. This province has a "residence" at Nivello in Belgium, and another at Aire, in France; it has also residences in South America, namely, in Paraguay, Uruguay, La Plata, Brazil, New Grenada and Chili. Another list gives 536 Jesuits in Spain. (Frankfort Postamts Zeitung.)

At the commencement of 1845, the province of Paris, which includes the northern part of France, numbered 420 Jesuits, thus giving an increase of 129 from the year 1841.

The province of Lyons includes the southern part of France; in 1841 it contained 290 Jesuits, in 1845, 446,—scattered over the country,—at Lyons, Bordeaux, Dole, Grenoble, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Avignon, as priests, novices, and brothers. The Society in France numbered 872 Jesuits.

As the colleges are not open to them in France, they have founded one in the frontiers of the kingdom, at Brugelete, in Belgium. The French province has still nineteen Jesuits, employed on the mission in Grenada, and eight in China: it also possesses, in North America, two flourishing establishments, containing nineteen priests, thirty-five novices, and eleven brothers. These are the novitiate of St. Mary, and the college of Louisville, in the state of Kentucky.

The French province had also thirty-nine Jesuits in Africa, namely, at Algiers, Oran, and Constantine; also twenty-two missionaries in the East Indies—at Trichinopoly, in the presidency of Madras, and in the island of Madura; ten in Syria, and six in Madagascar.

The province of Belgium is one of the most flourishing at the present time. In 1841, there were 319 Jesuits in that province; there are now 472. The novitiate of Tronchiennes contains 129. They have colleges at Alost, Antwerp,

who had passed through their "Humanity studies" had evidently not attained the acquirements prescribed by the *Ratio Studiorum*. The English fathers cannot do better than strictly adhere to the letter of the educational law, as laid down with the sanction of the glorious Aquaviva.

Nevertheless, the establishment "pays:" for the "gratis-instruction" was not renovated at the restoration of the Company. The College of Stonyhurst must receive, on an average, at least 6,000*l.* per annum from pupils:—the number being about 120, at 40 guineas per annum, for boys under twelve years of age; for those above that age, 50 guineas; and for students in philosophy, 100 guineas. Besides this, the college possesses and farms some thousand acres of good land, over which one of the fathers presides as procurator. The Jesuits are highly esteemed in the neighbourhood: their handsome church is thronged on Sundays and festivals; and on stated occasions, they distribute portions of meat to the poor, besides supporting a small school for their children. Hence they have influence in those parts, as any Member of Parliament will find to his cost, should he not make friends with the Jesuits.

The English fathers have no less than thirty-three

Brussels, Ghent, Louvain, Namur, Liege, &c.: residences at *Bruges, Courtray, and Mons*: missions at *Amsterdam, the Hague, Nimeguen, Dusseldorf, and in Guatemala, in America.*

The province of Germany includes Switzerland, which contained 245 Jesuits in 1841, and 273 in 1844.

There are eighty-eight "houses" in Germany, containing 1000 Jesuits, of whom 400 are priests.

In *Columbia, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania*, the Jesuits have found a footing,—and "go ahead" in "the land of the Free and the Brave," as gaily as all other speculators—staunch republicans. In my fifteenth year, I met one of their priests at *Baltimore, in Maryland*, whilst on my way to *England from the West Indies*. He wished me to stay and enter at their college—but, in spite of his great kindness, I preferred my original destination, and went to *St. Cuthbert's*.

establishments, or colleges, residences, and missions in England. Of course Stonyhurst is the principal establishment, where the Provincial of England resides. The college in 1845 contained twenty priests, twenty-six novices and scholastics, and fourteen lay-brothers.¹

Of the 806 missionary priests in Great Britain, including bishops, the Jesuits alone can say how many are enlisted under the banner of Ignatius, though, doubtless, this knowledge is shared by the "Vicars-Apostolic" of the various districts in which they are privileged to move unmolested. The Jesuits are muffled in England; it is difficult to distinguish them in the names of the Catholic lists annually published. They have established a classical and commercial academy at Mount St. Mary's, near Chesterfield; and the prospectus of the establishment, after describing the suit of clothes that the pupils are to bring, not forgetting the ominous "Oxford mixture"²—simply informs the world that "the college is conducted by *gentlemen connected with the college of Stonyhurst.*" These "gentlemen" are generally

¹ A letter has been placed in my hands, of whose authenticity I have no doubt whatever, the post mark with the cost of postage being duly marked on the face of it, and the whole statement presenting not a single feature of forgery. It is addressed to a Count de Thuissey, who, during the French Revolution, was in a merchant's counting-house in England. I mention this circumstance to account for the fact that the letter is written in English. It is dated April 26th, 1828, English College, Rome. The party who writes the letter bears the name of one of the Catholic priests now in England. The contents are very curious. It is an account of the writer's application for admission into the English Company, and the bargain proposed to his father, by the Jesuit-agent (whose name is mentioned in the letter) in a consultation after the application for admission. His father was induced "to give almost half his property in ready money" as the terms of admission. The youth, as he states, demurred at this, considering the condition of his family. The agent said he would "write for further instructions." "It was not long before I did receive a very short letter from him—but judge of my disappointment to find by it, that all further negotiation was to be broken off, without any cause being assigned."

² Cath. Direct. p. 126—"trousers of Oxford mixture."

sent out in *pairs*, by the provincial, according to the Constitutions, and thus may charm by variety ; for the quantity of work on hand in the various Jesuit missions in England is by no means so evident as the speculation for *more*, by this constitutional provision. The *secular* priests are doubled and tripled by the *necessities* of the mission ; the Jesuits are doubled, tripled, and quadrupled, by the requirement of the Constitutions, and the *prospects* before them.

The Jesuits in England dress as any clergyman, or any gentleman : by their outward man you cannot tell them. Strange notions are afloat respecting these men. I have been asked if I do not think that there are Jesuits *incognito* in the University of Oxford. This question I cannot undertake to answer. Such a speculation would indeed be a bold one, even in the Jesuits : but then, consider *De' Nobili, Beschi, &c.* ; surely, if a Jesuit may assume the *Brahmin* and *Pariah*, in order to “ingraft Christianity on Paganism,” he may assume the *Protestant*, in order to ingraft Romanism on Protestantism, firmly convinced of Lucian's axiom, namely, that “a beginning is the half of everything.”¹ This is arguing from the past to the present—nothing more.²

Again have I been asked, by what sign can one

¹ Ἀρχὴ ἡμῶν παντός.

² “The following narrative is a true copy taken from the registry of the episcopal See of Rochester, in that book which begins Ann. 2 & 3, Phil. et Mar., and is continued to 15 Eliz. : ‘In the year 1568, being the eleventh of Queen Elizabeth, one Thomas Heth, brother of Nicholas Heth, Bishop of Rochester, in the time of Henry VIII., came to the Dean of Rochester, made application to him to present him to the bishop, in order to some preferment. The dean thought it fit to hear the said Thomas Heth preach in the cathedral church, before he would interest himself in his behalf to the bishop. Accordingly, he appointed him to preach upon the 21st of November, when he took his text out of Acts xii. 8 : “Peter therefore was kept in prison, but prayers were made without ceasing of the Church to God for him.” But so it happened, that while he was preaching, casually pulling out his handkerchief, a letter dropt into the bottom

distinguish a Jesuit? Perhaps the sign whereby you may know the Jesuits, is their being better housed, better clothed, and better fed than most other Roman Catholic priests. This sign is, of course, equivocal: but the *fact* is undeniable: the "missionary funds" of the Jesuits are liberally applied—to their members, "they give freely what they have freely received." In other respects the Jesuits show themselves by "results." They dare not interfere openly in missions pre-occupied by the secular clergy: but they are independent of the Roman Catholic bishops, except for ordination, which is a matter of course. Still, perhaps I am justified in believing that their movements in London are considered by many of the orthodox as somewhat encroaching.

If these "doings" in London are "for a sign" as to their other localities, they are not idle. Nine years ago, there were only two Jesuits in London; there are now at least *four* in one "residence;" and if their great church in Berkeley-square be now finished, there must be

of the pulpit, directed to him, by the name of Thomas Finne, from one Samuel Malt, a notorious English Jesuit, then at Madrid, in Spain. The letter being found in the pulpit, by Richard Fisher, sexton of the cathedral, he carried it immediately to the dean, who, upon perusal, went presently to the Rev. Edmond Gest, then the bishop of that see, who, upon reading it, instantly caused the said Heth to be apprehended, and the next day brought him to examination. The letter was as follows: "Brother,—The council of our fraternity have thought fit to send you, David George, Theodorus Sartor, and John Huts, their collections, which you may distribute wherever you may see it may be for your purpose, according to the people's inclination"—and thus concludes: "This we have certified to the council and cardinals, that there is no other way to prevent people from turning heretics, and for recalling of others back again to the mother Church, than by the diversities of doctrines. We all wish you to prosper.—Madrid, Oct. 28, 1563. SAM. MALT." "Dr. Nelson, in his marginal notes, desires the reader seriously to observe, that the Jesuits, pope, and cardinals, have laid down this maxim, that divisions and separations are the most effectual way to introduce popery, and ruin the Protestant religion."—*London Magazine*, April, 1761, p. 192.

twelve Jesuits in London, to “serve” their metropolitan speculation, as was intended.¹

Every year a bill is proposed to Parliament for the removal of Catholic disabilities, including a clause in favour of the Jesuits. A cunning minister would certainly shake hands with the Jesuits, because such a man is apt to overreach himself; an honest, prudent minister would, in the present state of all parties, take time and consider the matter and the men, and would perhaps die undecided what to do—so hard is all Jesuit matter to understand in all its bearings;—but your slashing, keep-pace-with-the-times minister would use Jesuits to serve his purposes, and then sacrifice them, as every other friend or foe, to expediency—if the Jesuits would be simple enough to be caught a second time—*which is quite possible*;—for it is astonishing how a little sunshine, after dull weather, deceives the ants, bees, ground-worms, all the natural barometers of earth!

On the other hand, would not a general toleration be much more honest and honourable than the present connivance at an open infringement of the law of the land? By this law, the Jesuits who come into England are liable to transportation, and those who are in the country are bound by certain penalties. It is a disgrace to the nation to prosecute a smuggler, and spare a Jesuit. The law should certainly be repealed, and *perfect toleration* granted, as the most effectual means of undermining the influence of the Romish Church in England.

In general, the Romish clergy are very worthy and

¹ There are two Jesuits at Norwich, with a very fine chapel, and exceedingly comfortable “residence.” Last year they beautified their chapel, and gave a grand opening to the completion. The picture which before hung behind the altar, was taken down to make room for another. Strange, but true,—the Jesuits had the old one *raffled for* at half-a-crown the chance! It was a “Descent from the Cross.”

respectable men ; men of pleasing manners, placid, mild, charitable, and exceedingly well informed—much more so than the Jesuits, whose system of education is by no means as good as that pursued by the other Catholic collegiate bodies in England. According to Gioberti, they are under the same disadvantage in Italy. Among the members of the Catholic clergy in England, whose conduct is reprehensible, are the “*converts*”—the Protestants who have turned priests. These men are the very plagues of society. Woe to the poor Protestant wife of a Catholic with whom these zealous individuals may be acquainted ! she will be pursued, without respite, until she surrenders to “the faith.” It is said, that that propagandism of one’s belief is a sign of its sincerity ; but, unfortunately, the process so often leads to affliction that we may be permitted to believe it one of the most dangerous practices of our *modern* Christianity.

Still, let there be universal toleration. Let there be no difference whatever between Protestant and Catholic, except what each shall achieve by his manual or intellectual industry. It is a disgrace to Protestants to fear the Church of Rome. Look to facts. In the time of Elizabeth, there were in England, as we have seen, more than 400 priests. Since then the population has been quadrupled, and yet in all Great Britain there are only 806 Catholic priests—a great many of whom are engaged in the education of youth or doing nothing in the colleges. Now we have, I believe, 12,000 clergymen of the Established Church, and a countless multitude of dissenting ministers to meet this array of Romanism, in a fair intellectual and moral battle. Surely, the whole moral of these pages must declare that neither money, power, craft, nor persecution, can uphold a set of opinions—and that, by letting all have their own way,

those who are the greatest rogues will soonest bring about their own destruction.

In addition to this argument, it should be remembered that the Catholic nobility and gentry of England constitute a very respectable multitude; that many are connected by marriage with Protestant families; and not a few in Parliament.¹ Unquestionably the time is come when governments and "parties" must see that the human mind is but very little influenced by the mere *interests* of their religious teachers. Perfect toleration will make those fall who are upheld only by *privilege* and *position*.

The English province has twenty missionaries at Calcutta, and a "house," or residence, in Jamaica. It was asserted, in 1845, that the *English government* was even assisting the Jesuits, at that time, to found a new college, especially destined for China. Assuredly England is making ample amends for her ancient persecutions of the Catholics and Jesuits. But as Divine Providence weighs *motives*, not actions, time only will unravel the mystery. The Jesuits will serve their patrons, and they will serve themselves, and the history to come, like all history, will have many points of resemblance to that of the past.

The vice-province of Ireland numbered sixty-three Jesuits in 1841, and seventy-three in 1844. They possess, in Ireland, the colleges of Conglowes, Tolland, and Dublin. They have recently established a second "house" in the last-mentioned city.

But the day of the Jesuits is passed for ever. Awhile they may yet interfere in the concerns of the world :

¹ See "Blackwood's Magazine," Oct. 1838 : "The Progress of Popery in the British Dominions and Elsewhere." It is reprinted by Nisbet, Berners-street.

but never more will they either rule or "convert" kingdoms. Men's eyes are opened. A simple faith alone will be admitted between man's conscience and his God. Soon shall we have reason to forget that Rome ever existed, as a popedom; or, if we cannot forget the awful fact in Christendom, the remembrance will be supportable when ecclesiastical domination of every possible kind shall cease, and the sacred name of religion be no longer obnoxious to the obloquy of men.

Beautiful image, entrancing reality of the Redeemer's religion! When shall it bless mankind with all its heavenly gifts! Its never-ceasing faith, hope, and charity—love that strives to find and succeeds in finding motives to love on, in all that is man, in all that is created—and rises, from every contemplation, with renewed benevolence that prompts the heart to attest its faith, hope, and charity by *deeds*, such as a God vouchsafed to model for the imitation of his creature. How simple, and yet how sublime! The parching blast of exclusive opinions dries up the heart; but the gentle glow of charity makes it the centre whence a thousand rays shall diverge, and move on for ever—refracted or reflected—but still indestructible, and never ceasing to fulfil their destiny—good to all whom the God of all wills us to cherish as friends, as brothers!