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HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF NEW MEXICO.

No. 7.

THE
FRANCISCAN MARTYRS
Of 1680.

Funeral Oration over the Twenty-one Franciscan
Missionaries Killed by the Pueblo Indians,
August 10, 1680.

Preached by
DOCTOR YSIDRO SARIÑANA Y CUENCA,
March 20, 1681.

SANTA FE, N. M.
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No. 5.—1904—Biennial Report; English.
No. 6.—1904—Biennial Report; Spanish.
No. 7.—1906—“The Franciscan Martyrs of 1680.”

PREFACE.

This Sermon is one of the most interesting documents connected with early New Mexican history, as it gives a cotemporary account of the killing of the twenty-one Franciscan missionaries, who lost their lives at the opening of the Pueblo Revolution of 1680, on August 10th. The list which it contains of those Christian martyrs is beyond question exactly correct, as it comes from their brethren of the Order of St. Francis; and the statements of the Sermon set at rest any doubts that existed as to the cause of the uprising, and show that it was principally religious.

No copy of this Sermon existed in New Mexico, and none has been obtainable in the City of Mexico for many years; so that it is considered a piece of special good fortune that this copy was found in Santiago de Chile and obtained from there. It is understood that there is only one perfect copy available in South America, and that is valued at one thousand francs. The one acquired had been somewhat injured by mice, though not enough to lessen its practical usefulness, and its price was therefore within the means of the Society.

In publishing this edition of this Sermon, in English, the title page is reproduced in full as a specimen of the original typography. The reproduction is necessarily reduced in size, but shows this typography clearly, and the work of the mice in the upper corner. The capitalization, and the spelling of proper names, are preserved; and the Latin sentences printed in italics are those which are similarly distinguished in the Mexican edition.

The memorial service was held in the Cathedral of the City of Mexico in the presence of the Viceroy of New Spain and other high officials, March 1, 1681, and the Sermon was published during the same year, with a preliminary address to the King by Francisco de Ayeta, Franciscan Visitador of the Custodia of New Mexico; a certificate of approbation from Bernardo Pardo, the Provincial head of the Society of Jesus in Mexico; and other introductory documents.

L. B. P.

ORACIO
FVNEBI
QUE DIXO EL DO

D. YSIDRO SARIÑANA, Y CVENCA
Chantre de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de
Mexico Cathedrático de Prima de Sagrada Escritura en
la Real Vniuersidad, Calificador del Tribunal del Santo
Oficio de la Inquisicion, y Examinador Synodal del
Arçobispado.

El dia 20. de Março de 1681.

Presente el Ex.^{mo} Señor Marqués de la Laguna,
Conde de Paredes, Virrey desta Nueva-España.

*EN las Exequias de veinte y vn Religiosos de la Regular
Observancia del Seraphico P. S. Francisco, que murieron
a manos de los Indios Apostatas de la Nueva-Mexico,
en diez de Agosto del Año de 1680.*

Imprimela, y Dedicala à la Catholica, y Real
Magestad de el Rey N. Señor

D. CARLOS SEGUNDO
(que Dios guarde.)

El R. P. Predicador Fr. FRANCISCO AYETA,
Custodio habitual de aquella Custodia, actual Visitador
de ella, y Comissario General del Santo Oficio de la
Inquisicion de la Nueva-España.

CON LICENCIA

En Mexico, por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, año de 1681

SERMON.

IN DOMINO CONFIDO.

“In the Lord put I my trust. How say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to the mountains?” (From Psalm XI.)

In the Lord put I my trust; I put my trust in the Lord. How then dost thou say to me that I should imitate the cowardice of a bird, and that, with fear giving me wings, I should flee to the mountains?

Who, with such a courageous and generous resolution, founded not on his own strength, but on his confidence in God, resolves boldly to face all danger, disregarding the counsel of those who advise him to avoid every risk?

Thus literally speaks David, who, when pursued by Saul, resists the counsel of those who would persuade him to return to Judea, where the fury of his enemy concealed by craft and cunning, menaces him.

Thus speaks, allegorically, Christ, our Lord, returning with noble intrepidity to Jerusalem, where the cruel ingratitude of the Hebrews treacherously lays wait for him.

Thus speaks the tropological understanding of the Catholic pursued by impiety.

Thus speaks the Holy Religion of the most Glorious Patriarch and Seraphic Padre, St. Francis, which, though cruelly persecuted by confederated evil, yet regardless of this temporal life, in order that the glory of God should suffer no detriment, determined to bare its breast to all dangers, and went again to the same place where it had already experienced the danger and where the blood of its sons had been wickedly shed, and refused to be influenced by those who with specious reasoning would dissuade it from returning.

Thus says Jansen, in the argument of the Psalm: “*Se se hoc Psalmo consoldri potest justus quisque, cui sua-*

detur, ut propter impiorum molestias, et persecutiones, derelinquat locum suum, impiisque cedat cum detrimento gloriæ Dei."

Insisting, then, on this tropological or moral sense, let us see on what reasons the counsel which those who would have persuaded David to escape like a coward from the persecution of Saul, was founded.

In truth, the Prophet explains this in such a way that it seems simply a description of the sad event which we mourn over to-day.

Is not this a secret conspiracy of the Indians of New Mexico, who, departing from the Christian religion, secretly prepared the bow and treacherously made ready the arrows within the quiver, ungratefully designing them for the innocent breasts of the sons of Francis, who with rectitude of heart, as Ministers of the Gospel, were instructing them in the knowledge of God; and this with such artful dissimulation that it was concealed till the moment of execution, no premonition coming before the blow itself, when on the same day, twenty-one Ministers of the Gospel were cruelly slain.

I do not know any better way in which this event can be expressed, in other words, than in those which the Prophet adds as those which were used to him by the men who would dissuade him from returning to Judea: "Quonian ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum, paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde."

"For lo, the ungodly bend their bow, and make ready their arrows within the quiver; that they may privily shoot at them which are true of heart."

The most lamentable part of this sad event was that everything which the merciful hand of God, by the medium of his Ministers, in a hundred years* had brought to perfection, whether in spiritual matters, in adding to the Church such a number of sons, begotten by the Gospel

*Original Note to Sermon—The first Religious entered New Mexico in the year 1581. Torquemada 3-p. lib. 21. c. 9.

to fervent devotion in this Sacred Religion; or in material affairs, of so many Temples, erected, and so appropriately furnished; all was destroyed in one day.

So, also, the Prophet, talking with God, laments the mysterious dispensation in these words: "*Quoniam quae perfecisti, destruxerunt.*" As if he would say, "Ah! Lord, they tell me not to return, because those ingrates, barbarously and impiously breaking Thy holy laws, and disregarding Thy Gospel, pursue Thy servants even to the death, destroy everything that has been erected and burn Thy temples to ashes."

Almost all this, Jansen says in his paraphrase of this verse: "*Quoniam quae perfecisti destruxerunt. Leges, quas servandas constituisti, impii dissipaverunt, legibus que tuis neglectis, inique justos persequetur ad mortem.*"

Giving careful attention to the words of the Royal Prophet, and having consulted with diligent study the Doctors who have expounded them, they lead to the chief intent of my oration: That we bear in mind all the deplorable circumstances of the case, which we lament; and comfort ourselves in pious confidence of that better life, to which those who died at the hands of such sacrilegious impiety have passed.

"The ungodly," says the text, "bend their bow and make ready their arrows within the quiver, that they may privily shoot at them that are true of heart." These are the words translated into Spanish from the Latin: "*Quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum, paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittet in obscuro rectos corde.*"

But, to give more attention to the signification than to the sound, the phrase "*in obscuro*" means, as it is expounded by Lyra and Dionisio Cartusiano, "*Latenter et insidiosè;*" as this is the sense intended to be conveyed: "They prepared the arrows and made ready the bows with such caution, that, concealing the intent and deceiving as to the object, the notice came at the same time as the wound." It could not come sooner or later, as it was borne on the swift wings of the arrows, which were already on their mission of destruction.

That Kingdom was then, as the Governor says, in his letter of September 8th of last year, "entirely foreign in character from the event which was so soon to occur, judging from the peace and tranquility which prevailed." He speaks of what appeared as the outward cloak of hypocrisy. Everything seemed to be peaceful outwardly; but inwardly all was rabid passion, instigated by the devil; for, on the 10th day of August, dedicated by our Holy Mother Church to the honor of the Most Glorious Spanish Protomartyr, St. Lawrence, the fury of the nefarious sacrilegious wickedness, which had been hidden in the quiver of the heart, suddenly broke forth.

On this day, the venerable Padre Fray Juan Bautista Pio, a native of the City of Victoria in the Province of Alaba, having gone to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass at the Pueblo of Tesuque, which is a mission of the City of Santa Fe, the Capital of that Kingdom, was killed by the Indians of that very pueblo.

This is the death which is first mentioned in the authentic accounts of the conspiracy. If confederated cruelty was wickedly pursuing innocence, it is clear that there had to be a Pio as the first target of the arrows which impiety and apostasy shot against the Christian Religion.

Passing from sacrilege to robbery, they carried away the scanty supplies which the Convento had for its own subsistence, and like the wicked in the proverb, without knowing who pursued them, they fled to the mountains.

"Fugite imius nemine persequente." Proverbs 28:1.

On that same morning they killed in different and distant Conventos twenty other Religious.

In Santa Cruz de Galisteo, the Reverend Fathers Fray Juan Bernal, the actual Custodian, and Fray Domingo de Vera, natives of the most noble City of Mexico.

At San Bartolome de Xongopavi, the Rev. Padre Fray Joseph de Truxillo, a man of exemplary virtues, the knowledge of which induced the higher Prelates to elect him First Guardian and Prelate of the Convento of San Cosme without the walls of this city, when it was erected as a

memorial, under the title of Nuestra Senora de Consolacion.

At the Convento of Porciuncula, the Rev. Padre Fray Fernando de Velasco, who had served thirty years as a missionary in that Holy Custodia; both of these latter being natives of Cadiz.

In that of Nambe, the Reverend Padre Fray Thomas de Torres, a native of Tepozotlan.

In that of San Ildephonso, the Reverend Padre Fray Luis de Morales, a native of Ubeda or Baeza; and in company with him, the brother Fray Antonio Sanches de Pro, a native of this city, who from the order of the Descalces passed to the Observancia, with the object of going to serve in that Holy Custodia.

In that of San Lorenzo de Picuries, the Reverend Padre Fray Mathias Rendon.

In that of San Geronimo de Taos, the Reverend Padre Fray Antonio de Mora; both the last named being natives of the City of Los Angeles; and in the same Convento de Taos, Brother Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, a native of Mexico.

In that of San Marcos, the Reverend Padre Fray Manuel Tinoco, a son of the Province of San Miguel in Estremadura.

In that of Santo Domingo, the Reverend Padres Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, a native of Galicia; Fray Juan de Talaban, Custodio habitual, a native of Seville, who had been a missionary almost twenty years, and Fray Joseph de Montesdoea, a native of Queretaro.

In that of San Diego de Jemez, the Reverend Padre Fray Juan de Jesus, a native of Granada.

In that of San Estevan of Acoma, the Reverend Padre Fray Lucas Maldonado, Difinidor actual, a native of Tribugena.

In that of the Purisima Concepcion of Alona, the Reverend Padre Fray Juan del Val, of the Kingdom of Castile.

In that of Aguatubi, the Reverend Padre Fray Joseph de Figueroa, a native of Mexico.

In that of Oraibe, the Reverend Padre Fray Joseph de

Espeleta, Custodio habitual, a native of Estela in the Kingdom of Navarre, who had been thirty years a missionary, and the Reverend Padre Fray Agustin de Santa Maria, a native of Pasquaro.

Now then, all of these murders were committed on the same day. It is clear that to attain that result, the preparations must have been made long before. How, then, can we best explain a revolutionary uprising so long premeditated and so carefully concealed? How explain that deceptive humility and ceremonious submissiveness so observable among the Indians on the 9th of August, and that insane fury which characterized them on the 10th?

Not in any other manner than that which follows: The very instruments that they used are the best hieroglyphics or emblems of the secret deceptive simulation with which they proceeded. The quiver in which the arrows are hidden is the symbol of dissimulation, in which treason is concealed; and thus in the metaphor of the quiver, the Prophet describes it: "*Paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra.*" Daughters of the Quiver, Jeremiah called the arrows in Chapter 3 of the Book of Lamentations: "*Tetendit arcum suum, et posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.*" *Misit invenibus meis filias pharetrae suae.*"

I see that in this place Jeremiah uses the words "Quiver of God," "pharetrae suae," for those most mysterious Divine judgments and secret designs from which God permitted that He should suffer, like arrows which pierced Him through, in all the calamities, which in His persecution afflicted Him. And thus says Saint Jerome, "*Pharetra Dei est occultum Dei indicium.*"

But the same quiver which symbolizes the mysterious judgment of God in the sufferings of His Servants, may also be a symbol of the dissimulation with which those who malignantly pursue them hide their depraved intentions; as the bow which in the hands of the sinner represents the cunning of malignity; "*Peccatores intenderunt arcum;*" and in the hand of God, where Jeremiah looked upon it, pointed in an entirely different direction, to the persecution which His Providence permits. "*Tetendit arcum suum. & posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam.*"

Daughter of the Quiver is the name used for the arrows, because they are in it as in the womb, which conceals them, until, when they are placed on the bow-string, the power of the hand which shoots them brings them to light. The Doctissimo Padre Martin Del Rio remarks, "*filiæ pharetræ vocat more hebræo sagittas, eo quod in pharetræ observatæ, velut in utero custodiantur, & inde promptæ, velut proles in lucem mittantur.*" And it may even be that from the Hebrew source came the phrase used by Horace, who calls a quiver full of arrows a womb pregnant with darts. An observation of the same Doctor, not alluded to before by the commentator of this poet is the following: "*Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,*
"Fusce, pharetra."

The Quivers, then, which were arranged beforehand, were symbols of the treason which they concealed; because that as one hides the arrow in the quiver until the occasion arrives for the shooting to bring it to light, even so in these men, the treason concealed in their depraved souls was hidden until the appointed day in which their fury broke forth unexpectedly and swiftly. "*Et inde promptæ, velut proles in lucem mittantur.*"

But even a clearer symbol of their treason was the arrow. Who does not know that naturally submissive manner in which the Indians, before the Spaniards, and especially before the Ministers of the Word, humiliate themselves in outward observances in which they profess obedience with bowed heads. In giving attention to the ceremonious manner of this obsequiosness truly one might say that they arch themselves, because they bend themselves like bows. It is plain that on the 9th day of August, adding artificially to their natural manner in order the better to conceal their intentions, they made use of these ceremonies before those Religious Ministers of the Gospel.

Of each one of those Indians, individually, the author of Ecclesiastes seems to have been speaking, in Chapter 12, when, as if speaking to each of the Missionaries, he says: "*Et si humiliatus vadat curvus, adice animum tuum, et custodite ad illo.*"

"Although obsequiously humbling himself, he bends be-

fore Thee, or bending with reverence he humbles himself, take good heed and guard Thyself from him."

The erudite Padre Salvador de Leon, of the Sacred Society of Jesus, speaking of these words, says that the word "*curvus*" applies equally to the deceptive enemy and the bow, for, while the wood is useless for shooting while it is straight, and then gains in power the more violently one pulls the string and bends the bow, thus a concealed treason succeeds best when it bends the body with most affected humility.

"Similitudo aucus haec est, ut cum armatur, incurvatur ad jacienda majori impetu sagittam, sic inimicus simulatus."

And in whom, let me ask, can the craft of treason find with most certainty the victim of its blow? In the true of heart; "*Ut sagittent in obscuro rector corde.*"

If righteousness is opposed to duplicity, how much more is the soul which is true and pure, less suspicious and less fearful of those whom it believes to be thankful for benefits bestowed.

Says the same Doctor, referring to another text, which agrees with mine, from the same Prophet: "*Ut sagittent in occultis immaculatum. Immaculatum vocat nihil tale suspicantem, nihil cuiusmodi ab illis timentem. Facilius immaculatus et simplex insidiis, et fraudibus capitur.*"

By this the target experiences the certain fury of the arrows, for they are directed against the guileless breast of a pure religion.

Let us give attention to and admire the case of the Venerable Custodio Fray Juan Bernal. The Indians entered his cell, telling him that the Pueblos of the Province had risen in revolt, and that they were of a "bad heart," an idiomatic phrase in their language by which they signified that they were of bad inclinations or intentions; that they had thought it best to give this information of the conspiracy in order that he might send notice of the facts to the Governor, and that, if he would write it immediately and would give them the letter, they would carry it to the Governor themselves in testimony of their fidelity. He made it and gave it to them; but scarcely had they received

it, when with the cruelty of barbarism and with atrocious sacrilege, they took his life.

“Facilius immaculatus, et simplex insidiis, et fraudibus capitur.”

It is right that we should shed tears of tenderness over the death of these martyrs, and the sigh of sorrow should take the form of funeral demonstration. But even over sorrow, consoling thoughts should prevail, from the well-founded hope that those who have thus suffered have passed to the better life.

In the very letter, placed by Jeremiah, before the verse in which he laments the persecution of Christ and his Church, which he prophetically saw in the future, he manifests in words appropriate to alleviate the sorrow and pain of the heart, a mystical reason for moving to consolation. In this verse, in which, under the metaphor of the arrows which pierce, his compassion gives rise to sighs and tears over the persecution of Christ and the tribulation of the Church, *“Missit in renibus meis filias pharatrae suae,”* he places the Hebrew letter of the alphabet *“He,”* where this letter gives an emphatic warning.

“He” is very appropriate for the sorrows of those who lament, just as the similar sound in Latin, *“Hei,”* which is an interjection expressive of sadness and a representative of sorrow.

But as this very letter, like all the other Hebrew letters, has its appropriate significance, what is the meaning of the letter *“He?”* The same as that of the Latin word *“Vivo,”* *“I live, I have life.”*

So then, in the case of a verse whose words signify future persecution of the Faithful, under the metaphor of arrows, which pierce them, why then does he place before it a letter which signifies *“Life?”* For this precise reason, because this suffering is joyous—it is the sure road to life; because the better title corresponding to such deaths is to call them lives.

On this subject, Cardinal Hugo says:

“Missit in renibus meis filias pharatrae suae. Huic clausulae, praeponitur He, quae interpretatur vivo, velesse, et

recte, quia hic agitur de tribulationibus Christi, et Ecclesiae."

In the obsequies, then, of these religious men, Ministers of the Gospel, killed through the violence of a secret confederated apostasy, Jeremiah lends to our sorrow and to our confidence, this letter "*He,*" in order that with it, at the same time that our sorrow weeps over the death, we may be consoled by our hope of a better life.

This hope of the better life is much strengthened by the manner of their death. For, though to declare it martyrdom, as I have said, is a matter which belongs exclusively to the sovereign judgment of the Holy Apostolic See, without whose supreme determination, our expressions are merely human and fallible; yet, remembering all that and limiting ourselves to what is permissible to the prudent human judgment, we may say that their lives were sacrificed to simply hatred of the Christian Religion; and as this was the motive of the conspiracy, it is natural for Christian men, priests and Religious, to believe that, out of respect for the Faith, they should feel an affection for the dead who thus suffered.

If the hatred of the conspirators distinguished as to persons, they would only kill those whom they dislike; executing their intention on some and not on others.

But they did not hate the individual, but only the Christian, as the Jemez Indians clearly explained to the Venerable aged Fray Juan de Jesus, when gathering in the plaza of their pueblo they separated themselves into two parties, some in favor of killing him and others of defending him: and seeing the danger of many deaths which was occasioned by their dissension, he said: "Children, I am a poor old man, do not fight, do not kill each other in order to protect me; do what God permits." And then, piercing him through with a sword, and giving him numberless blows with macanas, they took his life.

I have enlarged on this human probability, in my discourse, because, if the hatred had existed against individuals, they would not have made contemptuous ridicule of sacred things; and would not have intoned with mockery and scoffing the Alabado (hymn sung in honor of the Sac-

rament) and the other prayers of the Church, as the Governor states in his letter; nor would they have burned the Temples. So then, their mad action came from a hatred of the Religion; and as at the same time that the Ministers, who were living Temples of God, were sacrificed by the strokes of the arrows, so likewise the material temples were reduced to ashes by the voracity of the flames, so that the words of the Prophet might apply to this terrible havoc: "*Sagittae potentis acutae cum carbonibus desolatoris.*"

Speaking, then, without going beyond limits, and considering those Venerable Men in their conflict with persecution, and in the anguish which they suffered, permit me to express this thought:

That in the circumstances in which the wounds caused suffering, they filled up the measure of what was lacking in the suffering of St. Francis from his wounds.

For the purpose of this discourse it is important to consider the benefits which those Indians had received from the Holy Religion, as well in temporal matters as in spiritual, which were so ungratefully returned. The least is, and this certainly is much, to take them out from the treacherous forests where they lived like wild beasts, to a civilized life, when they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather and were wandering naked through the woods, to teach them the cultivation of the soil in order that it might furnish an abundance of food, which their labors and the toils of the household had afforded to them before that time only in great scarcity.

The greatest is in instructing them in the knowledge of God, bringing them to the Church for the Waters of Baptism and keeping for their benefit, during a hundred years, a sufficient number of Ministers for the administration of the Holy Sacraments at such extended distances.

I suppose also that Saint Francis wounded is a living copy of Christ wounded. For this, that wonder of our century in the Oratoria, that palm of all times in the pulpit, the Reverend Padre Antonio de Vieyra, of the Sacred Society of Jesus, in a sermon on the wounds (Llagas), which he preached at Rome on this text from St. Paul:

“Ad impleo ea, quae desunt Passionum Christi in carne mea.” (Colos. 1.) He discoursed concerning two impressions of the wounds of Christ, one in his own body, the other in that of His Servant, Francis. And as, when an impression is repeated, the defects which occurred in the first are corrected in the second, it was made the effort of his oration to argue that in the wounds of St. Francis, some errors were amended, not of the original, but of the impression; because that in the wounds of Christ there were not, nor could there be, defects to be corrected. That there, on Calvary, those who made the impression were the Ministers of the Synagogue, armed with anger, injustice, cruelty and hatred; but in the wounds of St. Francis, there was only the impress of Love.

I am well assured that it was from the peculiar tenderness of Christ, that He wished that only by His love there should be given the second impression of His wounds in the body of His Servant; however, I would say, that for the reason that in the wounds of St. Francis, Love was the only impresser, something of suffering was lacking in them which Christ suffered in His, because that in those of Christ, together with the love of the Father which wounded Him for our benefit, there existed also the hatred of those who imposed the impression, and the ingratitude of men.

The sin which is committed by the persecutor is not loved by God; but the patience of the persecuted He loves; and thus we see one of the most admirable points of his most high Providence, that without loving the wrong of the hand which wounds, He may love the suffering of the wound. But however much the ingratitude of those who wound may increase the agony of him who suffers, without doubt, he suffers most who receives wounds from both hands; from the hand of God who loves while bestowing suffering and also from the hand of man, who ungratefully causes it; and if not, let us observe the words of Christ in Psalm XLVIII, where in considering his afflictions He says to the Father: *“Quoniam quem tu percusisti, persecutisunt, et super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt.”*

“They persecute him whom Thou hast wounded, and add sorrows to the suffering of my wounds.”

Observe the difference in the words. Of the Father, He only says that He wounded Him “*percussisti.*” Of His enemies, He says that they persecuted Him, “*persecuti.*”

Because wounding may be done in love, but persecution cannot exist without hatred; and as to persecute where one ought to love, was to add the sorrow for ingratitude to the suffering of the wound, Christ says, that those who persecute Him ungratefully add this sorrow to the suffering of His wounds; “*Et super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt.*”

Now, Saint Francis wounded is the image of Christ wounded; if we examine him, himself, we see that something is lacking in the copy to make it exactly like the Original. There is no doubt of this, as in his body Love was the only impresser of his wounds; as Juan Bautino expresses it, “*in Christo invidia, et amor haec fecerunt, invidia Judaeorum, et Charitas Dei, * * * in Francisco solus amor.*”

And thus it lacked the sorrow which ingratitude added to the wounds.

But here behold the love of God to Francis; for whereas, in his actual, physical body Love alone was the impresser of his wounds, yet in the body of his Religion, in twenty-one sons, not only was the love of God, the impresser of his wounds from which He willed that he should suffer, but hatred was allowed to do its work, by which ungrateful men, who ought to have lived most thankfully in this Holy Religion, were the instruments to inflict the suffering. Yes, we may learn from the contemplation of the love of Christ for Francis, that in all things he should be like unto Him; and Christ has in the mystical body of His Church a St. Paul, who says: “*Ad impleo quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea pro corpore eius, quod est Ecclesia.*” In order that there should not lack even this resemblance in the copy, Francis has, in the body of his Religion, that which fulfills in its wounds all that he had suffered in his own.

I pass now from the funeral honors to the deceased, to

the well-earned honors of the living; but without losing sight of the former. I pass to the generous resolution with which this Holy Religion returns to the same place in which it had suffered persecution, and I say:

“That if to profess the institution of Francis is to profess the imitation of Christ according to the Gospel, in no better way can His sons show forth this imitation than when, without avoiding the risks through fear, they obediently bare their breasts to the dangers.”

Let us add to the eulogies of the Seraphic Religion one feather from the wings, which, although they be those of Lyra, yet are not out of place amid our flow of tears. This Doctor, in commenting on the passage which is the foundation of this discourse, alludes to the fact that one of the reasons which they stated to David in order to prevent his return to Judea, where he had suffered from the persecution of Saul, was that they had destroyed that which the hand of God had created.

“*Quoniam quae perfecisti, destruxerunt.*” And in explaining what destruction had taken place, which would put David in fear of returning, he says in his commentaries on the Psalm, that this destruction which they saw, this havoc to which they alluded, was that which Saul executed in his hatred for David, when he killed Achimelech, as is narrated in Chapter 21, of the First Book of Kings (I Samuel): “*Quoniam quae, perfecisti, destruxerunt. Scilicet Saul et Doeg, et alii complices, ut habetur primo Regum 22 in odium David.*”

Let us briefly examine this case in the Book of Kings, and we will find that it is almost exactly the same as our own. I will not detain you with an application of all the circumstances, for when an orator has an audience like this, he enjoys the privilege of touching lightly on the subject.

Saul had some kind of information that Achimelech was favorable to David, and he sent for Achimelech and for the other priests of his family, to the City of Nobe: “*Missit ergo rex ad accersendum.*”

They came into his presence, and after some talk, giving place in his breast to the fury of anger and the madness

of his wrath, he said to the servants whom he had sent to bring them, "Turn and slay these priests of the Lord:" *"Ait rex emissariis, qui circumstabant eum; convertimini et interficite Sacerdotes Domini."*

The more he perverts the will in the execution of a crime, the more will reason always represent his deformity.

He recognized them as priests of the Lord, and called them so when he ordered them to be slain: *"Interficate Sacerdotes Domini."*

Those servants resisted such a terrible sin and were not willing to lay hands sacrilegiously on the Priests of God. *"Noluerunt autem servi regis extendere manus suas in Sacerdotes Domini."* They were wearing the linen Ephod, the garb (as Tostado observes) of the minor priests, by which they were distinguished from the High Priests: *"Quidam erat Sacerdos Magnus, et alii minores, sed nulla de vestibus Summi Sacerdotis pertinebat ad minores."* And why were they dressed in that manner? Because it is the ecclesiastical dress, which was used solely by the priests assigned to conduct the worship of their religion, to lift up their hands to move the heart of Saul from its furies to good deeds.

Hugo gives this paraphrase: *"Ut per habitum Religionis moveretur animus regis ad pietate."*

Then Saul, turning to Doeg, the Edomite, told him to kill them; and he fell upon them and slew them bloodily according to this atrocious command of Saul: *"Conversus que Doeg Idumeus irruit in Sacerdotes, et trucidavit."*

How could one do this to so many? Because not one (answers el Tostado) defended himself; because they did not attempt to resist; because it was simply their duty to suffer.

Here, again, is another circumstance that is worthy of attention. Why did Doeg execute this sacrilege which the other servants were not willing to perform? Because they were old in their knowledge and profession of the Law of God. Doeg was a man from Idumea, recently converted, a Neophyte, inexperienced in his knowledge of God; and in these matters, when the faith is new, irreverence has more audacity against the priests.

Hence arose the advice to David that he should not return to Judea where they had experienced the persecution of Saul in the case referred to; which has so many points of resemblance to our own.

Now let us pass from the actual to the allegory. Bishop Christopolitano adjusting that which was figured to the figure itself, says: "That here David returning to Judea represented Christ returning to Jerusalem, and that as they attempted to dissuade David from returning by setting forth the dangers which had already been experienced, so likewise the disciples represented to Christ the danger which awaited Him in Jerusalem, where a little while before they had wished to kill him; and that as David, disregarding their counsel, obeyed that of the Prophet Gad, who told Him to return; so Christ, in obedience to His Father, returned to Jerusalem against the persuasion of His disciples.

Now we have the letter and the allegory, and from the two together appears the moral, that in the imitation of Christ, His Ministers, not allowing danger to make cowards of them, should return to the same place where they have experienced the danger of persecution.

Now, then, let us observe one of those occasions in which the counsel which Christ gave to Peter, of love to his Master, agrees with the obedience of Christ Himself to His Father. Refer to the Sixteenth Chapter of St. Matthew, where immediately after the rebuke of Christ to St. Peter, because he attempted to dissuade Him from entering Jerusalem to suffer, said to them, "If any man will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me." "*Tunc Jesus dixit Discipulis suis, Si quis vult,*" etc.

Observe that word "*Tunc,*" "Then." Then He said these words, when they were endeavoring to dissuade Him from returning to Jerusalem; that is to say, that the imitation of Christ is most brilliant, when, without being intimidated by the risk incurred; one returns with his Cross to the very place of danger.

Now, here is the singular lesson. These words of Christ have I know not what special relation with the sons of St. Francis. It is a case of singular value to which St. Bona-

venture refers in Chapter 3 of his life. He tells us that that Venerable man Bernard, the first born of the Glorious Father St. Francis, desired to renounce the world in his imitation, and besought his advice in order to execute this intention; and the Saint answered him:

“*A Deo est hoc concilium requirendum.*” “God is the one who must give this advice.”

The next morning he went with Bernard to the Church of St. Nicholas, and making a prayer before proceeding to the matter that he had in hand, in the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, he opened three times the Book of the Gospel, praying to God that with three testimonies of His Gospel the holy intention of Bernard might be confirmed.

The first time he found these words, in which Christ tells of the high perfection of evangelical poverty. “*In prima libra a pertione illud occurrit: Si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus.*”

In the second the following appeared: “*Nihil tuleritis in via;*” in which Christ instructs His servants, the missionaries, as to journeys.

In the third, these words: *Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat Crucem suam quotidie, et sequatur me.*”

And then St. Francis added, “This is our life; this is our rule; this is to be followed by all who wish to be my companions.” Thus the life of the sons of St. Francis, as he testified himself, is Poverty, Journeying and the Cross; and the Cross exemplified by the words which Christ Himself said, that they should return to the place to which they were told not to go on account of persecution.

If, therefore, to profess the institution of Francis, is to profess the imitation of Christ according to the Gospel, his sons can never show forth this institution in a better manner, than when, without endeavoring to avoid any risks, they obediently bare their breasts to all danger.

But in whom can this Holy Religion place its hopes for such an arduous task? In God. “*In Domino confido: Quomodo dicitis animaemeae: Transmigra in montem sicut passer.*”

To what instrument in the hand of God can its poverty

have recourse, for its sustenance in so wide a field, and in so distant a mission, and to provide soldiers and guarantee its defence against new dangers? To the Catholic King of Spain, DON CARLOS SEGUNDO, our Lord, in whose name, and with whose good will, not prefunctory but morally certain, your Excellency has already appropriated ninety-five thousand dollars for the support of the Priests who will return, of 2,000 persons who are awaiting them in El Paso del Rio del Norte, and of 50 soldiers of the garrison.

This recourse to the liberal hand of a Catholic King, when the Christian Religion suffers persecution, in order that the Ministers of the Gospel may be sustained when they are being persecuted, if it is realized as expected, this is one of those occasions in which it seems to be fulfilled.

I call attention to the great Father of the Church, Saint Augustine, in the Epistle Number Fifty of Volume Two of his works. In his time, the Ministers of the Gospel, harassed by the Donatists, appealed to the Christian Emperor, for protection against persecution, not for the saving of their lives, but that the permanent preaching of the Gospel might be assured. This was such an evident duty, says the Saint, that it would have been culpable to neglect it. *"Cum igitur his angustiis affigeretur Ecclesia, quisquis existimat omnia potius sustinenda, quam Dei auxilium, ut per Christianos Imperatores ferretur, fuisse poscendum, parum attendit, non bonam de hac negligentia reddi potuisse rationem."* The enemies of the Church argued that the appeal was against the custom of the Apostles, as they never sought the protection of the Kings of the earth, nor their patronage nor defence. *"Dicunt * * * non petisse a Regibus terrae Apostolos talia."*

St. Augustine showed the fallacy of this objection, and answered them, "In the time of the Apostles and in the primitive Church, it was these very Emperors and Kings who were the persecutors and how then could they ask them to be their protectors? Which of the Emperors then believed in Christ, that they could be of use in the defense of piety against impiety? Could the Church, perchance, have applied to Nero or Domitian or Trajan or

Antoninus, or any other of those whose hatred of Religion was such that with all the shedding of Christian blood, the relentless thirst of their cruelty was never satisfied?"

Do you not see that in these early times of the Church, it was simply complying with the prophecy of David, in which he predicted that the Princes and Kings of the earth were to gather themselves together against the Lord, they were to combine themselves against Christ? "*Quis enim tunc in Christum crediderat Imperator, qui ei propietate contra impietatem serviret. Quando adhuc illud propheticum complebatur. Astiterunt Reges terrae, et Principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum eius.*"

But if this were then, observe a "now" which the Prophet adds, and understand that the times now have improved, in that the Catholic Kings, for the service of God, defend the Ministers of the Gospel, and thus they can take advantage of the protection which they lacked before. "*Non dum autem agebatur quod paulo post in eode Psalmo dicitur: Et nunc Reges intelligite, erudimini, qui judicatis terram, servite Domino in timore.*"

Now we enjoy that happy time in which there are Kings, who serve as Kings. *Et tunc Reges servite Domino.* That is, who employ in his service the same royal power which they enjoy, because happily they use it in the extension of worship, in the propagation of the Faith, in the spreading of the Gospel, their power being then most generously noble, when that power is most humbly the slave of the Christian Religion.

"*Illos felices Reges,*" said St. Augustine in another place, "*Et beatos judicat Christiana Religio, qui sua potestate ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum maiestati eius famulam faciunt.*"

So this Seraphic Religion has recourse to the pious munificence of the King our Lord, this being one of the occasions in which, to the glory of our Catholic Kings of Spain, is seen fulfilled that which David prophesied.

And this is obtained also by the other Sacred Religions, whose ardent zeal in the conversion of the infidels, and whose vigilance in the ministry, and whose diligence in

doctrine, makes them highly worthy of the protection and magnificent liberality with which the King, our Lord, favors them.

Could there be a nobler example of an evangelical missionary than St. Paul? No. Then, in truth, (says St. Augustine, continuing to controvert the objection of the Donatists), as is read in Chapter 23 of the Acts of the Apostles, he gave an account to the Tribune of the conspiracy, with which the Hebrews intended to kill him; and it resulted from this that the Tribune provided him with a guard of soldiers as a protection both at home and abroad, whenever the fury of the conspiracy endangered his life.

It is clear that the Apostle does not refer here to the saving of his temporal life, but the service of the Church; because where the conspiracy is feared, it is not that the Ministers of the Gospel should be defended, but that they should be preserved in order to increase the preaching of the Gospel.

“Neque enim, et Apostolus Paulus vitae suae transitoriae consulebat, sed Ecclesiae Dei, quando contra illos, qui eum occidere conspira verant, consilium illorum Tribuno ut proderetur, efecit. Unde factum est ut eum ad locum, quo fuerat perducendus, deduceret miles armatus, ne illorum pateretur insidias.”

The Saint here puts the singular for the plural, somewhat in imitation of Virgil: *“Uterumque armato milite complent.”* as will appear from the text of the Acts of the Apostles, in which history it is mentioned that the guard of soldiers which the Tribune put in charge of the person of St. Paul were many.

When, therefore, this most religious Seraphic Family sought and found succor in the zeal of the King, our Lord, and was protected, it is clear that the object was not to preserve in its sons this transitory life, but to restore to spiritual life the souls of those miserable apostates, whom its fervor had begotten, by the Gospel, at the cost of such great labor.

The Holy Church is a tree of such size, that its branches extend over all the compass of the earth, but, like a mother,

it laments for every branch, which, by reason of heresy or apostasy, is broken off, and thus this Religion weeps for the branch broken from its lost Christianity, just as Augustine mourned for a little separated branch, which, with maternal affection he succeeded in engrafting once more in the trunk, restoring it again to the root of Faith, without which it is impossible to gain the better life.

“Utiq̄ ex ipsa magna arbore, quae ramorum suorum porrectione toto orbe diffunditur, iste in Africa ramusculus fractus est, eum eos charitate parturiat, ut redeant ad radicem sine qua veram vitam habere non possunt.”

They also accused the Donatists of covetousness and greed: *“Obiiciunt quod res eorum concupiscamus.”*

And how if I should respond in defense and applause of this sacred Religion, when it seeks again the glory of God in the reduction of those whom we deplore as Apostates, and say: “If we have the necessary means, it is not for ourselves, for with us to hold property is an execrable offense, but we wish it only to distribute to the poor, whose agents we are to procure it.”

“Si autem privitiam, quae nobis sufficient possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procuracionem modo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpacione damnabili vendicamus.”

What other thing can the zeal of this religion seek in a few naked Indians, except to bring them to God?

Seek them then again; clothe them again; and filled with a desire for their restoration, exclaim in the words which St. Augustine adds, *“Ipsi potius foris positi * * * intrent in unitatis societatem, ut pariter gubernemus, non illa tantum, quae dicuntur sua, verum etiam, quae dicuntur et nostra.”*

Oh! that they would return to the unity of the Church, so that with us they may enjoy not only that which they call theirs, but also that which is called ours, but yet is not so, because we have no ownership in anything.

Oh! that they would return; for then would be the greatest consolation to the martyrs whom we lament to-day, to see them once more within the pale of the Church,

in which, by the aid of God's grace, they could be restored to the path of Glory.

Ad quam, etc.

† O. S. C. S. M. E. C. R. †









