William M. Thery

July the 8th

THE

STUDIES AND TEACHING

OF THE

Society of Jesus,

AT THE

TIME OF ITS SUPPRESSION,

1750–1773.

4th Classical premium

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. L'ABBE MAYNARD,

HONORARY CANON OF POITIERS; PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AT PONTLEVOY.

Awarded to William Ore Sherry

For Assiduity & Improvement.

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Translator's Preface.

THE translator deems that he is performing a good office to the cause of truth, in laying before the American public the facts recorded in the present work. Every day is the Society of Jesus assailed by calumny, libels are widely circulated, and with malicious ingenuity is history perverted; but rarely is a voice, at least one speaking our tongue, raised in its defence, and with difficulty could an impartial man obtain, in our language, a statement of facts, upon which a candid and dispassionate judgment could be based.

To aid in disseminating some of these facts has been the object of the translator. He does not pledge himself to the advocacy of every opinion expressed by the author. In the controversy which originated the present work, a controversy whose existence he deprecates, he does not in any manner participate. He would not have been induced to undertake this trans-

lation, had he not regarded the discussion with Father Theiner as merely incidental, and in nowise affecting the value of the facts narrated.

Even in times like the present, in times of prejudice and fanaticism, there are men whose nobleness of soul elevates them above the region of contending passions: to such the work is principally addressed.

For the loyal Catholic no other defence of the Society of Jesus will be requisite, than to remind him, that it was founded with the sanction of the Holy See, that it flourished under its protecting care, that, though suppressed, it never was condemned, even by the Pope who suppressed it, that after an experience of the void occasioned by its extinction, the Sovereign Pontiff recalled it to life at the earnest supplication, and with the unanimous applause of the Catholic world. No one then can be a dutiful son of the Holy See, and be hostile to the Jesuits. Still it would be satisfactory to every Catholic inquirer, it is sheer justice to the characters of injured men, that every slanderer should be rebuked, and every falsehood encounter a crushing rejoinder. But how reply to these countless attacks? The time and patience of the defender will be spent, before the inventions of his mendacious opponents are exhausted.

It seemed to the translator, that the Jesuits should be defended particularly in their capacity of teachers. That they might discharge the duties of instruction was the primary object of their restoration: teaching is the principal end of their Institute, and against them, as teachers, the storm of persecution is especially directed. Let them but close their schools, and the strife will cease. Louis Philippe and his government would tolerate them as simple missionaries, and permit them to labor in Algeria: the German Sovereigns would allow them to preach, and to administer the sacraments, and Espartero would suffer them to exist in the Philippines. Does not every one see that other religious orders would share more largely than they do in the persecution for Christ's sake, were it not that the teaching order inspires peculiar hatred, and excites the most determined opposition? How well the enemies of religion appreciate the truth, so clearly seen by St. Ignatius of Loyola, that he who guides the youth, directs the destinies of the man! How well they know, that upon their success in perverting education, depends the accomplishment of their object—the triumph of error! Once, already, this plan has succeeded: with what consequences, the bloody pages recording the aberrations of the past generation will attest.

Thinking, therefore, that as teachers the Jesuits are particularly to be cherished and protected, the diffusion of Abbé Maynard's work seemed to the translator greatly to be desired. It was alleged, that the Society of Jesus, at the time of its suppression, no longer produced eminent men; and it was said (with all the experience of modern times before us), that its utility had ceased. To the former charge Abbé Maynard replies, by reading the roll of her distinguished children: to the latter, by pointing out the mischievous consequences of the suppression, especially in Portugal and Germany. He does not tell us of those flourishing missions in foreign lands, made desolate by the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor:* he does not narrate the elation, the sanguine hope of further conquest, conceived by the enemies of religion, upon obtaining this their first victory. These topics would be foreign to his thesis. Nor does he dilate upon the results of the suppression in France; for he wrote for Frenchmen, to whom all he could teach on this point was already familiar. But the effects of the suppression in Germany and Portugal; the dissemination of Jansenistic and infidel opinions; the corruption of morals that ensued: these were subjects not before touched upon—were subjects worthy of his pen, and fruitful

in useful lessons for the lover of religion and social order.

From the perusal of the Abbé's work, and from a diligent consideration of the facts he presents, it will be manifest, that it is of the utmost importance to preserve in the Church a body of teachers capable of giving instruction in the highest branches of education, that the Jesuits were the only body which aimed at fulfilling these duties, that to the discharge of them they were fully competent.

That Catholic education is necessary, reason evinces, experience has taught, and the Sovereign Pontiff and the Bishops, many of whom are now making such strenuous exertions, and undergoing such sacrifices to erect universities and colleges, authoritatively declare. But single colleges and universities will not satisfy the wants of Catholic youth. There may be isolated institutions perfectly unobjectionable, even highly commendable. To mention no others, one, at least, there is in our own country—"the mother of Bishops," of edifying priests, of highly accomplished, and truly Catholic laymen. From her fair fame, gained by so many services rendered to Catholicity in the United States, no advocate of the Jesuits should, even by inference, detract. The translator would, on the contrary, join his feeble voice to the

applause, which testifies her merit and success. May Mount St. Mary's College ever flourish, venerable in the hallowed recollections she inspires, but vigorous and prolific in the children she brings forth! But the youth of our Church need a general system of education, extending through all countries, perpetuating itself with the Church, which shall guarantee the best instruction, religious and scientific, and afford the best moral training. This truth would seem manifest. But evidently these wants cannot be supplied by one man, however gifted; by one institution, however distinguished: evidently there is required a body of men, whose teachings the sanction of the Church will guarantee, whose multitude will admit a wide extension, whose permanency the law of self-propagation will insure. Thus, and thus only, will be secured, extended and perpetuated, integrity of doctrinal and soundness of moral education.

In such a body, the doctrines maintained and taught do not depend upon the whims of an individual, do not change with the changing opinions of the times. They must stand the test of experience, the scrutiny of observers. An error could not escape detection, or avoid reprehension. In precisely the same manner moral discipline is guaranteed. Its philosophical opinions may not harmonize with the fa-

vorite theory of every individual; its discipline may be too indulgent to please one, too austere to meet the views of another; but neither can be supposed to be faulty, as long as both can appeal to the sanction of the Pope, and the approbation of the hierarchy. The general system of teaching being thus sanctioned and approved, a particular deviation from it must be of rare occurrence, and of easy correction by an appeal to the constituted authorities of the order, and finally of the church: and thus education is secured in doctrine and in morals, as far as human means can secure it.

Another advantage possessed by a body of teachers, and one afterwards alluded to in the work itself, is the power of self-propagation. Does a vacancy in the corps of professors exist? The faculty is not forced to adopt into its ranks one unknown, untried and inexperienced. Teachers, if the expression be allowed, cannot be extemporized. But able recruits are to be found in the normal schools, which are forming the future professors. The new teacher enters upon his career with every provision to secure success; he does not regard his duties as a temporary occupation, until something more lucrative, or more attractive may present itself; he is a teacher by profession, by choice; he brings with him no self-seeking, no mercenary

spirit; he views his class as a field for the exertion of his zeal to the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Such are some of the advantages afforded by a corporation of teachers, advantages not to be found in an aggregation of men, whose sole bond of unity is the accident of teaching within the same walls. These advantages were and are now afforded by the Society of Jesus. It was and is the only body which professes as its peculiar object to instruct, throughout the world, Catholic youth in the highest branches of education.

Such a body then should be cherished and preserved, as long as it performs its duties in a satisfactory manner. Even if it does not satisfy the anticipations of the most sanguine, and if there be no hope of its amelioration, still it should be preserved, until there may be found another, and an abler body, capable of superseding it. Not that the author concedes, or that the friends of the Jesuits concede that they were, at any time, unable to fulfil the expectations of every reasonable man. On the contrary, he proves that up to the time of the suppression, the Society was adorned by men eminent in piety, and in every intellectual career. For this proof, the reader is confidently referred to the work itself.

It did not enter into the plan of the author to consider the utility and necessity of Jesuit teaching since the restoration. But surely in our days, and in the present tendency to error of every species, to principles subversive of all religion and all morality, a tendency perceptible in every book, in every public journal; if at any time, now it is especially necessary to use every means to keep pure and free from contamination the source, whence Catholic youth imbibe religion and education. But the Society of Jesus is still the only body of religious teachers, which fulfils the conditions already laid down; and its advocates assert for it a continued competency to discharge the duty of teaching, not only in a satisfactory manner, but so as to merit admiration and praise. For the men of the Society, they would not assert an invidious superiority, or enter into any unseemly comparisons: but they may, without incurring censure, continue the catalogue of distinguished men, by adducing the names of those who have attained celebrity, posterior to the suppression.

If there be any who discriminate between the ancient Society and the restored Society, who elevate the one in order to sink the other, who, amid those incessant conflicts with the enemies of the faith in which the Jesuits are engaged, have no word of en-

couragement to offer, but depress their energies and discourage their efforts,—for the Jesuits are men,—by their unjust and illiberal insinuations; they are appealed to in the name of candor and justice, to examine, before pronouncing an adverse decision, the peculiar difficulties with which the restored Society has been obliged to contend. But alas! even among those who should be their friends, there are some who place them beyond the ordinary rules of charity, who mete out justice to all the world, save the Jesuits. Does a single Jesuit offend? the whole order is denounced. Is there a deficiency in a single institution? the fault is imputed to all. Does a single pupil of the Jesuits comport himself unbecomingly? the whole system is condemned; as if his instructors were possessed of some magic charm to influence the will, as if Judas had not been educated in the school of Christ. An absolute decision is made respecting the merits of the order, without any inquiry into circumstances, which should be weighed, before an accurate judgment can be formed.

At the reorganization of the Society, a number of Colleges were confided to her by persons whose solicitations are equivalent to commands; thus was greatly impeded the education of the first generation. The Society, at its second birth, lacked those kind

and generous patrons who sustained her former infancy: admitted into few countries and few cities, in still fewer finding a permanent abode; occupying but few prominent positions, which would arouse the latent talent of her members; fettered by vexatious restrictions where admitted; and by the various governments checked in the exercise of her zeal; her Colleges closed in France; from Spain expelled, and expelled again; in England, Ireland and Holland, obliged to choose between an unnoticed exercise of the ministry and instantaneous destruction; in our own country, emerging from the missionary into the college life, and, in consequence of the paucity of vocations to the religious state, yet struggling for existence; but lately exiled from what seemed her only secure asylum: is it not wonderful that the Society of Jesus has been able to bear up against these difficulties, which might well appal the stoutest heart, and still faithfully acquit herself of her trust? Wherever circumstances have rendered it possible to observe her Institute, for her members to pass through their long religious probations, their protracted studies, to ascend gradually in the classes as teachers; when in the choice of careers, she could be guided by the abilities of the individual, without being forced to yield to the exigencies of the occa-

sion; where those sage rules, which have extorted the admiration of all, might be scrupulously followed; if you can show such a place, and show that there the Society of Jesus has fallen from her pristine glory, then, indeed, she will have cause to blush for shame, and you will have confounded and silenced those who attempt her advocacy.

Let every candid man weigh these difficulties, and will he not confess that there is something admirable, something amazing in a Society that could resist them, and still produce men who have acquired a world-wide reputation? Ask those Prelates who were lately gathered together at Rome to witness the triumph of Mary, the Immaculate, in that venerable and august assemblage, what theologians were superior to the Jesuits Perrone, Passaglia and Schrader? When the Holy Father had returned from Gaeta, and looked around for fit defenders of moral and religious truth; to the Society of Jesus he directed his gaze, and the course of the Civiltá Cattolica has not proved that his confidence was misplaced. Enter into the ecclesiastical seminaries, and what text books will you find in the hands of the students? In theology Gury, Perrone, Passaglia, Cerciá, Patrizi: in philosophy, Rothenflue, Dmowski, Liberatori, and Curci. To the philosophers, add Taparelli, Rosaven, Romano, Chas-

tel; to the theologians, Martin: recall to mind, among men of letters, the elder Secchi, Bresciani, Cahours, Daniel; among men of science, Pianciani; among historians, Damberger, the continuators of the Bollandists, those "monsters of erudition;" among antiquarians, Marchi, Lambillote, Martin, Cahier; among mathematicians, Caraffa, Turner, Wallace; among astronomers, De Vico, Sestini, Secchi the younger, and the modest, but meritorious Curley; among orators, M'Carthy, De Ravignan, Finetti, Kenny and Ryder; and who will assert that the series of great men has ended, that the Society of Jesus, the *mater felix prole virum*, has become *effete?* Those only have been enumerated, whose ability is publicly known; nor is the enumeration complete, for there are no biographical dictionaries of the present. But public fame, let it be remembered, although the only available, is not an entirely reliable test of literary and scientific merit. Few acquainted with the Jesuit Colleges might not name some professor, whose humility conceals his worth, even from himself. Many there are whose reputation is confined to their College; whose obscure, but praiseworthy exertions are limited to the school-room. The worldly man, whose sole object is worldly fame, writes books, and hires critics to praise them. The religious shrinks from

publicity, and with reluctance exposes himself to the public admiration, only when and where obedience and necessity require. The duties of the professor allow little time, and leave little spirit for further literary toil. Amid the numerous members of the ancient Society, some could always be set apart for the production of learned works; but in the restored Society, the paucity of members and the multitude of their avocations have rarely conceded such opportunities of leisure. The same *Ratio Studiorum* which gave birth to the illustrious men of former days, modified only where and in so much as circumstances have imperatively demanded,—for every one knows the conservative spirit which characterizes all religious orders, and the Jesuits not the least,—the same *Ratio Studiorum* is yet in use, and if the minds of men are unchanged, cannot have lost its former efficacy.

Considerations such as these convinced the Abbé Maynard, himself unconnected with the order, of the usefulness of the Jesuits as teachers, and prompted him to raise his disinterested voice in their behalf. The same considerations have incited him who so insufficiently represents him, to undertake the present version. Would that it had fallen into abler hands! But the translator anticipates that he himself will be shielded from animadversion by the insignificance of

his own share in the work, and hopes that abler men may be admonished of the necessity of laying before our countrymen, in an ampler manner, the facts connected with the history of the Jesuits, and of refuting before a Protestant public the slanders to which they have been subjected.

If prognostics do not deceive the most judicious observers, over our country a fearful storm is brooding; a terrible ordeal awaits the Church. Of the issue what Catholic will permit himself to doubt? Our Church is immortal, Christ himself is our captain; the victory is certain! There may be those who will fall in the combat, but they shall fall as "blessed martyrs;" they shall fall, feeling in the plenitude of the consolation vouchsafed them, that to fall in such a cause is "sweet and glorious." In Heaven perennial garlands are weaving, wherewith he who so falls shall be decked; everlasting crowns are preparing, wherewith his brow shall be encircled. It is permitted us to refresh ourselves with the hope that when the storm is over, the clouds dispersed, and a brighter sun shall beam down, if not on us, on our posterity in the faith; they may boast of martyred ancestors, they may recount their heroic deeds, they may gather with pious veneration around their shrines, they may invoke their intercession. Do you smile at

these anticipations as romantic, do you deride them as an enthusiast's dream? They would be baseless, if they rested on human valor, or human firmness; if they did not rest upon the inexhaustible merits of Christ, and the enduring virtue of His institutions.

If ever, surely now, union among Catholics is desirable, is indispensable. The present is no time for indulging in any feelings of animosity, any bickering, any petty jealousy, any dissension respecting opinions, where a diversity of sentiment is permitted. To hasten the victory, to insure its completeness, to enhance the brilliancy of the remunerative crown, what more necessary than united exertion? But it is not sufficient to discard intestine feuds; our hearts should be united, equally with our labors. When Cyrus was preparing to march his host against the Chaldean, he enjoined on his soldiers the duty of exhorting each other, and as they marched, words of encouragement flew from rank to rank. In the approaching contest, if it will not form a singular exception, it may be anticipated that the Jesuits, amid the Catholic phalanx, will sustain the brunt of the attack. An open opponent is sometimes preferable to a lukewarm friend. Will any Catholic soldier be so lukewarm in the general cause, as to refuse his fellow-soldier a word of sympathy, of encouragement, of support?

Or if the forebodings of evil prove deceptive, and no general war menaces our faith, still the sympathy, the encouragement, the support of the generous American Catholic are needed in the struggles of a Society, which has never known a lasting calm, in her unceasing endeavors for self-amelioration, in her attempts to recall the heroic past, in her exertions to render our youth upright men, and fervent Christians, *to the greater honor and glory of God and the salvation of souls.*

MAY, 1855.

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Introduction.

1. An unenviable notoriety, throughout Catholic Europe, has been already attained by Father Theiner's "History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV."

Heralded as a work of profound erudition, as revealing interesting and important facts unrecorded by previous historians, it was at first regarded with anxious forebodings by some among the faithful, who feared that they should be forced to behold in the garb of criminals, those whom they had been accustomed to consider the victims of impiety, fraud, and wickedness. Published when minds were thus excited, and attention thus aroused, it was hailed with malignant joy by those whose sad occupation it is to combat the Church in the person of the Jesuits; but was received with solicitude by true Christians,

who, for three centuries, had understood the meaning of their disloyal warfare.

But at the present day we have reason to bless that Providence which permitted Father Theiner's publication. The concordant opinion expressed with regard to it by the Catholic press, is a consoling proof of the harmony of thought and sentiment, which pervades our community. Henceforth we can never mistake the true interests of the Church; it will be impossible to induce us to surrender to the wolves those who have ever been our guardians and defenders. We equally value the promises and the threats of impiety; it will be as vain to hope to delude us by the one, as to terrify us by the other.

We have not been so unmindful of the teachings of history. The dreadful tragedy of the eighteenth century has been represented before our eyes. We have seen its commencement, its entire plot, its every scene, its fearful catastrophe. Of this plot the destruction of the Society of Jesus was an incident. Cast, as our fathers were, in the midst of the tragedy, and, as usually is the case, ignorant of its drift, not admitted into the secret of its contrivers,—thus it was that

they could so grievously mistake their intentions, and unwittingly bear a part in the horrible play. But for us to be so deceived would be a folly, if not a crime. In our own country, and but a few years since, did we not see re-enacted the spectacles of 1769 and 1773? With the sole exception of the catastrophe, have we not seen reproduced every phase of the war against the Jesuits, even to new attempts made to extort from the Pope another brief of suppression?

Among us, then, Father Theiner, willing as he undoubtedly would be, in a recurrence of the same circumstances, to renew the sacrifice of the Jesuits—among us he will find neither dupes, nor accomplices. This book, of itself, with all its candid avowals, its perpetually repeated contradictions, would deter us from co-operating in such a deed, as it also forbids us to subscribe to the former condemnation of the Jesuits, and to the act of indemnity, and particularly to the eulogies heaped upon their executioners, the hangmen of the infidel philosophy.

It is not our design to write a complete refutation of Father Theiner's book, but to discuss certain points, which seem deserving

of special attention. For the sake of a clearer understanding of the state of the question, let us recall to mind the leading idea of his work, the seminal principle from which it was evolved.

2. The History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV is not a panegyric on that Pontiff, but an attack on M. Crétineau-Joly, and the men to whose defence he has devoted his pen. This opinion we have formed after a diligent study of the facts connected with the controversy. To rid himself, for the future, of M. Crétineau-Joly's embarrassing disclosures, he has sought to discredit his past literary labors, and thus endeavored in advance to deprive his future publications of all historical value.

Among the former, there was one that had afforded an occasion to many scandals, and had proved particularly troublesome to those, who were prepared to renew, at a given signal, the campaign of 1769; we allude to his "Clement XIV and the Jesuits," published in 1847. Against it Father Theiner determined to direct his blows, and thenceforth it became his chief object, not to exculpate the Pope, but to disparage M. Crétineau-Joly; and hence

his work, written under the influence of this resolution, proves to be, not an impartial history, but an ingenious example of special pleading. To defend the Jesuits, M. Crétineau-Joly had attacked the Pope; to defend the Pope, Father Theiner will attack the Jesuits. Yes, notwithstanding all protestations to the contrary, against the Jesuits, and by consequence against M. Cretineau-Joly, does Father Theiner direct his blows. For had his sole design been to shield Clement XIV, and to refute all false and exaggerated statements made against that Pontiff, would he have thus filled his pages with the most perfidious insinuations against the Society of Jesus?

As we have remarked elsewhere, to prove that the Pope, in the plenitude of his power, had a right to sacrifice the Jesuits, it is by no means necessary to establish their culpability. It suffices to concede that he was the victim of a deception, which the unhappy circumstances of the times will abundantly explain, that he thought their immolation necessary in the existing exigencies of the Church. But this plan of defence did not satisfy the Father Theiner, who must erect his apology on the

disgrace of the Jesuits. In fact he is constantly endeavoring to prove that the suppression of the Society was then well-timed, was legitimate, was even requisite. With this object in view, he omits no opportunity, he neglects no means of representing them as having degenerated from their early glory, nay, sometimes, as even meriting positive blame. Father Theiner has therefore drawn up against the Society a formal indictment, in order to show from it that Clement XIV, in the suppression, acted only in accordance with the inspiration of God, with the dictates of his conscience, and from a desire to procure the greatest good of the Church, and did not yield, as M. Crétineau-Joly maintains, to the urgent demands of the short-sighted Bourbon Courts, or to the weakness of his own character.

But on what basis will this new accuser of the Jesuits found his charge? He could not say that they had swerved from the primitive observance of their institute, when the cry has always been that they were too faithful to it; when the courts, before they had acquired sufficient audacity to demand a suppression, contented themselves with requiring a modi-

fication in their rules. And how, on the other hand, cast a suspicion on their morals, which even their most virulent enemies admit to be above reproach? In fine, as a Priest and as an Oratorian, he could not make use of certain arguments of later date, which are equally stringent against all religious orders; he could not declaim against the relaxed principles of their moral Theology; he could not recur to so many falsehoods, whose parentage is so shameful, nor rob the Protestants, the Jansenists and the Parliament-men, of slanders which are their property, nor revamp the worn-out calumnies of the *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, and the *Extraits des Assertions*. Yet it must be confessed that he does sometimes draw on these vast repertories of mendacity; but what he borrows, he qualifies with an *on-dit*, and whilst he disdains not the aid of the arrows, which were rusting in the armories of the anti-christian philosophy, he seems to blush at using them himself, and on such occasion discharges his shafts through the instrumentality of others.

In what, then, does his system consist? He depreciates the learning of the Jesuits, he decries their method of teaching, he under-

rates their success, and concludes, that they had become useless to the interests of science; that education had suffered in their hands, that the youth issued from their colleges unshielded against the assaults of error, and insufficiently armed to make a brilliant defence of their faith, whether their lot was cast in the world, or whether they took their station amid the ranks of the clergy. But let us allow him to speak for himself, and we shall then reduce his accusations to certain principal points.

3. When treating of the war waged by the King of Portugal against the Society of Jesus, Father Theiner says: "Joseph de Seabra de Sylva, a learned and able advocate, and a counsellor for the crown, undertook the justification of his master's proceedings. This justification was prefaced by an historical sketch of the influence exerted by the Jesuits, from their entrance into Portugal until their expulsion, over the church, over society, over the sciences, and, finally, over the state itself. This is perhaps the most important work ever published against the Society of Jesus.*

* Its title is: "Deduzione Cronologica," &c. It is directed as much against the Church as against the Society. In it

Though full of fabrications and of the vilest falsehoods, it contains charges, whose complete refutation would be no easy task. Seabra assails the Society at its most vulnerable point, and essays to demonstrate, that, instead of promoting the advancement of the sciences, it restrained the lofty flight, in which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had commenced to soar. To substantiate this exaggerated charge, he enumerates the profound theologians who reflected such lustre upon the Council of Trent, and who, by their piety and learning, edified and astonished the Fathers of that holy assembly. 'Portugal,' adds he, 'from the time the Jesuits usurped education and invaded the Universities of Evora and Lisbon, and every where expelled the secular clergy from the professorships in the higher departments of Theology; among the latter, and especially among the prelates and the bishops, Portugal has not produced a single theologian of note. Since that time, all the learned men are to be found among the Jesuits, and,

the most furious enemies of the Holy See are commended as most religious men, as the wise deliverers of the human race, &c. And it is to such a source Father Theiner hesitates not to recur!

consequently, their services have been of little avail to the church, to the sciences, and to the state. This fact exhibits the great decline of the sciences up to the time when the Jesuits were banished from Portugal.' "*

It is evident that Father Theiner adopts the charges of Seabra, and only in order to avoid the odium, speaks by the mouth of another, and appends some slight palliatives. With another *on-dit*, his ordinary qualification, he introduces a like accusation against the Society in Spain: "Charles III," he says, "was deeply interested in the progress of science, and favored with his especial patronage the Universities of Alcala, Salamanca, and Valladolid, once so flourishing, but now, it was said (*disait-on*) sensibly declining from their ancient splendor. These colleges underwent a thorough reform, and their course of studies was remodelled."†

Blessings on that particle *on*, M. de Maistre would here exclaim, which lends itself so complaisantly to all kinds of calumnious insinuations and vile falsehoods, and so obligingly assumes the full responsibility.

* Tom. i, p, 93, 94. † Tom. ii, p. 190.

But Father Theiner sometimes takes courage and wars in person, face to face, without weakly hiding himself behind a Seabra, or shielding himself with the vagueness of an *on*. Thus, resuming the subject of Portugal, and the miscalled reform inaugurated by Pombal, he makes his own all the charges already urged by the attorney of Joseph I: "The genius of Pombal was meanwhile worthily occupied in resuscitating the sacred and profane sciences, whose cultivation had been so shamefully neglected. The University of Coimbra received a form adapted to the wants of the age, and was also otherwise improved. The execution of this important measure was committed by the king to the minister and to the Council of Censure, over which Cardinal da Cunha presided, who with the entire approbation of the Apostolic Nuncio, engaged in the glorious work of the scientific and literary regeneration of Portugal."*

It was not only in Portugal and in Spain that the Jesuits proved faithless to their glorious mission, and allowed science and literature, intrusted to their care, to decay and

* Tom. ii, pp. 190, 191.

perish. According to Father Theiner, the same decline was visible in all of their educational institutions. Thus, in 1769, Maximilian Frederick, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, was meditating the foundation, at Munster, of a Seminary and University for the education of the clergy and the Catholic youth. "Such institutions were urgently called for. Whenever the youth of the higher and wealthier classes were desirous of acquiring an ampler education, they were obliged to frequent the Protestant Universities, or to travel a great distance to obtain the advantages of Catholic instruction; but of this resource the more indigent were necessarily deprived. The Protestant Universities, too, were especially dangerous to their faith, at a time when infidelity and rationalism were so prevalent. At Paderborn, indeed, the Jesuits had, what was termed, a University, but this as well as their other German establishments, was no longer capable of satisfying the demand for a more extensive instruction. Besides, it was devoted to theology, to the exclusion of history, classical literature, the ancient languages, botany, medicine, law, political economy, and other similar pursuits, all of

which were prosecuted by the Protestants with distinguished success. This prince of the Church (the Archbishop of Cologne), has another title to the gratitude of the Catholics of Germany, that he was the first who sought to supply this deficiency and restore Catholic science to its former elevated standard."

But another institution was found necessary for the eradication of this deeply rooted evil. "The secular clergy, though educated exclusively by the Jesuits, were debased to a marvellous degree of ignorance. The faithful guardian of the fold showed his usual vigilance. A Seminary is established at Cologne to perfect the future clergy in piety and learning."*

"In Germany the reformation of clerical studies engaged universal attention, for, it was asserted [here occurs again the convenient particle *on*], that the education imparted by the Jesuits was very defective, and was insufficient for the times, and the advanced state of science."† "In imitation, therefore, of the Archbishop of Cologne, the Duke of Bavaria designed the erection of a Seminary at Ebers-

* Tom. i, pp. 297, 298. † Tom. i, p. 423.

berg, in which might be formed priests, preachers, professors, catechists, and other ministers of religion."* And yet the same Elector of Bavaria, who was so deeply interested in the welfare of religion, was at this very time, as Father Theiner himself shortly after informs us, meditating a rupture with Rome, and the introduction of pernicious novelties into the discipline and the constitution of the Church; and for this object undoubtedly did find Jesuit education very insufficient. If by the necessities of the times we are to understand the necessities of the schism then planned in Germany, in this respect, we admit, it was very defective.

The Society of Jesus is destroyed; but Frederick II, of Prussia, and Catharine II, of Russia, forbid the publication and execution of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Among the motives that induced these sovereigns to preserve the children of St. Ignatius in their realms, the chief was the need of ecclesiastics competent to instruct youth. It would seem that nothing could be more honorable to the Jesuits than the reason alleged; yet see how ingeniously Father Theiner turns it to their

* Tom. i, p. 423.

disadvantage. "It is with regret," says he, "that we are forced to concede that the reason was well-founded; but . . . it was at the same time the severest reproach that could be addressed to the Jesuits, and especially those of Germany. There Catholic education, secular and ecclesiastic, had been intrusted entirely to them. Why had they not formed men capable of succeeding them, or at least of participating with them in the office of instruction? Not the enemies, but the sincere friends of the Society of Jesus call for an explanation of this historical fact. When the Jesuits entered Germany, they found there illustrious theologians, who were victoriously combating the pretended reformation; how then does it come to pass, that when, by a particular disposition of Divine Providence, they are compelled to abandon Germany, they leave not one behind them. Since the sixteenth century, that is, coincident with their exclusive employment as professors, not a country in the Christian world has been so barren as Germany, in writers of reputation among the secular clergy. The Society itself can boast of Jesuits of great renown; its labors in Germany have been

attended by the benedictions of Heaven, and followed by great success; for two centuries it opposed an insurmountable barrier to the impetuous torrent of the Reformation; this we concede, but nevertheless, it remains true, that it produced, among the secular clergy, few really remarkable men; we can scarcely mention one.

"In the Empire, too, still more visibly than in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the Jesuits had, to a great degree, lost their primitive vigor. Their colleges had fallen from their ancient glory, and among their professors, they could no longer point out any distinguished men. When Frederick II entered Silesia, he entertained a high esteem for the Jesuits; but he was not a little disappointed to find that the professors in their universities and in the colleges directed by them at Breslau, were men of mediocrity, and on that account, he required the rector and the Cardinal Prince-Bishop to send to France and Italy, for Jesuits who were competent to teach. Everywhere through Austria were heard loud complaints of the decay of their institutions. Even Maria Theresa, who was by no means unfavorable to them, saw herself,

in 1759, obliged to seek a remedy, and in the University of Vienna, until then under their exclusive control, by a decree of the 10th of September, she deprived them of many important professorships in the theological department, together with those of logic, ethics, metaphysics, and history, and confided them partly to secular clergymen, and partly to religious of various orders. The Catholic University of Munster, in Westphalia, founded by the Archbishop Elector of Cologne and Clement XIV, had for its object, as we have seen, to supply in ecclesiastical education deficiencies, which still gave rise to complaint. If the ecclesiastical revolution, which, in 1760, had already made such ravages on Catholic soil in Germany, has since that time advanced with such rapidity, the cause is to be found in this decline of learning among the secular clergy. This revolution the Jesuits beheld in its incipient stages, but they had lost the vigor necessary to encounter it; they could not arrest, still less could they vanquish it. To insure a wide-spread triumph it only needed a hand to burst its shackles. That office was performed by Joseph II, who after the death of his pious mother, put himself at

the head of the irreligious movement. It is indeed deplorable, that this decline of Catholic learning should occur at a time, when Protestant science, and especially theology, essayed so bold a flight, when it exhibited so much literary vitality, and when, by its tendency to rationalism, it endangered not only Catholicity, but Protestantism itself, and in fact all positive Christianity. This terrible revolution came on, when the clergy had not foreseen, and were incapable of resisting it. What wonder then that some should have been hurried into the vortex, and that the Catholic theologians of the time, whose duty it was to form themselves by their own exertions, should have suffered themselves to be dazzled by the false and deceptive science of Protestant theologians, and should have thrown themselves, so to say, in their arms.

"But we shall no longer fix our gaze on this mournful picture of the condition of the clergy, particularly in Germany, at the date of the suppression. The sight will produce in them too vivid a remembrance of former degradation; and it would also be cruelly painful to a Society, otherwise so respectable, and so well deserving of the Church. We shall not pur-

sue the investigation, why the Catholics, during half of the preceding century, can claim no share in the glory of our national literature. That glory, we confess it with shame, has been engrossed by Protestants, and, during the epoch of which we speak, we Catholics have not contributed to it the labors of a single poet. But let it suffice to have alluded to our past humiliation. Let us be grateful that the secular clergy of Germany, after having passed through the harsh school of experience, of humiliation, of wandering, have now, for more than twenty years, held their former lofty position, and are able, at the present day, not only to engage in combat with Protestant science, but even to dispute its claim to preeminence. Nor were the Jesuits themselves, at the time of the suppression, exempt from the general scientific inferiority. Those who, towards the end of the past century and the beginning of the present, had attained distinction in the domains of science, were, with few exceptions, formed after the abolition of their order. It is, then, to be regretted that the Jesuits and their friends, particularly in France and Italy, are, even in our times, constantly reiterating such exaggerated statements with

respect to their imaginary greatness at the date of the suppression. Such hyperboles cannot fail to injure the Society in the opinion of men of information."*

Our extracts sufficiently explain Father Theiner's tactics, in his "History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV." He incriminates the victim in order to exonerate the executioners and the Pope, who unwittingly became the tool for the gratification of their spleen and the accomplishment of their nefarious schemes. Of all the accusations embraced in his lengthy pleading, two only are capable of making any impression on a thoughtful mind: one is directed against the conduct of the Jesuits after the suppression, and seeks to rob them of a glory, conceded by their most cruel enemies, the glory of an heroic submission to the Holy See, in order to discover some excuse, though this cause would be posterior in existence to its effect, for the violent measures adopted in their regard; the second is that which we have just allowed him to state for himself, and to develop at length. To the first we may at some time return, and seek to restore to

* Tom. ii, p. 404–406.

the Jesuits the crown of submission and obedience which he has endeavored to pluck from their brows; but, for the present, we shall confine ourselves to the discussion of the literary and scientific deterioration, wherewith he charges them. No accusation, as we have seen, comes more constantly from his pen; he returns to it again and again; he dilates on it with perceptible satisfaction, we might say with a sort of malicious joy. Howsoever specious it may appear to a certain class of readers, we are unwilling to impair its strength, and we have therefore given at length the pages in which it is contained.

4. The accusation itself might be easily disposed of, simply by transmitting it. For, should we even grant to Father Theiner, that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the scientific and literary glory of the Jesuits had grown dim, from this admission what consequences could be drawn at all favorable to the proposition he strives to maintain? His object is to prove that the suppression of the order was at that time opportune and even necessary. Does one, then, deserve to be subjected to pillage, proscription, death, merely because he has not preserved the elevation of

a lofty name; because he has not sustained, with sufficient brilliancy, a glorious past? If this be just, what sentence shall be pronounced on everything belonging to the eighteenth century? What was exempt from universal deterioration: royalty, nobility, the clergy, the religious orders? And was it proper that the king should mount the scaffold of January, because he was not Charlemagne or St. Louis? Was it equitable to doom the nobility to the sanguinary proscriptions of the Reign of Terror, because their hearts no longer thrilled at the accents of heroism and honor? Was it just to annihilate the clergy, because there was no longer among them a Bossuet or a Fénelon; to abolish the order of St. Dominic, because they could boast of no successor to St. Thomas; the Benedictines, because the era of Mabillon and Montfaucon was past; the Oratorians themselves, because they could no longer display to the admiration of the world a Malebranche or a Massillon? Granting, then, Father Theiner's premises, what would be the logical conclusion? That the Jesuits had not been able to preserve themselves from the contagion of the times; that they had not escaped the universal decay that impaired all

institutions, that reached to all branches of instruction, to literature, the arts and the sciences. But at least they have merited this singular and glorious commendation; they have kept intact their Catholic faith amidst a perverse and infidel generation, when schism and heresy had spread their baleful influence to the sanctuary even, and to the cloister; they have preserved unspotted their robe of innocence amid the mire and filth of the world, and have remained unharmed by a pestilence which had infected so many religious communities. Why single them out for an exceptional punishment, when, if they do partake in the general evil, they are still preeminent in purity of morals, and in orthodoxy of faith? For, mark well, to have the right to destroy them, especially with brutality and violence, it is not sufficient to prove that they have fallen below their primitive standard; it must be shown that they are positively culpable and dangerous. Culpable! Who will undertake to prove it? Who will hazard the assertion? Does Father Theiner himself dare maintain it? Dangerous! To whom, and to what institution, civil or religious? To the government, whose safeguard they have been

from the spirit of rebellion? To the Church, which they have defended with self-sacrificing devotion? They were dangerous to revolution and infidelity alone, whose master-spirits are conscious that they could not overwhelm the world, until they had broken down the dike that confined the devastating waters.

We cannot sufficiently marvel at Father Theiner's logical discrepancies, and the inconsecutive character of his arguments. According to him, the Jesuits had permitted the decay of ecclesiastical science, whilst it was intrusted to their charge. Their educational establishments were no longer adapted to the requirements of the age. Their labors were attended with a desolating sterility. Nowhere had they formed professors capable of replacing them in chairs, which they had so uncreditably filled. Monarchs and bishops in vain gazed around them to discover instructors to train up the youth in literature and religion, or to fit them for the sacred ministry. The ignorance of the secular clergy was disgraceful. There could not be found a single remarkable man, a single respectable writer, who was able to enter the lists as the champion of the Church, at a time when Protes-

tantism and irreligion put in motion every engine of attack, and challenged it to defend itself on the battle-field of science. Were this account strictly correct, as it is not, a rational being would conclude, that in such circumstances the Church should redouble her energy, concentrate her forces, and march them, united, against the enemy, since their individual prowess was so insufficient; and thus seek to win the victory by the combined efforts of her soldiery. Such would be the conclusion of a man of sense: Father Theiner's, however, is quite different. The Jesuits, he argues, do not suffice for the defence; therefore, let them be destroyed. The Catholic phalanx composed of the Jesuits and their pupils, cannot cope with the enemy; therefore discharge your best soldiers, or if he prefers the term, those that are less bad. But if you disband the Jesuits, it is triumphantly retorted, you will have none left but raw recruits: it matters not, it was a miracle of strategetic art thus to decrease the army, and he, whose happy conception it was, deserves the title of a second Alexander! Of such reasoning Father Theiner alone is capable.

But we are very far from conceding, that,

in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits and their teaching had fallen into that state of degradation, in which Father Theiner contemplates them with sorrow so faint, as to be near akin to joy. Let us resume his accusations, and endeavor to reduce his tedious declamation to a few general propositions. The three following, if we do not mistake, will embrace the whole subject:

1. In Germany and Portugal, if the Jesuits did not positively occasion, they at least failed to prevent the decline of studies and learning. In both countries they omitted to form successors: and if, during the two centuries preceding the suppression, eminent men may be counted in their number, scarcely one can be found in the ranks of the secular clergy educated by them.

2. At the time of the suppression, the Jesuits, as well as the rest of the clergy were, at least in Germany, undeniably inferior in point of science, and had shamefully resigned to their religious antagonists the palm of pre-eminence. Those who reflected lustre on their order towards the end of the last and the commencement of the present century, did not adorn it at the time of its abolition, as is averred by the

assertors of its fictitious grandeur, but were, almost without exception, formed after the suppression.

3. The degeneracy of the Jesuits is proved by the reform then undertaken by Catholic princes. In nearly all the Universities they were deprived of their chairs, or, in order to answer the demands of the age, new Professorships were founded, and, in many places, they were succeeded by Professors who were strangers to the institute, which had incontestably failed in adapting its system of instruction to the exigencies of the times, and in keeping pace with the rapid progress of the sciences it professed to teach.

To refute these charges, let us follow the Jesuits into Portugal and Germany. Let us see what they found at their entrance into these countries, what they effected in them, and what memorials they left behind them. We shall then attempt a sketch of the Society at the time of its suppression, and examine the catalogue of its Professors and distinguished men; and, finally, we shall estimate the true value of that University reform, about which Father Theiner talks so much, and discover whether it had its origin in the neces-

sity of remedying the deficiencies found in the Jesuit teaching, or in an unhallowed zeal to propagate certain doctrines, which they opposed with all the energy of their zeal and their faith. This last investigation will prove particularly curious. It is an interesting topic connected with the literary history of the eighteenth century; and a desire to discuss it was the chief motive that induced us to undertake the present work. It would be useless to protract with Father Theiner a controversy, on whose merits the Catholic public have already pronounced a verdict. Let him multiply editions of his work; let him reproduce it in every tongue; let him circulate it through every land: never will he be able to bring the opinion of the Catholic community to harmonize with his thesis. He fancied that in his attack on the Society of Jesus, where so many had met defeat, his skill would guarantee him victory; but he has only added a new name to the list of the vanquished. We wish him every consolation that the consciousness of defeat will admit. This is certain, that he has suffered more, in point of reputation, than the Jesuits, whose deathblow he flattered himself he was

dealing. Ah! these Jesuits, weak and degenerate though they be, they are destined to occasion the disgrace of many a doughty knight besides Father Theiner. "Let us speak no evil of Nicholas; it would work us harm," was Voltaire's expression when talking of Boileau. Father Theiner might once have used the same words with reference to the Jesuits; now it would be too late for them to avail him. But let us leave Father Theiner and his book; let us bid farewell to the dead; our occupation is with the living!

Chapter the First.

THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL.

1. THE sixteenth century was, in every respect, the golden age of Portugal. This period of splendor and wealth, of maritime conquest and literary glory, had been prepared by the wonderful discoveries of the preceding century. Don Henry had awakened among his countrymen the spirit of enterprise, by which they were stimulated to go in quest of unknown lands. Nor did his death, in 1463, extinguish it. Already had Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope (1486), and Vasco de Gama, surmounting all obstacles, the perils of the sea and the mutinous spirit of his crew, had circumnavigated Africa and landed in the Indies (1497). The route is now marked out. Alvarez Cabral followed in his wake (1500), and was himself succeeded by John de la Nueva (1501). Francis d'Almeida extends the Portuguese sway over the coast of

Malabar; and finally India beheld the landing of Alphonso d'Albuquerque (1508). Goa is founded, and becomes the centre of a vast and distant empire, depending on a petty kingdom, whose sea-washed coast had enabled it to become a second Phœnicia, and establish itself as the trading mart of the world. John de Castro aimed at completing the work of d'Albuquerque (1544); but the Portuguese were already affected by the enervating influence of an oriental climate, and when he expired in the arms of Xavier (1548), everywhere revolt broke out. In vain did Ataida offer an heroic resistance: his death (1575) closed the career of Portuguese glory and conquest in India. Meanwhile, important events were transpiring in the mother country. Don Sebastian perished at the disastrous battle of Alcazar-Quivir (1578). He was followed by Don Henry, already almost an octogenarian. The succession to the throne was even now contested, just as, a century later, under the feeble sway of Charles II of Spain, claimants disputed in advance for the inheritance of Charles V. Don Henry dies; Philip II forestalls his rivals, and remains master of his prey (1580). Henceforth he treats Portugal

as a subjugated country; he deprived it of its liberty, and plundered it of its dependencies. Its yoke was so heavy, and its fall so complete, that it is difficult to conceive how it was able to rise. But this resurrection was facilitated by the weakness of its Spanish masters, and was actually accomplished by that patriotism, whose fuel is the remembrance of a glorious past. Under Philip IV the spirit of rebellion shook the foundations of the Spanish throne; the agitation extends to Portugal, whose soil begins to heave in turn. The genius of a woman designs a plot, which a bold conspirator executes; and, in 1640, the house of Braganza grasps the sceptre. The struggle with Spain continued, until independence was secured. But when Portugal had thrown off the badges of her servitude, and had now leisure to turn her attention to the East, she found that the Dutch occupied the place she had vacated, and unable to regain her former possessions, she was forced to content herself with permission to trade, where she had once reigned sovereign mistress. Besides, the incapacity of John IV, the misconduct and the downfall of Alphonso VI, would have rendered all her efforts unavailing. Yet under Don Pedro,

and particularly under John V, a gleam of sunshine once more illumined her, and it was only after the middle of the eighteenth century, that she almost ceased to be numbered among the nations of Europe.

2. We must follow the Jesuits into Portugal, amid the varied scene of the events we have sketched, if we would know the part they have played, and the agency they have had in her glory and decline.*

Portugal surpassed all other Catholic states in the enthusiasm with which she welcomed the newly born Society. About 1540, John III, who had just beheld, in the Eastern world, a splendid career opened to Portuguese arms, incited by the desire of propagating the faith and by the need of securing the territories he had acquired, sought missionaries for the work of evangelizing the Indies. The fame of the new Society had already reached his ears. He addresses himself to Ignatius, and requests six of his subjects for the apostleship of India. But the whole Society at that time numbered only ten members, and

* For what we relate of the Portuguese Jesuits, we have had recourse, more than once, to M. Crétineau-Joly's History of the Society of Jesus.

Rodriguez and Bobadilla, alone, were at the disposal of the holy founder. On the eve of their departure for Portugal, Bobadilla fell sick, and in his place was substituted Francis Xavier. The two Fathers arrive at Lisbon, take up their abode in a public hospital, and obtain their subsistence by begging alms. Meanwhile they occupy themselves in evangelizing Lisbon, and so satisfactory was the result of their labors, that the king could not be persuaded to allow the departure of both, and thus Rodriguez remains in Portugal, while Xavier starts, unaccompanied, for the Indies.

Already had Rodriguez collected disciples, and the king, who was a witness of their labors and success, determines to found in his states an establishment, which might serve as a Seminary for new Apostles. With the consent of the Holy See, he applies the revenues of certain benefices to the endowment of a college at Lisbon, and in 1542 it is begun. The prosperity of the new institution transcended the most sanguine anticipations of its friends. The same year was founded the College of Coimbra, the most splendid and the best endowed of those directed by the Society within the limits of the peninsula. The pro-

gress of the Jesuits was so rapid, that in 1546 Ignatius erected Portugal into a province of his order, and appointed Rodriguez to govern it. This new and powerful organization, then carried into effect for the first time in the history of the order, was followed by the happiest results. After the lapse of a few years Coimbra contained one hundred and forty Jesuits, and could supply missionaries for every quarter of the globe, instructors for other houses of the order, and even become the mother house of new foundations. Thus, by the advice of the celebrated Dominican, Louis de Granada, the Cardinal Don Henry, Bishop of Evora, was enabled to form an establishment in his own diocese.

Meanwhile, however, the favors of the Court, and the prosperity attendant on them, and the paternal indulgence of Rodriguez, produced some relaxation of discipline in the College at Coimbra, and caused serious anticipations of future evil. Rodriguez is instantly removed, and the College subjected to a reform. There, too, Natalis, commissary-general of Spain and Portugal, reduces to practice the newly framed Constitutions. A noviciate is founded at Lisbon, together with a professed

house and a college for externs, which boasts of the names of Emmanuel Alvarez and Cyprian Suarez in the list of its earliest professors.

John III died in 1557. Catharine, his widow, and Cardinal Don Henry, seek a preceptor for Don Sebastian in the ranks of the Society, and Louis Gonzalves de Camera is the object of their choice. Gonzalves viewed the office with dread, and accepted of it with repugnance, for he knew the impetuous character of the Prince, and that passion for arms, which was fated to be the destruction of himself and his family. But Laynez, the general, and Francis Borgia, thinking that such a favor could not with propriety be refused the grandson of their benefactor, overruled his objections, and thus Gonzalves was the first Jesuit appointed to the responsible office of preceptor of the King. A storm, directed against the Society, was the consequence of this appointment; yet its growth was not retarded, and new colleges sprang into existence in all parts of Portugal. During the pestilence of 1569, the Jesuits displayed heroic courage; many of them died martyrs to charity; and the rage of their enemies was disarmed. But the remembrance of a benefit is rarely enduring, and the work of intrigue was soon resumed. The Je-

suits directed the consciences of Catherine of Austria and Don Henry, and the education of the young monarch: this was more than sufficient to awaken jealousy and hatred. And yet they had used no arts to ingratiate themselves into the favor of the court. Gonzalves had opposed his own elevation, with an entire knowledge of the tremendous responsibility he was about to incur; and thus it happens that not a single Portuguese historian is found to re-echo the charges which resounded through the world. Pasquier first gave publicity to them in his *Catechism of the Jesuits*, and his libels were repeated by the Jansenists, and by the men of the parliaments. Pasquier asserts, that the Jesuits endeavored to make the Portuguese crown subservient to their purposes, and with this intent exacted that, for the future, the King of Portugal should be affiliated to their order and subject to their election, that they employed superstition as a means of operating on Don Sebastian's mind, that they prevented his marriage, and finally urged him on to that fatal expedition into Africa, which resulted in his death. The very character of the Portuguese is a sufficient refutation of these absurdities, and we therefore need not

tarry to discuss them. No one will believe, that so haughty a nation as the Portuguese then was, would suffer itself to be controlled by the Jesuits. All the misfortunes of Sebastian and his family may be traced to the stubbornness of his temper, which Father Gonzalves made fruitless attempts to subdue. This is the subject of repeated complaint in his preceptor's letters; in all of which he also mentions his own endeavors to effect a matrimonial alliance between the youthful monarch and some one of the royal houses of Europe. But the Portuguese Hippolytus always refused to hearken to his advice, and finally, when on the eve of uniting himself to the family of Philip II, died on the soil of Africa.

At his death Spain became mistress of Portugal. Under the Spanish rule, the Jesuits retained their former influence, and saw their colleges multiply, and their revenues increase. But the degenerate Austrian race, soon to sink under the burden of the Spanish monarchy, could not now support the weight of the united crowns of Spain and Portugal. Portugal asserted her independence, and received secret encouragement from France. Every patriot became a conspirator. A plot is devised by the genius of Louisa de Guzman, and its exe-

cution intrusted to the boldness of Pinto. The Duke of Braganza alone remained a stranger to a measure, of which he was to reap the fruit. Louisa and the princes of the family, aware of the influence enjoyed by the Jesuits, sought to gain their adhesion. Attracted in opposite directions by conflicting claims, to the cause of their country by their patriotism, but by gratitude to the Spanish monarch, to whose confidence they had been admitted, and of whose favor they had partaken, the Jesuits determined to abstain from intermeddling in the coming strife. From this policy, the love of national independence induced a few to depart. The revolution breaks out. The Provincial enjoins upon his subjects a strict neutrality. With the exception of five or six, they were obedient to his mandate. Fortune prospered the house of Braganza. Scarcely had it mounted the throne, when the Jesuits were taken into entire confidence, and became its representatives at foreign courts, its preachers and its confessors.

Conformably to their custom, the Jesuits recognized the existing government. John IV declared himself their protector, and they, in return, as well in Portugal as in his trans-

marine possessions, insured the security of his empire. Not content with the benefits he had lavished upon them, with committing to them the spiritual direction of his whole family, he appointed Father Fernandez, his confessor, a member of the privy council. At the death of John IV, in 1656, the guardianship of Alphonso VI is intrusted to his mother, and Fernandez retains his seat in the council. Louisa wished to nominate him to the office of Grand-Inquisitor, the second dignity in the kingdom, but as this was incompatible with the vows of the professed Fathers of his order, Fernandez declined.

Alphonso, meanwhile, had attained his majority. One of the first acts of this sovereign, so precocious in depravity, was to banish his mother from court. Abandoned now to the instigations of his evil genius, Count de Castel-Melhor, whose influence had completely brutalized him, he is induced to espouse, in 1663, Marie-Isabelle de Savoie-Nemours, generally styled Mlle. d'Aumale. Amid the debaucheries of a court vitiated by the example of the infamous king and his adviser, Marie could count but two trustworthy friends, a Protestant veteran, Marshal Schomberg, and Father

Francis de Ville, who had been the director of her childhood. The sequel of this drama is known to the world. Alphonso is forced to abdicate, his brother Don Pedro assumes the regency, and espouses Marie de Savoie. In this event the calumniators of the Society represent Father de Ville as the sole actor. It may be, that, whilst his paternal affection for the Queen urged him to seek her welfare, his conduct was not entirely irreprehensible. But this is undeniable, that he played an insignificant part, where the real actors were politics and love, ambition and diplomacy, the cortes and the people. However that may be, the revolution was confined to the palace, and had no agency in effecting the downfall of Portugal; on the contrary, the kingdom once more flourished under the regent, Don Pedro, and in the reign of John V, the augmentation of public prosperity continued.

Cardinal Pacca* informs us that in 1795, the Portuguese spoke of the latter prince with enthusiasm. "John V embellished Lisbon and its environs with useful and splendid edifices, protected the arts and sciences, was a liberal benefactor of the church, and well merited

* Œuvres complètes, tom. ii, p. 352.

the title of *most faithful*, conferred on him by the immortal Benedict XIV. So prosperous was Portugal under his government, that to it may be applied the expression of Scripture with regard to the days of Solomon, that then 'Silver and gold were as stones.'"

3. Don Pedro and John V, both of whom were so desirous of promoting the prosperity, and increasing the glory of their country, so well-informed respecting its true interests and the causes of its past grandeur and present decay, so anxious to usher in a brilliant futurity, exhibited towards the Jesuits the same affection as their predecessors, and favored them with the same uninterrupted confidence. Oliva was called upon to interpose his authority as general of the order, to prevent Don Pedro from appointing his confessor, Emmanuel Fernandez, a deputy to the Cortes. How happens it, that these sagacious princes could not discern, what the enemies of the Jesuits are so keen-sighted in perceiving, that the influence of the disciples of Ignatius had led to, and was then completing the ruin of the country? In the first place, they were by no means so sensible, as modern philosophers are, of a decline which has been greatly exag-

gerated, since, as we have seen, Portugal flourished under their sway; then, and particularly, they knew very well what every unprejudiced reader of history must admit, that the Jesuits had not contributed, directly or indirectly, to the gradual decay, which, by their teaching and preaching, they did retard, but could not entirely prevent. The part taken by them in politics has been immensely overrated. There are persons who would fain discover their agency in every act of government; whereas in these matters they only intermingled in their connection with religion. The causes of Portugal's fall will be readily detected by a perusal of the pages of her history. It began with the luxury consequent upon the influx of wealth from her transmarine possessions. The descendants of Albuquerque, enervated by the softening influence of an oriental sky, or abandoning themselves to all the indulgences of pomp and luxury in their mother country, aimed only at a tranquil enjoyment of their pleasures; and far from extending their territories, or even retaining those already subjugated, they were preparing a booty to allure the rapacity of some foreign power. Against this relaxation of manners the Jesuits struggled

by their preaching, by their advice, by their example, but all was in vain. Portugal was inebriated with the cup of pleasure, and heard not their admonitions. Then followed the minority of Sebastian and a succession of rash enterprises, then the short and imbecile reign of the superannuated Cardinal, then the Spanish conquest.

Assuredly the Jesuits did not despatch Sebastian to the fatal battle-field of Alcazar-Quiver; they did not load Don Henry with the weight of eighty years; they did not impart to him his natural imbecility; and these threw open Portugal to foreign arms. The Spanish conquest and occupation, lasting sixty years, was the immediate cause of her decay. With the loss of national independence, she lost her pristine energy, she lost every principle of vitality. To effect this was the very object of Spanish rule during the long period of her bondage. In order to diminish her strength, and thus to domineer over her with greater ease, Spain suffered the English and Dutch to appropriate to themselves her colonial dependencies. She aimed at blotting her out, by degrees, from the list of nations, at causing the rest of Europe to forget that she had ever

existed as an independent state: and hence in the treaties then concluded with foreign potentates, no clause occurs to protect her interests, no mention even of her name. What course could her unfortunate children adopt? Already enervated, as we have seen, by their indulgence in luxury, robbed of their national independence, not caring to win a victory, which would redound to their masters' benefit, they allowed themselves to be robbed of their conquests also, or, at most, defended them without spirit. And yet the Portuguese, degenerate as they were, and debased by sixty years of thraldom, had preserved such strength of character, in spite of the supposed Jesuit domination of a century, that, in 1640, they were able to cast off their yoke, and begin a thirty-years' struggle with Spain. But England and Holland had secured their plunder, and Portugal, wholly engrossed in her domestic troubles, could recover but a small part of her dependencies: for the same reason, amid the perils of war, and the din of arms, she could not divert her attention to the reorganization of her institutions, to the revival of science and literature, an occupation which requires the tranquillity of peace and the

security of independence. In such a lamentable state of affairs, what could be expected of the Jesuits? To remedy the evil in the mother country by their labors in the schools, in the pulpit, in the confessional; to extend, beyond the seas, the Portuguese influence by their missions: and this was really their occupation. But to restore Portugal to her primitive condition, to revive her interior prosperity and regain her foreign empire, to bring back, in a word, the golden age of Emmanuel the Fortunate and John III, would have been an impossibility, even if Portugal had been then ruled by a king of genius, and had retained in her bosom those great men, who in former times had reflected such lustre upon her by their eminence in war, science and letters. It was the peculiar felicity of Portugal to have outstripped her rivals in the great enterprises of modern Europe, at a time when they were otherwise employed, when they had not yet reached the zenith of their subsequent glory, and when they could entertain no ambitious dreams of contesting the sovereignty of the seas. Undisturbed by the religious feuds of the sixteenth century, in which they were engaged, but from which she was happily exempt,

she was at leisure to preserve and augment her grandeur and glory. But when a calm ensued, and the great powers of Europe were once more at rest, Portugal was doomed to an inevitable decline, for the narrowness of her territory could not supply resources sufficient to resist their unjust and greedy aggressions. The marvellous prosperity of Portugal in the sixteenth century was a phenomenon, and necessarily transient. Can any conceive as possible, the existence of the Portugal of Emmanuel and John III, of Albuquerque, John de Castro and Camoens, in the middle of the seventeenth century, with such nations around her, as Spain, England, Holland and France, with their prodigious political, maritime and literary development?

Let us not require impossibilities: let us not upbraid the Jesuits for an unavoidable political decay, to which they had in no manner contributed. Let us rather bestow upon them the meed of our praise, for having averted entire ruin, and for having concurred in producing that comparative prosperity, in which, under Pedro and John V, Portugal bloomed once more. Remark now that the reign of John V was prolonged until 1750, that is, to

the eve of the expulsion of the Jesuits. We are then at a loss to know when, and where, to fix the exercise of that mischievous influence exerted by the Jesuits on the destinies of Portugal. Undoubtedly towards the close of the reign of John V, the public welfare suffered serious detriment; but Cardinal Pacca* points out as the cause, not the influence of the Jesuits, but the continual maladies, which weakened that prince's body, and impaired his mind.

The reign of Joseph I, or rather that of Pombal, the virulent persecutor of the Jesuits, is the true epoch, from which should be dated the downfall of Portugal. Joseph seemed destined to be, like his contemporary of France, the dupe of unprincipled intriguers. Like Louis XV in immorality also, he was imbecile, suspicious, and cowardly. Pombal had penetrated into his character, and resolved to make this knowledge subserve the accomplishment of his designs. After the unfavorable termination of a mission to Vienna, in 1745, he lost the confidence of John V, and the possession of political power. But scarcely had Joseph I seated himself on the throne, when Pombal, by the intervention of his wife, crept into the

* Loc. cit.

queen's favor, and by his own hypocrisy into the friendship of the Jesuits, and then by the patronage of both parties, gained the position of prime minister. Henceforth he adopts Henry VIII as his model, and aspires to an imitation of his schism: he aims at separating Portugal from Rome, and introducing Jansenism and infidelity. To the realization of his schemes the Jesuits are an insurmountable obstacle. They must then be destroyed at any cost. Pombal acts upon his master's fears, and unceasingly fills his ears with rumors of conspiracies, in which he always intermingles the name of the Jesuits. His judgment being thus perverted by the misrepresentation of his minister, Joseph affords him full scope to gratify his spleen, and to revel in revenge. He commences his war of persecution in Maragnon and Paraguay: he there destroys the wonderful creations of Jesuit zeal, and then removes the seat of hostilities to Europe itself. A reform in the Institute was his first object; its annihilation would, in course of time, thoroughly satiate his rage. But his infuriated passions would suffer no reprieve. The outrage of 1758 followed. Farther details need not now be given. The world has heard of

that twofold tragedy, whose catastrophe was the execution of the Tavoras, and the brutal proscription of the children of St. Ignatius.

Such was the man, whose calumnies have furnished matter for so many libels against the Jesuits. Such was the man who blames them for a decline, of which he himself was the principal author. He squandered the wealth amassed by the economy of John V; and yet, in spite of these hoards, and the treasures he obtained by his confiscations, he was unable to defray the ordinary expenses of government, and burdened the kingdom with debt. The nobles, who took umbrage at his haughtiness, and many other men, who were capable of reflecting honor upon their country, were at his instigation doomed to perpetual imprisonment, to exile, or to an ignominious death. To complete the enormity of his crimes, he introduced those infidel principles, which are subversive of the very foundations of social order, and turned into bitter irony the title of *most faithful*, with which his master was invested. He burst asunder the bonds which connected Portugal with her heroic past; he broke the chain of religious tradition, and wrought a lamentable change in the

very character of a people, till then so thoroughly Catholic. Those famous monarchs, who had in former times shaped the destinies of Portugal, boasted of their devotion to the Holy See as their crowning glory. To repeat the words of Cardinal Pacca, who borrows the idea from a Portuguese historian, the prosperity of their reign was a temporal recompense for their zeal in the propagation of the faith, which they sought to extend with more solicitude, than they manifested for the enlargement of their own territorial limits. "The decline and fall of Portugal," continues the Cardinal, "are not imputable to the principles of the Catholic religion, or to the influence of the Court of Rome (or, we add, to that of the Jesuits), as is so constantly asserted by irreligious writers." On the contrary, infidelity gave Portugal her deathblow. To Pombal must it be ascribed, that she lost her rank among nations, and almost her distinct political existence; that she has now become, according to the forcible expression of M. Crétineau-Joly, a mere store-house for the threadbare constitutions of England, and the refuse of her manufactures.

4. If we study the history of the decline

of Portugal in a literary and scientific point of view, which in fact should chiefly arrest our attention, we shall arrive at the same conclusions. At the death of Emmanuel (1524), himself a distinguished writer, was inaugurated under John III, the golden age of Portuguese literature. Sa de Miranda, Antonio Ferreira, and Gil Vicente were its pioneers. The two former added precept to example, and became the lawgivers of the Portuguese Parnassus. They introduced the taste of antiquity and of modern Italy, whilst they preserved their own originality, and brought to perfection their native tongue. The pastoral world is peculiarly their own domain, in which, however, they have naturalized the sonnet, the ode, and the epistle, in imitation of Petrarch and Horace. They also cultivated a classical purity of ideas and language, and were regarded as the oracles of criticism, the models of poets, and were the founders of a numerous school. Gil Vicente, like Molière, an author and an actor, adorned by his countrymen with the title of the Portuguese Plautus, is, after the Italians, the first in date of modern dramatists. He too had many imitators, among whom we may number Lopez de Vega and Calderon, who

nearly a century after improved upon their model; whilst in accordance with the taste of his country and times, in his comedies, tragicomedies and *autos*, both sacred and profane, he abandoned himself to the unrestrained indulgence of a fertile imagination, Miranda and Ferreira were founding the school of the classic drama, on the imitation of the ancients. The first tragedy in modern times, written in conformity with the rules of art (with the exception of the *Sophonisba* of Trissin), was the *Inez* of Ferreira.

These poets and their disciples were undoubtedly above mediocrity, but no one had yet appeared to captivate the Portuguese imagination and strongly move the heart. During the sixteenth century, we say it without fear of contradiction, Portugal produced but one writer gifted with the higher attributes of genius: he was Camoens, the Homer of his country. He alone has attained a European reputation; the rest are mentioned only in the schools. Besides the superiority of his own mind, it was his peculiar privilege to be associated with all that makes up the glory of his country, of which he was the poetic personification. In his life, as in his song, he embraced

all that was splendid in her history. Born in the fortunate days of Emmanuel, he died in 1579, just after the battle of Alcazar-Quivir. The Lusiad, the greatest of his works, is, in date, the first epic poem of modern times, and according to Frederick Schlegel, the first also in merit.

During this period, history assumed an epic tone. Those unknown seas, ploughed by the Portuguese keel; those boundless regions, thrown open to a noble ambition; those countless hosts, vanquished by a handful of adventurers; that fabulous wealth, flowing into every harbor of the Peninsula: all this transported the imagination back to the heroic ages perpetuated by Homer, when the West challenged the East to combat, and the confederate tribes of Greece subverted the mighty sovereignties of Asia. The most of these historians had either visited in person the newly-discovered regions, or had heard the travellers themselves recite their wondrous tales. Thus the Portuguese Livy, John de Barros, had been the director of several establishments in India, before he devoted the elegance and purity of his style to tell the history of its discovery. Hence that enthusiasm that breathes life into

his narrative: hence too, perhaps, the inspiration that glows in the Lusiad; for the Decads had appeared a year before Camoens departed for the scene of Eastern adventures. Diego de Couto, the Herodotus of Portugal, who continued Barros, had himself visited Africa and the Indies; and it is probable that Ferdinand d'Albuquerque composed his commentaries from materials collected by his illustrious father.

Nor should we omit mention of Jerome Osorio, whose copious eloquence and classical latinity obtained for him the name of the Portuguese Cicero; or of Andrew de Resende, the first antiquary of the age. How great too was the literary fecundity of the time in books of travels, in romances, in moral essays, in works of every class!

This account would certainly impress us with a very favorable opinion of the literary advancement of that century; and yet, we repeat, that it records the name of but one man of genius, and we affirm that this prosperity has been greatly exaggerated, as we shall show, has been equally exaggerated the posterior literary decline. Let us take a brief glance at the condition of theological science,

which was then, it is said, so profound and so brilliant. Great theologians are spoken of, who ravished the Tridentine Fathers with amazement and admiration; and this statement is corroborated by the authority of Cardinal Pacca himself.* And yet the catalogue of these eminent men is not very extensive. Don Diego Payva de Andrada is mentioned as a good theologian, the author of several treatises against heretics and in defence of the Council of Trent, all of which have, however, passed into oblivion; Francis Foreiro, a Dominican friar, whom St. Charles Borromeo retained at Rome to assist in the preparation of the Roman Catechism, sometimes called the Catechism of the Council of Trent; Father Jerome Oleastro, also a Dominican, skilful in the ancient languages, and the author of Commentaries on Scripture; and Don Bartholomew of the Martyrs, Archbishop of Braga, still more celebrated for piety than for his learning, are alone worthy of remembrance. As for Henry of St. Jerome, and Louis de Soto Mayor, the most erudite of our readers have probably never heard mention of their names.

* Mémoires, etc., p. 352.

The Spanish conquest was, as we have seen, in every respect fatal to Portugal. But if we have denied that it effected the complete destruction of her political and military power, with still greater reason do we deny that it wrought the complete ruin of her literary greatness. Literature and science budded forth once more in a land, which they had once filled with their fragrance; and it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the race of great men became extinct.

The drama indeed had almost entirely disappeared; for, except within the court itself, theatrical representations were discontinued, and when, after a season of repose, an attempt was made to revive them, the usurpers extended their tyranny even to the stage, and insisted upon the adoption of Spanish plays, and even the substitution of Spanish actors. This caused the extinction of the Portuguese drama until the nineteenth century. Compulsion, artifice, and the desire of advancement, combined to introduce the frequent use of the Spanish tongue, to the great detriment of the language and literature of Portugal.

It should be remembered, also, that the Portuguese recognized but two species of legi-

timate poetry, the heroic and the pastoral, and they admitted the pastoral into the epic, and even into the drama. This preference for the pastoral was natural under the lovely sky of Lusitania, and with the gorgeous scenery of the East before their eyes; but it is easily seen that the pastoral, almost always unnatural of itself, must become still more liable to objection when transposed to the drama, and that this medley of incongruous species must be productive of injury to the cause of literature.

Yet for the one hundred and fifty years ensuing, the literary horizon was not entirely obscured. The example of Camoens encouraged many others to become votaries of the epic Muse; such as Corta-Real, the writer of several heroic poems; Louis Pereira, who in his *Elegiada*, bewails the disaster of Alcazar-Quivir; Manzinho Quebedo, the author of Alphonso of Africa; Pereira de Castro, who in the Ulyssea, a poem redolent of the classic age, sings the foundation of Lisbon; Francis sa Menezes, who in his conquest of Malacca, takes the great Albuquerque as the hero of his tale; Bras Mascarenhas, the composer of the *Viriathus;* all these retained a national spirit in the bosom of an enthralled country.

In pastoral poetry the most eminent names are Manuel de Viega and Rodrigues de Lobo, the Theocritus of his country.

The list would be protracted to an irksome length, should we undertake to enumerate all the poets of the 17th century.

The similarity of the Portuguese to the Latin produced a great number of poets in the latter tongue, as will be seen by taking a glance at the collection entitled, *Corpus Illustrium Lusitanorum qui latine scripserunt* (8 vols. in 4to). The most celebrated of these was Payva de Andrada, who died in 1660, the author of a very remarkable heroic poem, the *Chauleidos*, or the Siege of Chaul, whose scene, like that of the Lusiad, is laid in the East Indies.

In the same century, history was cultivated by Brito, the author of the *Monarchia Lusitana;* Frey Duarte Nunez de Liao; Jacinthe Freyre de Andrada, the biographer of John de Castro, and one of the most distinguished of the Portuguese writers; Louis de Souza, whose Chronicles of St. Dominic, and Life of Bartholomew of the Martyrs, have merited for him the reputation of a classic; Faria de Souza, the historian of Portugal, the commen-

tator on Camoens, a poet himself, and a copious and laborious writer in many species of compositions, who boasted that he had, every day of his life, composed twelve pages, each page consisting of thirty lines, until his death, in 1649, put an end to this incessant activity. But of the voluminous writers of that day, the most remarkable was Francis Macedo, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Coimbra, and passed from their order to the Cordeliers. He was the prodigy of the age. At Venice he gained laurels in a public dispute *de omni re scibili*, and terminated the closing session by extemporizing one thousand, or, as some say, two thousand, Latin verses. In eight days more his ardent and impetuous genius had produced a work, which he characterized by the title of *Literary Roarings of the Lion of St. Mark*. At the end of his *Myrothecium Morale*, he tells us, that he had pronounced fifty-three panegyrics, sixty harangues in the Latin language, and thirty-two funeral orations; that he had composed one hundred and twenty-three elegies, one hundred and fifteen epitaphs, two hundred and twelve dedicatory epistles, seven hundred familiar letters, two thousand and six hundred

heroic poems, one hundred and ten odes, three thousand epigrams, four Latin comedies, two tragedies, a satire in Spanish; in all, one hundred and fifty thousand lines, without noticing a number of treatises on theology, ethics, and various other subjects! Such learning and such literary fecundity are without a parallel.

In the ecclesiastical sciences, the most famous was Antony Vieira, or Vieyra, of whom we would speak with greater freedom were he not a Jesuit. With that enthusiasm which belongs to their national character, the Portuguese prefer him to Cicero, Demosthenes, Bossuet, and all orators, ancient or modern. Having completed his early studies and passed his youth in Brazil, Vieira comes to Europe, where his success in the pulpit, and his talents for diplomacy soon attract the favor and win the confidence of John IV and Clement X. But he withdrew from this glorious career, and returned to evangelize Brazil, where he died in 1697. His works form a collection of fifteen quarto volumes, thirteen of which contain his sermons, and the remainder writings on various matters. Whatever judgment we may pass on Vieira's taste, no one can deny that he was one of the most eminent, possibly

the very first of Portuguese writers. Nor should we forget to record the name of Augustin Barbosa, who merits praise for his skill in civil and canon law. Born in 1590, he died in 1649, the very year that Philip IV, to reward his services and to do honor to learning, had nominated him to the Bishopric of Urgento, in the kingdom of Naples. The complete edition of his works consists of sixteen folio volumes: the most valuable is entitled, *Remissiones in varia loca Concilii Tridentini.* In subjects of this kind he has been surpassed by none of his countrymen.

The eighteenth century was not destitute of Portuguese writers, although the decline was now more perceptible, notwithstanding, says Pacca, the thorough education yet imparted by the Jesuits. The most famous writer was Eryceyra, the correspondent of Boileau, who wrote an heroic poem, the *Henriqueida*, and the *History of the Restoration in Portugal.* He was a man of considerable reputation, though the critical advice of Boileau could not supply the want of genius. About the same time Barbosa-Machado composed the *Memoirs of King Sebastian*, at the instance of the royal Academy of History, and published (1742–52)

his great *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, in four folio volumes, in which he quotes several illustrious writers of the latter days of the monarchy.

Finally, at the very time of the suppression of the Society, Portugal was not entirely deprived of capable men, and from among its adversaries, one, at least, may be mentioned, Antonio Pereira de Figheredo, a celebrated theologian educated by the Jesuits themselves, who unhappily devoted his fine talents and his varied learning to the service of Pombal and Jansenism. But from the time of the banishment of the Jesuits, the light of literature and science continued to dwindle, until it has finally become extinct in that unfortunate land. "At Lisbon," says Cardinal Pacca, "no works are now published which are worthy of notice; still less are they deserving of the honors of translation." And here we are fortunate in being able to cite the authority of Father Theiner himself. In a review of the memoirs of the learned and holy Cardinal,* when he comes to treat of the reform of the University of Coimbra, effected by Pombal, he thus expresses himself: "The professors of the

* Annals of Religious Sciences, for 1836, vol. ii, pp. 177, 180.

University of Coimbra have utterly destroyed true science in Portugal. . . . The government of Pombal, and its effects on Portugal, furnish a most triumphant apology for the Society of Jesus."

To complete this sketch of the literature and science of Portugal, and of the influence of the Society of Jesus, we should here speak of the reform to which we have just alluded, and enumerate the eminent Portuguese Jesuits of the time; but for the purpose of preserving some unity in our remarks, and of avoiding needless repetition, we deem it proper to defer giving the details we have to offer on both subjects, until we shall come to a general discussion of the University reform in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the literary and scientific state of the Society at that period. Then shall we supply the particulars which in this and the succeeding chapter, we have thought it expedient to omit.

Chapter the Second.

THE JESUITS IN GERMANY.

1. At the time when Luther began to attract attention by his denunciation of Catholic dogmas, the clergy of Germany offered a sad example of corrupted faith and relaxed morals. Frightful is the picture contemporaneous writers present of the state of the clergy, or at least of the secular clergy, at this mournful period: when we cast our eyes upon it, we can no longer be at a loss to comprehend the secret of the rapid strides of Protestantism. Already at the death of Luther, all Germany was infected with the poison of his doctrines. The seducing eloquence of Melanchthon, the glowing harangues of Bucer, Carlstadt, and Bullinger, had finished the work of destruction, and princes and realms were severed from Catholic unity. Religious sects were every day springing into existence in that unfortunate land, and the Anabaptists were preparing

to plunge it into an abyss of error, and engulf it in blood. According to Ranke, a Protestant historian, who, in support of his assertion, appeals to the statistics furnished by the publicists of the time, in the Austrian States, now almost entirely Catholic, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was then as one to ten! Heresy had encountered no obstacle to arrest its course; on the contrary, corruption and ignorance on the part of the clergy, ambition and cupidity in the great, fanaticism and apostacy among the people, tended to deepen its channel, augment its volume, and accelerate its speed. For ten Protestant theologians of renown, scarcely one could be found on the side of the orthodox faith.

Let us see who were the defenders of Catholic tenets, when, in 1540, the Jesuits first appeared in Germany. The most conspicuous was John Eckius, or Eck, Professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt; but he died only three years later. He was the Catholic leader in all controversies with the Lutherans; his associates yielded to the direction of his superior mind, and in his language were their sentiments embodied. We find him present at the diet of Augsburg, in

1538, at the Conference of Ratisbon, in 1541, and everywhere, by the extent of his learning, the acuteness of his reasoning, and the copiousness of his eloquence, he contested the preeminence with Luther, Carlstadt, and Melanchthon. After Eck, the most famous champion of the church, was John Cochlæus, who was born in 1479, and died Canon of Breslau in 1552; but, says Feller, he was neither equally esteemed by Catholics, nor feared by Protestants, because his object was rather to confute error, than solidly to establish truth.

The order of St. Dominic entered the lists in the persons of the two Fabers, and Ambrose Storck. The first of the Fabers, born in Suabia, about the year 1470, by his zeal against heresy, gained the title of *Malleus Hæreticorum.* He was elevated to the See of Vienna, and died in 1541. The other Faber, of the same name and country, but inferior in reputation, died in 1570. Ambrose Storck and John Gropper were the only distinguished theologians furnished by Germany to the Council of Trent. The former was present as the theologian of the Archbishop of Treves, and his eloquence gained applause; but he died at Treves, in 1557, before the third session of the

Council. Gropper, Archdeacon of Cologne, died in 1559 at Rome, whither he had been summoned by Paul IV, who made efforts, which his humility defeated, to elevate him to the dignity of cardinal. At the session of 1552, Gropper was introduced into the Council by his Archbishop, Adolphus de Schauemburg, and he there sustained that reputation for talents and learning which he had already gained in many conferences and provincial councils, and even acquired new lustre by his thorough acquaintance with dogmatic theology, history, ecclesiastical discipline, and tradition.

Thus when all other Catholic countries, France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, and especially Spain, were ably represented at Trent, Germany can boast of not more than two or three names that have survived. At the present day, even among the learned, who has ever heard of Henry Gothard and George Hocheuvaster, secular priests and doctors of theology, of Leonard Haller, in the service of the Bishop of Eichstadt? Nor should we omit to add the names of Nausea, the successor of Faber in the See of Vienna, a preacher and controvertist, who died at Trent during the

session of the Council, in 1552; of Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, the friend of Canisius and partaker of his labors: few more of note can be discovered, at a time when Catholic Europe was adorned with persons who to piety united profound learning. Germany being comparatively destitute of theologians, her sovereigns and bishops sought in foreign lands for those who might fitly represent them at the general council. The Duke of Bavaria selected Father Covillon, a Belgian Jesuit; the Bishop of Augsburg, in place of Father Lefebvre, his first choice, appointed Fathers Le Jay, Olave and Canisius. The Archbishop of Saltzburg chose, as his theologian, the Dominican Ninguarda, of Milan, and the Archbishop of Prague fixed upon Elyseus Capys, of Venice.* Such was the religious desolation of Germany, that in 1551, when Canisius arrived at Vienna, although that See had been filled by the pious and learned Faber and Nausea, more than twenty years had elapsed

* On the other hand, no Prince or Bishop, outside of Germany, nor the Pope, nor the Emperor himself, deputed any German theologian; and of about three hundred and sixty doctors, who took part in the Council, only ten were Germans!

since the University had presented a candidate worthy of promotion to holy orders.

It is not surprising, then, that the Jesuits had no sooner set foot on German soil, than their presence was everywhere demanded to rekindle the light of science in the universities, and particularly to revive theological studies. Cardinal Truchses, Bishop of Augsburg, desired to bring back his University of Dillingen to the primitive object of its institution. To effect this, he had at first procured the aid of the celebrated Dominican, Peter de Soto. But De Soto was soon summoned to England, which country he left for Trent, where he died in 1562. Deprived of his assistance, and not finding around him theologians capable of co-operating in his designs, he adopted a decisive course; he dismissed the whole corps of Professors, and placed the University under the control of the Jesuits. A definite arrangement on the subject was concluded at Botzen between the German and Italian commissaries of the Cardinal and the representatives of the Society. In 1563 the Jesuits arrived at Dillingen and took possession of the chairs.

In the same manner the Jesuits acquired

the University of Ingolstadt, whose annals will furnish us with the details. "His Serene Highness, the Duke of Bavaria, finding that such was the decline of theological learning since the death of Eck, that scarcely one able Professor remained, wrote this year to the Sovereign Pontiff, Paul III, to desire him to send from Italy to the University, which he wished to reform and provide with superior Professors, skilful and experienced theologians, to supply a want much felt in those times of religious revolution. The duty of complying with this request devolved upon Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the Pope's nephew, who procured from Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, the destination of three theologians to Bavaria. These were Peter Canisius, Claude Le Jay, and Alphonso Salmeron."* These, with Gaudan, Luke Pinelli, Covillon, Alphonso de Pisa, Jerome de

* Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiæ inchoati a Valentino Rotmaro et Joanne Engerdo, etc. 4 vol. in 4to, 1782; t. i, p. 208.

Rotmar thus terminates his eulogy on Canisius, who arrived at Ingolstadt in 1549, and was appointed Rector the following year: "Ego unum dixero: Lumen est nostro tempore inter doctores Ecclesiæ." (T. i, p. 215.)

Torres, and the famous Gregory de Valentia, all of foreign birth, were the first Jesuits who composed the faculty of Ingolstadt. The Germans do not appear until later: the first was Thyreus, who had been educated at the Germanic College; then Tanner, Laymann, and others, whose names are yet illustrious in the annals of theology. "There were remaining among us," says Ranke, "few believers in the Papal tenets, when the Jesuits came to re-establish the faith of Rome. And of what country were these, the first of their order among us? They were natives of Spain, Italy, the Netherlands. For a long time even the name of their Society was unknown, and they were styled the Spanish priests. They filled the Chairs of the Universities, and there met with disciples willing to embrace their faith. Germany has no part in them; their doctrines, their constitutions, had been completed and reduced to form before they appeared in our midst. We may then regard the progress of their institute here, as a new participation of Roman Europe in German Europe. They have defeated us on our own soil, and wrested from us a share of our fatherland."*

* History of the Papacy, t. iii, p. 44.

2. Such was the state of Germany at the arrival of the Jesuits. The next subject that presents itself for our investigation is what they accomplished there, what services they rendered to education and religion. What was the general result of their labors, Ranke has already told us. Lefebvre came first. Foreseeing that the conference at Worms, to which he had been sent, would be unattended by any desirable result, he betook himself to an occupation of brighter promise. He reforms the clergy, whose relaxed morals had contributed, more than the exertions of the Lutherans, to the progress of heresy. His success at Worms was complete. Spire, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg are successively the scenes of his apostolic triumphs. Upon his going into Spain, he was succeeded by Le Jay and Bobadilla, who continued the work of regenerating clergy and people. The Bishops regards the words of Le Jay as oracular. Lefebvre returns from Spain and resumes his former occupations. Mentz reaps the fruit of his zeal, where he adds Canisius to the Society; and Cologne is preserved from imitating the apostacy of its Archbishop. At the latter place he leaves Canisius with a number of his

brethren to complete his labors. Canisius afterwards goes to Vienna, where, as we have seen, no ordination had taken place for twenty years. But the sanctuary is now no longer a desert, and the people once more listen to the pure teachings of Catholic faith. He himself instructs them in the tenets of our holy religion, and to facilitate their acquisition, composes his celebrated catechism, which has passed through five hundred editions. At the same time, his was the guiding spirit of all the diets, he is charged with various nunciatures, carries on the warfare with the heretics, and replies to the centuriators of Magdeburg. The slumbering faith of princes and clergy is awakened, and the Jesuits are everywhere called for. To respond to these demands, they seem gifted with ubiquity. They are laboring everywhere, and everywhere are their labors successful. "How wonderful a progress," exclaims Ranke, "and in so short a time! In 1552, the Jesuits had no fixed residence in Germany; in 1566, we encounter them in Bavaria, among the Tyrolese, in Franconia, and Suabia; they have spread over a great part of the provinces of the Rhine and Austria; they have penetrated into Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The effects

of their presence are soon perceptible. In 1561, the Papal Nuncio informs us, that they had made many conversions, and rendered infinite service to the Holy See. This was the first durable anti-protestant impulse communicated to Germany."*

Thus it was that the Jesuits stemmed the torrent of victorious Protestantism, and turned it back to its Northern source: from it whole nations were rescued, and restored to the bosom of the Church. At a meeting of the Bohemian nobility, the burgrave John de Lobkowitz was heard to exclaim: "If this society had been instituted one century sooner, and had then found its way into Bohemia, the very name of Protestantism would have been unknown!" Thus, too, the Duke of Bavaria acknowledged, when committing a college to their care, that it was to a great degree to the Jesuits, that Bavaria owed the revival of the ancient faith, which had suffered so much from the evils of the day. The results of their exertions were so apparent that they could not escape the observation of the most casual observer, and were remarked by the sceptical Montaigne

* History of the Papacy, t. iii, p. 39.

himself. "I am of opinion," says he, "that there never appeared among us a body of men, who have held so high a rank, or effected so much. If they do not relax in the prosecution of their plans, they will very shortly gain a dominant position throughout Christendom. Their order is a seminary of men illustrious in every career, and from them the heretics of our times have more to fear than from any other members of the Church."* That the Jesuits took the lead in this Catholic movement is so incontestably true, that even their enemies do not attempt to gainsay it. "After God," it is the avowal of Gaspar Schopp, one of their most determined adversaries, "to the Society of Jesus do we owe it, that the Catholic religion was not exterminated."† And after the interval of two hundred years, Ranke, with that candor that does him honor and makes his statements so trustworthy, attributes to the Jesuits the Catholic reaction in Germany and the restoration of the true faith. "In Poland," says he, "the Jesuit schools were frequented princi-

* Voyages de Montaigne en Allemagne et en Italie, etc. p. 666. Édit. du Panthéon.

† In notis ad Poggianum, t. iv, p. 423.

pally by the young nobility, who themselves undertook to spread the faith among the lower orders in cities yet remaining true to the Protestant cause. But Catholicity exerted its chief influence on the higher classes. Four hundred students, all of the nobility, filled the College of Pultovsk. The tendency of the times, the teaching of the Jesuits, the newly-aroused zeal of the clergy; all these concurred to dispose the Polish nobility to re-enter the Church."* But in the provinces of Germany the progress of this counter-reformation was still more perceptible. "The rapid, yet permanent change," continues Ranke, "which took place in these countries was most remarkable. Shall we say that Protestantism was not deeply rooted in the affections of the people, or shall we attribute this revolution to the skilful propagandism of the Jesuits? It must be confessed that they lacked neither zeal nor prudence. You will see them extending their labors successively to all the places in the vicinity of their establishments, seducing and gaining over the masses. Their churches are always thronged. Is there anywhere found a Lutheran, skilled

* History of the Papacy, t. iv, p. 13.

in his Bible, who, by his teachings, acquires some influence over his neighbors? They use every means to obtain his conversion, and so habituated are they to polemic discussions, that they rarely fail. They devote themselves to the offices of charity, they heal the sick, they reconcile enemies, and strengthen in their faith, by the contraction of new obligations, those whom they have succeeded in reclaiming. Under their banners the faithful are seen to flock to the places of pilgrimage; and those now join in these processions, who were awhile before regarded as steadfast Protestants."*

In the same part of his work, the Lutheran doctor speaks of the glory the Jesuits acquired in training up not only ecclesiastical princes, but temporal rulers, who became so many apostles devoted to the cause of Catholic restoration. We may then conclude that for the preservation of the faith in the sixteenth century, the provinces of the Rhine, Hungary, Austria, and Poland, are chiefly indebted to the Society of Jesus. The same important services were performed by it down to the

*Ibid. p. 49.

middle of the seventeenth century; and when the treaty of Westphalia, by its concessions to Protestantism, shackled the advancing strides of Catholicity in Germany, the Jesuits did not despair of the future triumph of truth; they continued to battle successfully by multiplying schools, and by announcing the salutary teachings of religion.

From some of the particulars we have already recorded, it may have been inferred that it was not only by the apostleship and the fatigues of the sacred ministry, nor even by controversial disputes, that they sought to retain the faithful and reclaim the wandering; their schools and the instruction of youth were the chief means they made use of for preserving and propagating the faith.

First of all, those destined for the sanctuary received their attention, and a German clergy was formed. How many men of learning came forth from their schools, we shall examine hereafter; now, it will suffice to notice the outpouring tide of pious and zealous priests, apostles, who spread themselves over every country of Germany, to bring back the people to the dominion of faith and virtue. Father Theiner, in the year 1833, thus addressed the

Bishops of Germany, in his Institutions of Ecclesiastical Education.* "May this work teach you to appreciate properly the services rendered by a celebrated society to the education of youth, and to the clergy in general. By the aid of this distinguished order, our ancestors kept the deposit of faith undiminished, and the light of science undimmed. For these great benefits, what a debt of gratitude does not Germany owe the Jesuits!" Thus, according to Father Theiner, not only the virtues proper to the ecclesiastical state, but the sciences, too, were planted by their Jesuit instructors in the bosoms of the German clergy. But were it true that they had contracted the scope of their labors to the formation of watchful sentinels to protect the citadel of faith, of valiant champions to oppose error and maintain the truth, of virtuous and holy priests to stop the progress of a flood, which was sweeping off nations, should we not say, that they had conferred an inestimable benefit upon Germany, and nobly fulfilled the mission, wherewith Providence would seem to have charged them? What matters it then, if a greater or less number of scholars issued

* Tom. i, p. 165.

from the Jesuit schools; or, in either supposition, what conclusion will you draw to their disparagement? We do not now speak of men of genius. "Genius," as De Maistre very justly remarks, "is not the production of schools; it is not acquired, it is innate; it recognizes no obligation to man; its gratitude is due to the creative power of God."* "It would be as silly," continues the same distinguished writer, "to do homage to the Jesuits for the genius of Descartes, Bossuet, and Condé, as to crown Port Royal with the glories of Pascal and Racine." We speak only of men, who, with ordinary abilities, by dint of labor and the opportunity of leisure, arrive at an eminent position in science. Is there any man, who does not see, that neither the learning nor the zeal of the instructor suffices for the production of even such as these? The acquisition of learning demands time, the will to acquire it, and that stubbornness of perseverance, which some do not distinguish, in its effects, from genius. But in the agitated state of Germany, then, when it was requisite to be ever on the alert to resist incessant assaults, to watch over nations with unslumbering vigi-

* De l'Église Gallicane, liv. i, ch. v.

lance in order to prevent their defection, to encourage them by words of exhortation, to strengthen them by the sacraments, in a word to multiply themselves with the multiplied dangers and wants of the Catholic cause, where find the leisure, the tranquillity, and patient study, which science exacts of her votaries? And has not the same reason been repeatedly given, and as often received as satisfactory, to explain the inferiority of our present clergy, when compared with their predecessors of the seventeenth century; and has any one dreamed of imputing it to any lack of zeal on the part of the Bishops, or learning and industry in the professors of our seminaries?

The assertion that Germany counted no great men, outside of the Society of Jesus, is by no means true. Father Theiner has published a catalogue of students, of the Germanic College at Rome, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola. Now among these students, Germans, almost without exception, down to the end of the eighteenth century, there had been one Pope, Gregory XV, twenty-four Cardinals, six Electors of the Empire, nineteen princes, twenty-one archbishops, one hundred and

twenty-one titular bishops, one hundred bishops *in partibus infidelium*, six abbots or generals of religious orders, eleven martyrs for the faith, thirteen martys of charity, besides fifty-five, adds Father Theiner, conspicuous for piety and learning. He remarks, also, that among these men, all distinguished in their day, several, bishops, priests, or religious, were writers of merit. In this number may be cited John Kery, successively Bishop of Sirmich and Veitsen, a philosopher and historian; Andrew Illies, Bishop of Transylvania; Peter Binsfeld, coadjutor of Treves; Sigismund Zeller, coadjutor of Freissingen; John Vanoviczy, Bishop of Scardona; Victor Miletus, Canon of Breslau; Gerard Vossius, Prevost of Tongres, learned in the Greek and Latin languages, the first to ransack the libraries of Rome, and to translate into Latin many writings of the Greek Fathers; Gaspar Mallechich, Prior-General of the order of St. Paul; John Gothard, Canon of Passau; Robert Turner, a learned professor of the University of Ingolstadt; Matthias Faber, a celebrated preacher, at first a curate, but finally a Jesuit; Andrew Fornerus, Canon of Wurtzburg; Ferdinand Grieskirker, a celebrated writer, says

Theiner; Peter Bolla, Marquard Hergoth, Frederic Forner, Barthel, Michael Ignatius Schmidt, and many others.

Thus was Germany committing the charge of her youth to the Germanic College, and thus were they returned to her learned and virtuous priests. By the purity and modesty of their lives, they answered the calumnies of heretics against the morals of the clergy and ecclesiastical celibacy; by their devotion at the altar, they atoned to the sacred mysteries of our religion for the insults to which the irreverence of unworthy priests had exposed them; by their moderation and disinterested spirit, they protested against the reproach that the clergy aimed at riches and pleasures only; by their knowledge they dissipated the suspicion of ignorance, under which they labored, and made the innovators more wary in offering those challenges to disputes, in which they had been accustomed to defy their opponents to solve their subtle objections. We may then readily conceive, with what affectionate admiration Germany viewed the College, and with what entire confidence she intrusted to it not only her favorite children, but even the scions of her most illustrious families, such as

the Ferdinands of Bavaria, the Counts of Harrach, the Dietrichsteins, the Thuns, the Furstembergs, the Metternichs, the Esterhazys, the Frankenbergs, the Waldsteins, the Margraves of Baden, the Wartenbergs, the Holsteins.

It was not in the Germanic College alone that the Jesuits formed to science the youth who aspired to the priesthood: the same labors occupied them throughout all Catholic Germany, and everywhere they were equally fruitful. "To bring their Universities to the highest degree of excellence," says Ranke, "was the object of their greatest solicitude. They aimed at rivalling the most celebrated schools of the Protestants. The ancient languages, at that time, attracted chief attention in scientific culture. To these then did they devote themselves, and soon the Jesuit professors were worthy of being compared with even the mighty restorers of ancient literature. The other sciences were not, however, neglected; at Cologne, Francis Koster lectured on Astronomy, to the delight as well as the instruction of his hearers. But theology was their peculiar province: to this they applied themselves with unsurpassed industry: no day was exempt from some theological exer-

cise. They resumed the custom of holding public disputes, without which, they asserted, the study of theology would be devoid of life and spirit. The exercises were conducted in so urbane, agreeable, instructive, and brilliant a manner, as to afford unprecedented satisfaction. The public were soon convinced that, in theology at least, the Catholic University of Ingolstadt could vie with the best of the German schools of learning. Ingolstadt itself became the centre of Catholic influence, as Wittenberg and Geneva had been the seats of Protestantism."*

Is it credible that with such a system of teaching, the Jesuits should have produced, among the secular clergy, no remarkable men? Without doubt, and we have already admitted it, they sought to train up priests, who should be pious, zealous, and sufficiently instructed, rather than to form profound scholars; and, in fact, we find, that from their entrance into Germany down to their suppression, there issued from their schools numbers of virtuous prelates, whose heroic perfection prompted them to become the martyrs of faith and

* T. iii, p. 40.

charity.* Meanwhile, however, we must not be understood as conceding that they were neglectful of the interests of learning. It is urged that at the date of their dissolution, though they had been intrusted with the exclusive education of the Catholic youth, they had omitted to form men capable of replacing them, or even of sharing with them in the office of instructing. The objection is not new; it is borrowed from the Jansenist editors of the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques.* But what do the objectors require? Was it the duty of the Jesuits to act the part of directors of normal schools, and to devote themselves to the training up of teachers and professors? Should they have occupied themselves with these cares, when they themselves filled almost

* To confine ourselves to the very times of the suppression, we may enumerate, with Father Theiner (Inst. Eccl. Educ. t. ii), the Cardinals Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna; Frankenberg, Archbishop of Mechlin, one of the most illustrious prelates of the eighteenth century; Prince Esterhazy, Bishop of Agram, in Hungary, a man of apostolic virtue; Kerens, at first a Jesuit, then Bishop of Neustadt, all pious and zealous prelates, who strenuously opposed the schismatical projects of Joseph II, and saved the Catholic faith in Belgium and Germany. See Picot, Memoirs for an Eccl. Hist. t. iv, p. 489.

every chair of importance, when they found it so easy to keep up the succession of teachers from among their own body, and when they could have had no reason to apprehend those violent and iniquitous measures, which would, at a future day, drive them from their posts? There might have existed, there really did exist, among those who had been the pupils of the Jesuits, a multitude of men, who were well informed, but nevertheless unqualified for professorships: that office, in addition to knowledge, demands a special aptitude, a uniformity of system, and, above all, a long experience. Even if men with all these requisites had abounded, still it would have been difficult to provide for their salaries and support in that liberal scale, which their abilities would give them a right to demand. Jesuit teaching was so cheap in comparison, that the revenues, which at Bourges had sufficed for the support of thirty Jesuits, after the dissolution of the Society scarcely afforded an adequate compensation for ten secular professors. These considerations had not escaped the observation of the sagacious Frederick II, who thus expresses himself in his instructions to the agent appointed to negotiate with Pius

VI on retaining the Jesuits in his states: "The surest means (to perpetuate a series of professors) is to preserve a seminary of men destined to teach. In studying the sciences, they fit themselves for the office of instructing. It would be no easy task to fill instantaneously a vacancy left by a skilful professor, by making a selection from among men of other occupations, whose habits of life are so different. If the education of ordinary citizens be necessary, the training up of instructors must be no less so. Besides, there are reasons of economy for preferring such a body of men to mere secular individuals. The professor, taken from the latter class will cost more, because he has a greater number of wants. It is needless to remark that the property of the Jesuits would not be sufficient to remunerate their successors; and that revenues which pass over to the administration of the government, always suffer diminution."*

3. We have seen the condition in which the Jesuits found Germany, we have seen, too, what they accomplished within her limits: to complete this chapter, it only remains for

* Collombet Hist. de la Supp. tom. ii, p. 194.

us to investigate her state, when they were driven from her soil.

At their coming, we have said, Germany was of all Catholic countries in Europe the most destitute of theologians. At their departure, there was no country in Europe, with the exception perhaps of Italy, where sacred studies, the interpretation of Scripture, theology, canon law, flourished with more life and vigor. That this assertion will be styled paradoxical, is what we have anticipated: but we shall prove its truth. In the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in Germany, who thence dates the birth of her literature, attention was diverted from other pursuits, and turned to the cultivation of poetry. Hence the number of great poets since, whose labors were more dazzling than occupations not appealing to general sympathy, and hidden in the solitude of literary retirement. Then, too, the minds of men sought for nothing but glittering novelties, aspired only to an imaginary future, and cast a look of disdain, if they vouchsafed a glance at all, on studies which inclosed themselves in the calm shrine of the majestic past, where religious truth has fixed her abode. Then

came the Revolution, with its mighty surge, spreading itself over the monuments of former ages, and almost obliterating their traces.

Let us pass along the scene of devastation, and seek to detect some vestiges, perchance yet remaining: and first outside of the Society of Jesus. The name of Foster, or Froben, of the Order of St. Benedict, immediately presents itself. He was professor of Philosophy and Holy Scripture at the University of Salzburg, and the Abbey of St. Emmeran, where he was elected Prior in 1750, and Prince-Abbot in 1762. From this time until his death, in 1791, he encouraged in his own abbey the cultivation of the science that had been the object of his predilection, and to whose honor the profound learning displayed in his own writings had not a little contributed. Then comes George Christopher Neller, whose theses, embracing the whole circle of the sciences, sustained with brilliant success, when he was but twenty-two years of age, were abundantly sufficient to supersede the necessity of further proof of learning, and merited for him the title of Doctor of Theology. Already known to fame by the various stations he had adorned, and the remarkable works he had produced,

Neller was chosen professor of canon and civil law at the University of Treves, where he died in 1783, after having published a great number of critical and learned dissertations. Neller's professor at the University of Wurtsburg was John Gaspar Barthel, who, in that principality, had filled successively all the dignities, to which a secular ecclesiastic was eligible.* Barthel was one of the best canonists of the eighteenth century, and was still more celebrated for his ardent zeal for the Holy See, and his strenuous opposition to Protestantism. He reformed the system of teaching canon law, and whilst he retained the general principles of the science, he reduced it to a form in accordance with the political constitution of Germany. He died in 1771. We may pass with greater rapidity over the names of Hermann Scholliner, who, after having professed theology with distinction, was appointed Director-General of Studies among the Bavarian Benedictines, and chosen, in place of Pfeffel, for the task of preparing for publication the *Monumenta Boica;* of Benedict Oberhauser, of the same order, who died

* Barthel was educated by the Jesuits. So also very probably were many other theologians of his times.

in 1786, a good theologian and profound canonist, but who unfortunately embraced the tenets of Febronius; of Martin Gerbert, also a Benedictine, whose death took place in 1793, an opponent of the same doctrines, distinguished for the extensive and varied erudition displayed in his works; of George Lienhart, less illustrious for his birth than for his learning; of Paulinus Erdt, a Franciscan, who zealously combated infidelity until his death in 1800; and of Antony Goritz, a Capuchin, who died in 1784, the author of several learned works on Moral Theology, and on the monuments of sacred and profane antiquity.

The list would be still further prolonged, if we were willing to admit into it the names of many other theologians of talent, who, being seduced by motives of ambition, adopted the new ideas; such were Stock and Rauttenstrauch, of whom we shall speak when treating of the reform of the Universities; the Benedictines Danzer and Braun; Dereser, the discalceate Carmelite, better known by the name of Thaddeus of St. Adam; Eulogius Schneider, educated by the Jesuits at Wurtsburg, a preacher at Augsburg and Stuttgard, professor

at Bonn, then an ardent revolutionist in France, where he was beheaded in 1794.

Meanwhile we purposely conceal from view the most dazzling part of our picture; for however flourishing the state of sacred science among the secular clergy, and among other religious orders, the Society of Jesus still retains the pre-eminence in the number and in the fame of her scholars.

But the plan we have marked out for ourselves, compels us to defer this subject to a more appropriate occasion, when we shall treat of the scientific state of the Jesuits at the time of the suppression, and of the reform effected in the German Universities. We shall then be the better able to judge of the truth of the assertion, that Germany then had no profound theologians, no learned canonists, none skilful in exegetics, no eloquent apologists; and we shall see if Germany of that century be inferior to Germany of the times of the General Council. We shall also see if it be true that the Jesuits during the last years of their existence, had lost in the Empire, even to a greater extent than in France, a portion of their primitive vigor, and that their professors were no longer above mediocrity; if it be true

that the decline in learning and the ignorance of the clergy occasioned the ecclesiastical reform, which was begun in 1760, which reached its maturity under Joseph II, and ended in the terrible catastrophe of the French Revolution; if it be true that in the Catholic ranks, there were to be seen no champions capable of maintaining the cause of truth against her adversaries; if it be true, in fine, that at the time of the suppression, the Jesuits were in point of science inferior to their Protestant rivals. But for this purpose, it will be necessary to exhibit the real condition of Germany at the time, to narrate the assaults made on the fortress of the faith, and its outworks, the Society of Jesus; we shall then be able to comprehend the true object of this reform, this erection of new Universities: measures, it is alleged, taken to remedy deficiencies in clerical education.

One word, however, in conclusion, of the lofty flight then taken by German literature. This, it is said, was the work of Protestants, and Catholics can claim no share in the laurels won by the poets. Let us see what force this argument has against the Jesuits and their pupils.

From the origin of the language to the close of the fifteenth century, the poem of the Niebelungen is the only great literary production, and this does not merit to be ranked, as Goethe ranks it, with the Homeric epics. When Luther appeared, the poetry of romance had departed, and the arts of the middle ages were forgotten. The language itself had fallen into neglect, and the Reformer's translation of the Bible was the era of its resurrection. Although the style is antiquated, this translation is yet regarded by critics as the type of classic German. Poets now begin to rise; Hans Sachs, the shoemaker, the prince of song-writers, with his pamphlets in rhyme, and his fertile genius; Sebastian Brandt, and his "Ship of Fools," a caricature and a satire in the vein of Rabelais; Boehme, with his strong and enthusiastic imagination, who has displayed, it is said, all the intellectual wealth of the language. But these were not sufficient to constitute a literature; and this is so true, that Opitz, a didactic poet of the beginning of the seventeenth century, possessed of taste and judgment, but spiritless, and now no longer read, has been termed the father of German poetry. Flemming, a poet of the same time,

though superior in the glowing richness of his imagination, is in style far inferior.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, a German literature did not yet exist. At this time, the power of Germany was shattered by civil war, and her poetry declined with the decline of her power: it was either stricken with entire sterility, or it degenerated into extravagant affectation. "From 1648 to the middle of the eighteenth century," says Frederick Schlegel, "was a period of barbarism. There was, what might be termed an interregnum in literature, a mingling of light and shadow, when the language, in a state of incessant fluctuation, verged now to a corrupt dialect of German, now to a jargon of half French." Amidst such unfavorable circumstances, what could be effected by the Jesuits, who had not come to Germany to make poets, whose every thought and deed was directed to the defence of Catholic faith? It would be a folly to accuse them for the protracted slumber of German genius; if a body of teachers could have aroused it, the Society of Jesus had done it. There is no religious order so little affected by difference of country, none whose principles and conduct in

its various members are so harmonious and uniform. Let us then see what it was meanwhile effecting in France. Without wishing to ascribe to it the production of those splendid geniuses, that shed glory upon the age of Louis XIV, we can without fear of exaggeration maintain, that the Society of Jesus contributed more than Port Royal, more than all the literary and teaching bodies of the time, to that great and rapid advance in science, letters, and arts. But France was then calm; at least she was disturbed by no internal commotion, whilst Germany was distracted by religious broils and political dissensions. Hence, the difference of results, where the preceptors were the same, and the system of teaching identical.

But at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Germany and Austria had revived, and German princes extended their patronage to literature, poetry springs into new life. Still she is undistinguished by any national character, and is devoid of the stamp of originality. Men of letters divide into two conflicting parties. The standard-bearer of the one is Gotlsched, who favors the imitation of the ancient models, of Italian and especially of French writers. The stronghold of the

other party is in Switzerland; Breitinger and Bodmer are the chieftains, and the imitation of the English, the object of their preference. On due reflection, Frederick Schlegel seems to have been correct in extending to the middle of the eighteenth century the age of bad taste and literary sterility. The Messias of Klopstock announces the advent of a new era, the golden age of German poetry. Now start forth to view Gessner, the chanter of pastorals; Lessing, the critic; Winckelmann, the chronicler of art; Heyne, the first Protestant antiquary of his time. In various parts of the German heavens are forming bright clusters of poets and men of letters. Gottingen is resplendent with Lichtenberg, Leizewitz, Holty, the two Stolbergs, Woss, the learned translator of Homer; Burger, the writer of the famous ballad Lenore; Dusseldorf shines with Heinse, and the two Jacobis. The intellectual movement spreads to Leipsic, to Strasburg, to many points of Germany, and stars glow singly at various intervals; Kotzebue, Werner, the philosopher Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, the historian Muller, and later Tieck and Novalis, who, with the Schlegels, represent the school of romance. But Weimar was radiant with a

galaxy of surpassing splendor, with Herder, the philosopher and poet, Goethe, the giant of German song, Wieland, John-Paul Richter, Schiller, the prince of dramatists, the Schlegels, and many more. Under the patronage of Prince Charles Augustus, and the Duchesses Amelia and Louisa, Weimar becomes the Athens of Germany.

And now to return to our argument. The Jesuits are accused of having resigned to the Protestants the undisputed possession of these literary glories. But dates will speak unanswerably in their behalf. The symphony of the Messias was heard in 1750, its last chant died away in 1769. In the interval the principal works of Gessner were published, and Heinse laid the foundation of his fame. But if the literary movement had stopped with these, would they have been able, with all their merit, to raise Germany to the first rank among literary nations? No, assuredly not. With the exception of Klopstock, perhaps, these are not the men, the remembrance of whom dazzles the imagination, when is represented before it the splendor of German literature. Herder, Goethe, Schiller and their compeers, are they who have attained the

approbation and applause of Europe. But all these men of genius arose at the middle of the eighteenth century, and their masterpieces were produced after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Jesuits were not at hand to encourage a spirit of rivalry among the Catholics, and this was perhaps one of the principal causes of that literary monopoly enjoyed by the Protestants. But, it is insisted, why did they not prepare the way for it, whilst they still taught, and when they stood by at the first resuscitation of German genius? To the accusation couched in this interrogatory, a lengthy rejoinder might be made. Bearing in mind the often quoted verse,

"Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones;"

let us ask where was there a Mæcenas to encourage poetic development? Frederick II, wholly absorbed in his French monomania, neglected to bear in mind the literary destinies of his country. Maria Theresa overreached, as we shall show, by the enemies of the Church, instead of fostering, paralyzed Catholic teaching. Joseph II was engrossed in his quarrels with Rome. The other Princes of Germany variously occupied, in like manner

left to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar the task and the glory of protecting letters. Science and literature having taken a Protestant direction, became objects of suspicion to the Catholics, as the pagan learning had been to their forefathers in the faith. Among the Protestants alone could learning find that tranquillity, and security, necessary for its culture, and unrestrained development. With the Catholics, at that time, the absorbing question was, as will be seen, not poetry, the ornament of life, but life itself, so much were they menaced in their faith, their worship, their very existence. As for the Jesuits in particular, their duty in this crisis was to guard the cause of orthodoxy, rather than the interests of profane letters. Besides, the signal of attack upon them had already been sounded; the work of expulsion was begun; they already heard the distant mutterings of the storm that was to destroy them: was this a time to be thinking of the epic, the drama, and the various species of verse?

And yet they did not keep aloof from the literary movement that was spreading through Germany; they assisted its progress in their own colleges. To cite but one example: his-

tory retains a grateful remembrance of Michael Denis. This famous Jesuit, a bibliographer and a poet, rendered a twofold service to the teaching and the literature of his country. After having lectured with distinction as a Professor, and directed the studies of the military school of Maria Theresa, he was nominated as first superintendent of the library of the celebrated Garelli, and then chief officer in the imperial library at Vienna. He immediately sought to make known to the youth, and to men of letters, the treasures confided to his charge, and to instruct them how to use them with profit. With this design he published successively his "Library of Garelli," his "History of the Press of Vienna," in which he gives a learned account of eight hundred and thirty-two works, his Supplement to Mattaire's "Typographical Annals," which contains notices of six thousand three hundred and eleven pamphlets, his "Catalogue of Theological Works contained in the Imperial Library at Vienna," his "Introduction to the Knowledge of Books," a manual of bibliographical erudition. After having revealed to studious youth the treasury of the past, Denis already thought of providing for the present and the future of the

national language, and literature. In the midday of German history, he was one of the first of those who applied themselves to the task of polishing the language, of clothing it with elegance, of fostering the study of profane literature, and of improving the system of teaching. Rising above the fears, and the mistrust, which in the Austrian States, kept the Catholics strangers to a poetry, flourishing only in Protestant soil, he had the courage to mention to his pupils, the names of Klopstock, Gellert, D'Uz, and other modern poets, and put in their hands his own "Memorials," and his "Fruits of Reading," collections full of taste, which he had made from contemporary poets (1762). By his own compositions, he merited the name of the Bard of the Danube. His epistle to Klopstock attracted at Vienna universal attention, and drew around him the youth, who were conscious of poetical inspiration. The next work by which he sustained his claim to the title of bard, was a translation of Ossian. Adopting Ossian and the Scandinavian poets as his models, he replaced the ancient mythology by the divinities of the North, and thus unsealed to his countrymen the fountain of national poetry, from which Burger and

Goethe have since drawn so copiously. In the heroic songs by which, in imitation of the ancient bards, Denis celebrated national festivals, or the events of the day, we can discern the vigor of his mind, his ardent, yet discreet patriotism, his sincere affection for youth, his zeal for the interests of religion. One of his most remarkable works, is the "Temple of the Æons, sung by Denis, during the last Years of the Eighteenth Century." It is truly the song of the dying swan. The "Biographie Universelle," from which we have extracted the most of these particulars, adds, "It has not been given to any lyric poet, ancient or modern, to terminate his poetic career with so much solemnity."

As far then as circumstances would permit, the Jesuits did exert themselves for the advancement of the national literature; and were it true that Catholicity could boast no honored name in the literary annals of the time, the blame assuredly should not be imputed to them. But this assertion is not rigorously true. Henry de Collin, born at Vienna in 1772, one of the most admired of the German dramatists, was a Catholic. Winckelmann, the illustrious historian of ancient art,

was converted to the faith at Rome about the year 1758. His conversion was succeeded by that of Zoéga, who with Winckelmann and Visconti, formed the great archeological triad of the age; then followed the painter Muller, the friend of Goethe; then John Augustus Starck, a professor of the oriental languages; then Princess Gallitzin. Her conversion was the prelude to that of her son, of Hamann (1787), a distinguished economist, a learned orientalist, a profound philosopher, a great writer, a man of rich and poetic imagination, and to that of Count de Stolberg (1800), who restored his whole family to the true faith. The Catholic movement in Germany was now so decided, and Protestant prejudice had so far abated, that Lavater, Claudius, Herder, Klopstock, and Jacobi, pardoned the conversion of Stolberg and remained his friends. Woss alone had the hardihood to insult him. Finally, in 1803, Frederick Schlegel and his wife, who was herself the writer of several highly esteemed literary works, and is said to have contributed to her husband's productions, abjured the errors of Protestantism in the Cathedral of Cologne. Around the converted Schlegel, there clustered at Jena, as heretofore at

Gottingen, and at Weimar, a brilliant group of stars: among them we discern Tieck, the greatest poet and critic of modern Germany, and Frederic Von Hardenberg, better known as Novalis. Illustrious men soon gave themselves to the current, at once religious and poetical, and they too were drawn to the shores of Catholicity. Of this number were Werner, the distinguished poet, Clement Brentano, D'Eckstein, Gœrres, and others, noble by birth, or ennobled by art or literature.

Can any one think that the Jesuits would have remained idle amid this Catholic reaction, and that they would not have claimed for themselves a large share of glory in this return to a faith, which they have defended with so much learning, courage, and devotion, before, as since, the suppression of their order? A judgment may be formed from the following chapters, in which we shall narrate the war waged against them by impiety, which dreaded their influence, and in which we shall exhibit the spirit and energy wherewith they struggled against it. Then will it be admitted by every unprejudiced reader, that it is chiefly to the Jesuits, Germany owes the preservation of that vitality which was destined to germinate so vigorously, and to produce fruit so abundantly.

Chapter the Third.

REFORM OF THE UNIVERSITIES—ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES. (1753–1792.)

It was in the year 1745, that Pombal, by dint of intrigue, obtained the appointment of plenipotentiary mediator to Vienna, to adjust a difference which had arisen between Maria Theresa and the Holy See, with relation to the patriarchate of Aquileia. In Germany, then, he began his career as a diplomatist, and "in the focus of Protestantism," adds Pacca, to whose important testimony we shall have frequent occasion to refer, "he learned to hate the church and the religious orders." But the Society of Jesus was the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of the designs, which he thenceforth meditated against the Church, and consequently the Society of Jesus was honored with his especial hostility. No sooner had he reached the dignity of minister, after his return to Portugal, than he eagerly set about

the crowning object of his life, the destruction of the Society, and the rupture with Rome, which in his mind were inseparably connected. In 1758, from the dying Benedict XIV, he obtained a brief, empowering him to order a visitation and undertake a reform of the order; and, the year following, all the Portuguese Jesuits were either thrown into prison, or banished from the country. Then succeeded a rupture with the Holy See, and a long series of open or covert attacks on the papal authority. Following out the detestable principles he had imbibed from his favorite authors, Giannone and Fra Paolo, Pombal published a manifesto, in which he conceded to the Pope a merely nominal power. In 1767, he even strove to effect a coalition between France, Spain, and Portugal, and involve in the iniquity of schism, the most considerable part of Catholic Europe. Whilst he was diligently procuring the translation and wide-spread dispersion of the productions of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the other chiefs of the school of the Anti-christian philosophy, he erected at Lisbon a tribunal of censure, to prevent the publication and introduction of all books in which were defended the Society of

Jesus, or the rights of Rome. Meanwhile, however, in 1770, to gratify Donna Maria, presumptive heiress to the throne, and perhaps also to calm the conscience of the king, whom the calumnious and schismatical writings, put into his hands by Pombal, had not entirely corrupted, he opens a negotiation for the purpose of re-establishing friendly relations between Portugal and the Holy See. This negotiation was apparently successful, and a Nuncio took up his residence at Lisbon. But we should not suppose that Pombal was inspired with better sentiments, or that he had renounced the main object of his life; nor should we give credence to those hypocritical protestations of love and veneration for the Holy See, with which his official correspondence abounds. Bernis wrote to his court, Sept. 26, 1770, that a written pledge to suppress the Society was the basis of this reconciliation. Having secured this, Pombal thought that the renewal of amicable relations with Rome, would prove no effectual hindrance to the attainment of his ends. On the other hand, Cardinal Pacca informs us that "after the reconciliation, the interests of the Church were still constantly sacrificed, that the laws

infringing her liberties and immunities, were not rescinded, that the encroachments of the civil tribunals in religious matters, were persevered in, and that the University of Coimbra continued to propagate the most dangerous principles."*

Finally, but a short time after, Pombal undertook to complete the religious ruin of Portugal by poisoning the very sources of education. His measures had been pre-arranged. We have already noticed Seabra's work, whose object it was to prove that the Jesuits had occasioned the decline of science. The Jesuits themselves no longer existed. But their doctrine survived them, and some of the opinions, in theology and philosophy, which they had introduced and defended, were still maintained at Coimbra.† The ferocity of Pombal could en-

* Mémoires. Œuvres Compl. t. ii, p. 356.

† Mémoires du Marquis de Pombal. (4 vol. in 12mo, 1784.) This work is said to have been composed by Father Gusta, and was translated into French by the grammarian Gattel. It has been accused of prejudice and exaggeration; how unjustly, a perusal of the book itself will show. It breathes throughout a spirit of moderation, candor, and impartiality, and displays the author's alacrity to commend where commendation is possible. Gusta is more favorable to Pombal's person, and less inclined to arraign his acts,

dure nothing which was in any manner connected with the odious Society. Besides, it was his determination to use the University as the chief engine for the dissemination of Jansenism and impiety: to effect this, a complete change in this Institution was requisite.

To prepare the public mind for this important revolution, he caused a work to be issued which is entitled: "A brief History of the University of Coimbra, from the time of the Introduction of the so-called Jesuits; in which is shown how destructive their Intrigues and Innovations have proved to the Sciences and the Fine Arts, which had formerly prospered in that Institution."

The author contrasts the ancient dignity of the University with her present degradation; he recounts those great men who had sprung from her bosom, who had shed through Europe a light derived from her; he discloses with manifest gratification the pretended tricks by

than later Catholic writers, such as Pacca, Picot, and Theiner himself. It were well for the memory of Pombal, if nothing more were known of him than can be gathered from this book. Some curious papers to avouch the truth of the facts narrated, are appended, and compose nearly one-third of the entire work.

which the Jesuits sought to dim a splendor too bright for their weak and jealous vision. He shows how they had abused the influence they possessed, to insure the appointment of such men to the presidency and visitorship of the University, as would prove indulgent and devoted to the Society, that the various colleges in the kingdom administered by them might be able to sustain a comparison with their rival. Such was the purport of this history.

Whatever may have been the decline of the University of Coimbra, which, as we have said, was greatly exaggerated, whatever abuses had made their way into the Institution, she had yet maintained an uninterrupted series of able professors in theology, in civil and canon law, and in other branches of education, and had sent forth a multitude of celebrated statesmen, learned jurisconsults, profound theologians, and skilful physicians. Still we do not retract our admission, that at the termination of the reign of John V, and under his successor, Joseph I, the University had not entirely escaped the benumbing influence of a lethargy which pervaded the nation. There was then no occupation to arouse the energies of the mind, no

rivalry to inspire activity, no encouragement to reward studious application. The few eminent scholars who yet remained, were not treated, even by the government, with that deference, which is the first and most flattering recompense of learning.* Then, too, when baleful opinions were spreading abroad, the

* On the contrary, men of the highest merit, if they chanced to arouse the suspicion or excite the jealousy of the ruthless minister, were immured in dungeons, or sent forth to wander in exile. Barros is an example, a Portuguese gentleman of great astronomical acquirements, and spoken of in terms of eulogy by Barbosa, Lalande, and Bailly. This Barros, a correspondent of the Scientific Academy of Paris, a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, whose discoveries the great De L'Isle esteemed it an honor to have given to the public; this Barros, a friend of the Jesuits, probably their pupil, at least a *fruit of the literary decline of Portugal*, was implicated by Pombal in the fictitious conspiracy of the 3d Sept. 1758, and was doomed to suffer the penalties of a fabricated crime, until released, after the death of Joseph I, by order of the Queen, Donna Maria. (See Lalande, Astr. t. iv, p. 694.)

To replace the Portuguese men of learning, exiled or imprisoned, Pombal, at great expense, collected from foreign countries, professors who produced not one scientific work, and who educated not one remarkable man. Thus this much-boasted reform accomplished nothing more than the introduction of Jansenism, and the dissemination of impiety.

distrust occasioned by dangerous novelties, the example of the aberrations, into which a false philosophy had betrayed not a few, awakened suspicions in the breasts of many good men, just as happened in Germany, and caused them to confound the use of talent with its abuse, and to discourage the pursuit of learning, which they had identified with impiety and irreligion.

Even for that decline of learning which we have conceded, how can we, without ignorance or injustice, hold the Jesuits responsible? Their teaching was confined to the faculty of arts; their department embraced nothing more than philosophy, rhetoric, the humanities, grammar, Greek, and Hebrew. Over the rest they had no control. The entire University, of which they constituted so insignificant a part, was subject to the immediate supervision of the council of conscience, in which the Jesuits had no representative, and where it was impossible that they should domineer. But Jesuit influence must be detected everywhere, in order that blame may be invariably imputed to them, where, in many cases, their accusers themselves were the only culprits.*

* Mém. t. i, préf. p. xliv.

The only effect of this reform was to gratify Pombal's vanity, and to further his schismatical projects. The reader has not forgotten the lately quoted words of Cardinal Pacca. We shall see that in another part of his work, he thus expresses himself: "After having sounded the first signal of persecution against a Society, celebrated for the services it had rendered religion and the sciences, Pombal corrupts public instruction in the schools and Universities, particularly that of Coimbra." Father Theiner thus develops the Cardinal's idea, in reviewing his work: "Certainly no one has represented the decline of Portugal, in this, the only true point of view, so forcibly and usefully, as our illustrious writer. Having resided in the country for more than seven years, in his quality of Apostolic Nuncio, he enjoyed every facility for the acquisition of knowledge respecting its religious and civil state. Let us then follow in the footsteps of the noble author: let us pause to examine the important considerations he will present. We shall find that the various causes of Portuguese decline, enumerated by him, may be reduced to one, and that one is Jansenism. With the impartiality of the historian, and the wisdom

of the statesman, Pacca points out the means, by which that faction rose to greater power in Portugal, than in any other Catholic country. These were the destruction of the Society of Jesus, the exclusion of Catholic books, and finally the ruin of the University of Coimbra, once emphatically Catholic, but soon the focus of Jansenistic error."

Father Theiner (whose authority we always quote with peculiar gratification), a few pages farther on, thus continues: "After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, which, as long as it subsisted, defended and preserved the deposit of faith in all its purity and integrity; after the erection of a secular tribunal of censure, but little was wanting to complete the triumph of Jansenism in Portugal, and that was supplied by the University of Coimbra. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, its system of teaching was entirely changed, and its government subjected to the control of infidels and innovators; this also was the work of Pombal, and his tool, Seabra." But perhaps, notwithstanding this anti-Catholic tendency in religious matters, the sciences resumed the onward progress, which the Jesuits had impeded. Father Theiner opportunely informs us: "The pro-

fessors of the University of Coimbra destroyed true science in Portugal. The administration of Pombal, and its effects on the country, are a most triumphant apology for the Society of Jesus. Under the tyrannical rule of this minister, the sciences lapsed into a state of barbarism, from which they have not yet recovered."*

Such passages need no commentary. It is manifest that the reform of the University of Coimbra, alleged as an objection against the Jesuits, redounds only to their glory.

* "In Portugal," says Lalande (Préf. Astr. p. 4), "John V erected an observatory in his own palace at Lisbon, and put it under the direction of Fathers Carboni and Copasse, of the Society of Jesus. There was another observatory at the Jesuit College of St. Antony." In 1758, 1759, the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits by Pombal, Father Eusebius de Veiga at Lisbon, Father Bernard de Oliveira at Coimbra, and Father Dennis Franco at Evora, professors of mathematics, were taking observations, and publishing useful works on astronomy and navigation. After they had been brutally driven from their own country, they continued their scientific labors in foreign lands, and Father Veiga, whose observations for 1788, 1789, are quoted by Lalande, was attached to an observatory at Rome. The same Lalande writes, that in 1787 (after Pombal's death), an observatory was built at St. George's Castle, and that at Coimbra there was another, directed by Father Monteiro.

In like manner will the history of the reform in the German Universities afford a triumphant apology for the Society of Jesus, in which their defence may be based upon the very facts adduced by their adversaries, and upon the very accusations themselves.

In the wide-spread conspiracy of the eighteenth century against Catholicity and the papal power, the first measure was to destroy the influence of the Jesuits, whilst their complete annihilation was anxiously expected. To accomplish this, the most perfidious means were resorted to, and first put into execution in Catholic Austria, and under the name of the Catholic Maria Theresa: we refer to their expulsion from professorships in the higher branches of ecclesiastical education. With this revolution, the name of Stock is intimately and disgracefully involved.

Simon Ambrose Stock had been a pupil of the Jesuits, in the Germanic College, at Rome. Upon his return to Vienna, he became rector of the University in 1746, and president of the faculty of theology in 1753. In the latter year began the war against the Jesuits in Germany. The prelude to their ultimate destruction was the reform in education through-

out the hereditary states of the Austrian family. This reform proceeded from a circumstance, which seemed to bode no such important result. Maria Theresa requested of the celebrated Boerhaave, professor of medicine at Leyden, to select for her service two physicians, of whose ability he was to be sole judge, but with the condition, on her part, that both should be of the Catholic faith. Boerhaave's choice fell upon two of his disciples, who have since gained a celebrity of their own, Gerard Van Swieten and Antony de Haën. Though born of Catholic parents, these men were partisans of the schismatical Church at Utrecht, at that time the stronghold of Jansenism. In their new office at the Austrian Court, the triumph of their party, equally with their scientific duties, occupied their attention; and they became the primary causes of the innovations then made in philosophical and theological instruction, and thus prepared the way for measures menacing the very existence of Catholicity in Austria. At their instigation, the Empress appointed three commissioners to carry into execution the plan of reform; and to facilitate the latter measure, Stock was chosen president of the faculty of

theology, and Paul Joseph de Riegger and Charles Antony de Martini, professors of canon and natural law. From Italy, Stock summoned to his aid new professors for all the Universities, and the Jesuits were everywhere dismissed from the office of instruction.* Day by day may we trace the course of this revolution in religious ideas, by turning over the numbers of the "Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques," a Jansenist journal, which regularly chronicled its progress in as many bulletins of victory. The details of the campaign were transmitted to them by the Abbe du Pac de Bellegarde, a partisan of the Jansenists, and in communication with Van Swieten and de Haën.

The protection which, in 1753, the pious, but too confiding, Maria Theresa was induced, by the persuasion of her physicians, to extend to schism, marks this as a memorable year in the annals of the sect. We read in the Jansenist journal of the 9th of January, 1754: "The august Empress, Maria Theresa, has published a decree, which will meet with universal approbation." The reference is to the decree granting certain privileges to the

* Picot, Mém. t. iv, p. 354, et seq.

Jansenists. On the 19th of March, 1756, the Gazette speaks of another decree, dated 22d of December, 1755, by which the Belgian subjects of the Empress were forbidden to study elsewhere than at Louvain. "It should be remarked," says the editor, "that in the preamble to this edict, Her Imperial Majesty, speaking of the abuse she wished to remedy, adds: 'Which, besides operating to the disadvantage of our University at Louvain, tends to implant in the minds of youth, sentiments at war with our interests and the common welfare of the country.'" But on the 12th of November, 1760, we have something still more explicit: "On the 15th of August, the Empress published a decree, providing for the establishment of two professorships of theology, to be filled from the Dominican and Augustinian orders, in all the Universities of her States. Daily is the Empress strengthened in her determination to eradicate the corrupt doctrine, propagated by the Jesuits." Finally, on the 14th of March, 1774, in a notice of M. de Stock, Bishop of Rosone, who had died in 1772, the Gazette recounts the history of those educational reforms, in which he had so prominently participated: "When M. de Stock

was nominated assessor of the Aulic Council for the reformation of studies, he made representations to the tribunal, that in order to renovate the theological faculty at Vienna, it would be necessary to dismiss the Jesuits, who had been for a long time engaged in diffusing unsound principles in moral and dogmatic theology. He received the requisite authorization; and sent to Italy for Father Gervasio, an Augustinian, and Father Gazzaniga, a Dominican, to replace the Jesuit professors." "Convinced that the Jesuits had no less vitiated the teaching of canon law, of which, in the Austrian States, they were almost the only professors, De Stock obtained a decree, by which, in 1769, the Jesuits were excluded from teaching that branch of ecclesiastical education in any University within the dominions of Her Imperial Majesty. To modify the kind of teaching, whilst he changed the professors themselves, M. de Stock published at Vienna his excellent 'Summary of Canon Law,' consisting of one hundred propositions, and since republished at divers places, and at Paris, by Desaint, in Latin and French, (See our announcement at the time of its appearance.) This summary is intended as

the text-book for the examination of those aspiring to degrees in the faculty of theology."

The purport of this summary may be readily conjectured. Its one hundred articles, says Picot, are in entire conformity with those drawn up, in 1717, by the *appellants* at Paris. Indeed all the books, then put into the hands of youth, contained the same pernicious principles.

The Universities now became immediately subject to the Court, by which were selected the professors of theology, without the slightest reference to the wishes, or the rights of the Bishops. The professors of canon law were chosen from the laity; those of theology from the schools of the Thomists and Augustinians, by which are meant unmitigated Jansenists.

The pretext, under which the Jesuits were despoiled of their professorships, was that they disseminated relaxed principles in moral theology, and maintained Molinism in their dogmatic teachings. The true reason was their sincere and ardent attachment to the Holy See. "They no longer professed the doctrine of Christ, the holy Fathers and the Councils; but that, so to speak, of St. Thomas and Suarez." (It is Father Faustin Prochaska, a

Franciscan, who holds this language):* as if, forsooth, St. Thomas, Suarez, and the other scholastic theologians, had not merely preserved, and explained the doctrine of Christ and the holy Fathers! Here may be detected the spirit, and secret purpose of the innovators. With their precise and well-defined formulas of expression, the scholastic doctors leave no room for evasion to subtlety, no means of escape to bad faith. For the supporters of error, it is far more convenient to have recourse, with the Protestants, to the pure text of Scripture, which will admit of any interpretation; and if they deign to consult the holy Fathers, it is still with the condition that they themselves may be the exponents of their sense. To leave no manner of doubt on this point-farther on, Prochaska continues:† "It was

* De sæcularibus liberalium artium in Bohemia et Moravia fatis commentarius (Pragæ, 1782), p. 396.

† Ibid. p. 411. With Prochaska we may class Father Cosmas Smalfus, an Augustinian, who in his Ecclesiastical History shows himself favorable to Jansenism. When treating of the reform of the Universities, he says (t. v, p. 193), that "the golden age of Louis XIV is especially due to the *Solitaries of Port Royal*, to the Benedictines of Saint Maur, etc.; that in Spain, science, arrested in its progress, not by the lack of genius, but by the *iron*

by the exertions of Stephen Rauttenstrauch, and Chevalier Joseph de Riegger, that the science of canon law was unshackled," that is, freed from the authority of the Church, when its teaching was confided to laymen. On the next page, he adds: "After the abolition of the Society of Jesus, there was nothing to hinder the entire reformation of all the schools. Whatsoever was vicious in them, perished to the very root; and by the patronage of the august Maria Theresa, and the labors of the illustrious Rauttenstrauch, science sprang into renewed and vigorous existence. The study of Scripture was brought back to its source, whilst patristic literature, the history of theology, and all that regards the salvation of souls, took the place of bootless and interminable disputes."

This style of expression we well understand. We have been accustomed to hear it from the mouths of Protestants, and of all modern innovators. But to penetrate still more deeply

laws of the Inquisition, made no advancement until the reign of Charles III, and none in Portugal until after the suppression of the Society of Jesus." He lavishes encomiums on Simon de Stock, Rauttenstrauch, Joseph, and even the signers of the schismatical articles of Ems.

into the spirit of these reforms, let us pause over the character and conduct of this Rauttenstrauch, so warmly panegyrized by Prochaska.

Stephen de Rauttenstrauch, of the Order of St. Benedict, Abbot of Braunau, commenced his career as professor of theology in his own abbacy. It was a time when it was sought to elevate the power of princes on the ruins of spiritual authority. The popular doctrine was embraced, and taught by Rauttenstrauch. He was cited to appear before the Archiepiscopal Consistory at Prague, to give an account of his opinions, and was condemned to be degraded from his dignity as Professor. But his condemnation was the origin of his fortunes. He transmitted to Riegger, then Professor at Vienna, and basking in the smiles of the Court, his "Treatise on the Papal Authority," his theses, and his defences. The opinions maintained in these writings then enjoyed high credit at Vienna, and Rauttenstrauch, moreover, had the adroitness to represent himself as the victim of Jesuit persecution. Reigger communicated these papers to De Stock, who in turn recommended him to the notice of Maria Theresa, and concealing the fact of his condemnation at Prague, obtained for him the

office of Director of Studies, in the very city which had witnessed his disgrace. All Rauttenstrauch's zeal was henceforth directed to the service of his patron, and the humiliation of his antagonists. In 1771, he published his "Prolegomena" to canon law, in which his former opinions were repeated, and affirmed. But soon his triumph was complete. Still uninformed with regard to his real character, Maria Theresa, two years after De Stock's death, appointed Rauttenstrauch his successor. Placed in a commanding position, and invested with absolute power, he was possessed of abundant means to propagate his doctrines, nor was he sparing in their use. He prepared a "Plan of Theology," against which complaints were lodged at Rome. On this subject, fruitless remonstrances were addressed to the imperial government, by Cardinal Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, by Kerens, formerly a Jesuit, now Bishop of Neustadt, and even by the Pope. The Tribunal of Studies gave its approval of the "Plan," as also of an "Introduction to Ecclesiastical History," by Ferdinand Stöger, Professor at Vienna, in which the same objectionable principles were embodied. All the Professors were men imbued with the new ideas. One

of these, Pehem, recommended the employment of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of the Divine offices, and the administration of the Sacraments. On the 15th of July, 1784, Rauttenstrauch caused theses to be defended at Vienna, in which the party of the Jansenist Church, at Utrecht, was espoused in opposition to the Pope, which allowed an illegal rate of interest, and in fine established the rights of Princes *non in sacra, sed circa sacra*, a subtile and futile distinction, by which everything substantial was sacrificed. Rauttenstrauch was on his way to spread the same errors through Hungary, when he died at Eylau, Sept. 30th, 1785.*

Thus the substitution of Augustinian doctrines for those of Molina, by which we are to understand Jansenistic doctrines for Catholic, —the introduction of a hitherto unheard of ecclesiastico-civil code, which disregarded the immunities of the Church, fettered her liberties, and gave an undue preponderance to the civil power: these were the results of the University reform in the Austrian dominions.

Prior to, and for some time after the sup-

* Picot, Mémoires, etc. t. iv, p. 460; Feller, Dict. Hist. ad vocem.

pression of the Society of Jesus, Jansenism, though brought into disrepute in France by the extravagant conduct of the convulsionists, still formed a zealous, and influential party. With a hypocritical versatility, it could change with the change of circumstance. Once the avowed opponent of the government, afterwards devotedly Gallican, now it lent itself as an instrument to satisfy the grudge which the parliaments bore the king, and the rancor with which infidels persecuted the Society of Jesus, and the Church. Yet it is a remarkable fact, that when Jansenism was weakest as a sect, it was then expanding itself with the most success through Europe. "We find traces of these men," says Ranke,* "at Vienna, and at Brussels, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy itself. Sometimes publicly, but oftener in secret, they were diffusing their doctrines through all Catholic Christendom."

Yet Jansenism nowhere made sincere proselytes. No one now cared aught for Jansenius, or the condemned propositions. Jansenism, at this period, meant the party of the opposition in politics and religion, and in the crusade against the Holy See. Of this we

* Hist. Pap. t. iv, p. 484.

see a new proof in the irruption of *Febronianism* into Germany. It was in 1763, that John Nicholas de Hontheim, Bishop of Myriophitus (in partibus), and Suffragan of Treves, published the notorious work: "Justini Febronii, jurisconsulti, de statu præsenti Ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis, liber singularis, etc." This wretched compilation, whose monstrous errors and gross contradictions find expression in language in no respect superior to the ideas, was well received by many in Germany, but welcomed with enthusiasm by the Jansenists, who abounded in the Netherlands. According to some authors,* the book had been composed with a view to gain popularity in the Austrian Netherlands, where Hontheim aspired to a bishopric. He persuaded himself that he should obtain the patronage of the government by undermining the Episcopal power, and thus subjecting church to state; and that he should deserve the suffrages of some of the clergy, by subverting the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. The work itself is but a medley of ideas, plagiarized from Protestants and Jansenists, where are mingled sarcasms against religious orders,

* Feller, art. Hontheim.

with every species of attack on the Holy See; it is nothing more than an anti-Catholic system, founded on the writings of the French Appellants, and containing a recipe, which teaches, with all seriousness and minuteness of detail, the proper method of concocting a schism.

In the Electorate of Treves, where this doctrine was first broached, it was productive of the same evil consequences as resulted at Vienna from the innovations of Stock and Rauttenstrauch. The next year appeared an ordinance of the Archbishop Elector of Treves, prescribing rules to guide the selection of professors of theology, and regulating the administration of the faculty. These professorships had been held by Jesuits. The ordinance states, that the prelate "having duly weighed the representations, made to him by the rector of the University, with respect to the persons who should, for the future, fill the chairs of philosophy and theology, had determined to accept offers, made to him by four abbeys of the order of St. Benedict, to supply from the number of their religious, professors of zeal and ability." The Archbishop then proceeds to nominate to professor-

ships three Benedictins and one secular priest. If we call to mind that many of the German Benedictins adhered to Rauttenstrauch, we shall perceive the motive influencing this selection. The doctrines of Febronius were penetrating into the Universities, and "in most of them," says Picot, "there prevailed a system of theology and canon law, which was founded on a basis altogether new, and more resembling the teachings of Protestants, than the spirit which reigned in Catholic schools."*

But in the Universities of Cologne, of Friburg in Brisgau and of Mentz, though destined to a final triumph, the revolution did not meet with instantaneous success. That of Cologne was the first to denounce the tenets of Febronius, and thus merited a brief of felicitation from his Holiness, Clement XIII. Nevertheless there were men at Cologne, learned indeed, but, says Pacca, *addicted to novelties, and ill-disposed towards the Holy See*, who were little satisfied at seeing the youth of the Electorate frequenting a University, where the Catholic doctrine, and the respect due to the Holy See, were preserved pure and intact. These men succeeded in

* Mém. t. ii, p. 457.

deceiving the Elector Archbishop Maximilian de Kœnigsegg, a prelate of unimpeachable piety, but little circumspect against fraud. He was persuaded, as Father Theiner relates, to conceive the project of establishing a University at Munster, a city over which he possessed episcopal jurisdiction. But finding this design impracticable, and still acting under the influence of his perfidious advisers, he planned the foundation of a University at Bonn, a city of his diocese. This was accomplished by his successor, and in November, 1786, the institution was formally inaugurated. "The day after the ceremony of inauguration," says Pacca, "a canon of the grand chapter, on his return to Cologne, informed me, that the proceedings on that occasion might be regarded as a solemn declaration of war against the Holy See. I read the discourse, pronounced by Baron de Spiegel, and found it such as might have been anticipated from the character of the man. He was of suspicious principles, and said to be affiliated to the sect of the Illuminati."

In his "History of Institutions for Ecclesiastical Education," Father Theiner corroborates the testimony of Cardinal Pacca. "It was

the design to revolutionize clerical education, as general education had already undergone an entire change, and to subject it to the influence of Illuminism. Brunner, in the language of the sect, Pico of Mirandola, curate of Tiefenbach, a chieftain of the Supreme Areopagus, formed a plan for the erection of a Scientific Academy for Catholic Germany, which should be under the complete control of the Illuminati. It would seem that the University of Bonn was selected to discharge this honorable mission. At least from its opening, in 1786, it became the secret refuge of all the so-called liberal theologians, who, trusting to the protection of the powerful German prelates, had the hardihood to treat with undisguised contempt the Holy See, the decrees of the Church, the most hallowed institutions and customs, as well as the venerable person of the Chief of the Christian world. Dereser, belonging to the order of the discalceate Carmelites, known at that time by the name of Brother Thaddeus of St. Adam, the preceptor of the Elector Palatine's son, was a principal agent in founding this University, and by his dexterity he had gained over it a controlling influence. The villany

and effrontery of these instructors of the future clergy, surpass belief, and were revolting even to their contemporaries. But no cry of alarm was raised. . . . . Bonn became the seat of theological and Catholic education for Germany. Thence issued the declaration of war against obscurantism and pretended ultramontanism. An attack was then commenced on the ancient University of Cologne, that celebrated fortress of the faith, and the assault was continued, until the stoutest bulwark of Catholicity in Germany was completely demolished."

Every remaining asylum of religion, of piety, and of faith was doomed to a like fate. In 1773, the year of the suppression, the University of Wurtzburg was contaminated by the introduction of Jansenism. Judge from the catalogue of its text-books. They were such as the "Theologia Moralis" of Godeau, Bishop of Vence, the intimate of Saint-Cyran; the "Theologia Mentis et Cordis" of Contenson; the "Breviarum Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ" of Berti.* The same changes were effected at Friburg in Brisgau, and at Mentz, where the Universities had formerly been directed by the

* Bœnike, Hist. Univ. Wurtzb. p. 213.

Jesuits. "To the Universities of Friburg and Bonn, which were charged with the task of kindling the incendiary torch of Illuminism in Catholic Germany, of overturning altars, cemented with, and sanctified by the blood of martyrs, was soon associated a third, the Academy of Mentz, which elevated its haughty head above the ruins of the ancient and famous City of the Apostle. Its founder was Frederick Charles d'Erthal, Elector and Archbishop of Mentz, a zealous propagator of Illuminism, and for that reason so popular at the present day. He had erected it on the yet smoking ruins of the University of the Jesuits."*

3. The flood-gates were now opened, and Jansenism poured into Germany. Few of the works on theology and ecclesiastical history, which were then published, were free from its venom. Yet Jansenism was but a cloak, under which lurked Anti-christian Philosophy.† We invoke a Protestant traveller to

* Theiner, Hist. des Inst. d'Educ. Ecc. t. 2, p. 42.

† Then also was in preparation the revolution which was destined to imbrue France and Europe in blood. More than one passage in Pacca's Memoirs, will tend to show the affinity existing between the Jansenists, the reformers of

testify the character of the doctrine taught at Vienna in the times of Joseph II. The Baron de Riesbeck, in his travels through Germany, thus writes: "The clergy bear within their bosom a serpent which will sting them to death; this serpent, infidel philosophy, under the false appearance of theology, has crept even as far as the episcopal throne, and has infected with its poison many young ecclesiastics of the Universities."

the Universities, and the revolutionists, the enemies of all law, human and divine. In his "Nunciature at Lisbon," the Cardinal describes the loathsome character of a certain Faria Lemos, the evil spirit of Pombal, an intruder in the See of Coimbra, whilst the legitimate bishop was pining away in the dungeons of the pitiless minister. Lemos began his episcopal career by disseminating Jansenist productions through his diocese, and putting into the hands of youth, such books as Febronius. This *ravenous wolf*, as Pacca calls him, was the correspondent of the infamous Grégoire, constitutional Bishop of Blois, *a fanatical Jansenist, republican, and regicide* (p. 366). Elsewhere the learned Cardinal informs us, that "no sooner had the French Revolution consummated its fatal schism, by the sacrilegious consecration of bishops, *instituted* or *confirmed* by the National Assembly, than many professors of the German Universities flocked to the standard of the intruded clergy: a happy desertion, which purged Germany of some of those perverse men, who, from the height of their *chairs of pestilence*, scattered abroad the most impious maxims and pernicious errors." (Nunc. Col. p. 266.)

From the year 1780, Joseph being now on the throne, the spirit of impiety made frightful progress. As long as the pious Maria Theresa survived, it was disguised under the deceptive name of reform; but after the death of the Empress, it unmasked all its hideous reality. Then were declared open hostilities against the Holy See, against Catholicity, against all religion. The proceedings of Joseph II, and Herbestein, Bishop of Laybach, his worthy accomplice, are notorious. Joseph, without the slightest regard for the rights of the Holy See, or the episcopal order, subjected the dioceses to a new territorial division, removed the sacred images from the churches, declared the impediments invalidating matrimony to be of no efficacy, legalized divorce, annulled or changed sentences of the episcopal tribunals, tore religious from their monasteries, and secularized them at pleasure, persecuted those who resisted his innovations, and even made a formal proposition to Chevalier d'Azara, the minister of Spain, to unite in open schism. But to pervert theological education was his main object. For this purpose, he abolished all the diocesan seminaries in his States, and substituted for them but five

or six, whose doctrine and discipline, he himself determined. He also convoked the Congress of Ems, and incited the German bishops to oppose the papal authority. "On the 25th of August," writes Cardinal Pacca, "the Congress of Ems terminated its sessions. The four deputies of the archbishops of Germany subscribed the articles previously drawn up by them, and in the beginning of September, appeared the letter, addressed by the archbishops to Joseph, a letter written with a pen dipped in gall, a letter worthy of a Sarpi, full of calumnious accusations against the Holy See, a letter, from which they reaped nothing but shame and confusion."*

Among the German clergy, impiety was now triumphant. Sceptical rationalism, which had so long besieged every gate of the temple, no longer found opponents. From the year 1753, Semler, professor of theology at the Protestant University of Halle, under pretence of giving a more liberal interpretation to the Holy Scriptures, was destroying all belief in divine revelation. His lectures and his works tended to debase Christianity to a doctrine purely human. He taught for the

* Nunc. Coll. p. 193.

space of thirty-eight years, and towards the end of this period was particularly successful in gathering disciples into his new school. At the same time lived Teller, professor of theology at Helmstadt. In 1767, he had been declared guilty of heresy, and having been compelled to resign his chair, took refuge at Berlin, where he flattered himself he would enjoy unrestricted freedom. But some years after, so popular had become these destructive principles, that he might, without encountering opposition, turn into mockery the doctrinal and even the moral teachings of the Gospel, and transform into myths and allegories, every supernatural event recorded in Holy Scripture. The progress made in this new system of interpretation may be inferred from an expression of Michaëlis, who had witnessed the commencement of this revolution in Protestant ideas: "Once," said he, "I passed for a heretic, but now, to my surprise, I find myself orthodox."

Then too lived Nicolaï, the Berlinese bookseller and scholar, a bitter foe to Christianity. Nicolaï had formed an association for the purpose of editing a literary review, or rather encyclopedia, which he termed the "Universal

Library of German Literature." Its publication was begun in 1765, and continued to 1792. In this review Nicolaï and his cabal, under the pretext of giving an account of recent productions, fell furiously upon the dogmas of Christian faith, and denied the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures, the divinity of Christ, prophecies, miracles, and all supernatural intervention. For a time their impious purpose was concealed, but the mask was at length thrown aside by Lessing, in his "Anonymous Fragments," where revelation, the mystery of the resurrection, the mission of Jesus Christ and of his disciples were openly impugned. Thenceforth Nicolaï and his accomplices became the most zealous apostles of Illuminism, and drew over to their cause all the scientific periodicals in Germany. But their impieties now began to shock Protestants themselves, and there were some poetical and loving souls, such as Klopstock, Herder, Jacobi, Lavater, and even a follower of Rousseau, the Swiss Kirchberger, raised a warning voice against the withering influence of rationalism.

Who then can harbor a doubt with regard to the intentions of these reformers? *From*

their fruits shall ye know them. Say not then that it was the scientific inferiority of the Jesuits, or the decline of their schools that set in motion this reform. Nor was it any lack of able professors among them, that compelled the substitution of those whose Anti-christian work we have beheld. In the following chapter we shall undertake to prove that the Society then possessed a number of professors, whose brows are still encircled with the halo of learning, whilst their successors are now forgotten, or, if remembered, are remembered only for the enormity of their crimes, for their frightful excesses, and for the heterodoxy of their teaching.

This revolution of religion, this triumph of scepticism, was, in a great degree, owing to the expulsion of the Jesuit professors. Such is the opinion of Cardinal Pacca, who declares, that "so long as the Society of Jesus subsisted in Germany, with its numerous colleges and public schools, these destructive maxims encountered an uncompromising opposition, which prevented their general adoption. But the suppression of an order so well deserving of the Church, the introduction and multiplication of secret societies, were

events pregnant with lamentable and even fatal disasters. Then every obstacle was removed, and Germany was inundated with books of the most pernicious tendency."

How unjust, then, is it not, to upbraid the Jesuits with the charge, that at a time when every rebellious and impious passion was unchained, they had not sufficient strength to combat, still less could they arrest or vanquish them? The Jesuits might reply with the Grecian orator: "Success belongs to the immortal gods; courage and exertion are required of us, but victory must come from them." But the Jesuits were not unfrequently denied even the opportunity of exertion. What course was adopted by the infidels of France to rid themselves of these men, in whom they, no doubt, saw courage to combat and strength to vanquish them? They drove them from the lists, without allowing them even the privilege of a combat. What in Germany by Stock, Febronius, Joseph, and the rationalists? Evidently quailing before these champions of Catholicity and the Holy See, they dragged them from their chairs, they sealed their lips, they finally obtained from kings their banishment, and their entire sup-

pression from the Pope. It is a well-attested fact in history that the Jesuits beyond all others, were an object of dread to the enemies of the Church and the Holy See. Of this dread several passages of Pacca's Memoirs furnish indications. "Nicolaï," says the Cardinal, "to bring these refutations into discredit, exhausted on them every abusive epithet. He had recourse to an artifice of diabolical ingenuity and malice. He announced that a great number of Jesuits were dispersed through Protestant Germany, and feigning to belong to the Lutheran or Calvinist sect, had crept in among the Protestant clergy, and from the pulpits of the reform, were sowing the doctrines of Popery and the maxims of a fanatical superstition. By this malicious invention he sought to destroy the confidence of the people in the pastors, who still preserved a great part of Christian belief."*

This dread will be still further evinced by a passage from Theiner.† "The system of tactics adopted by Nicolaï and his Berlinese accomplices, with respect to those who dared to differ in opinion from them, was continued and improved by these new heroes of Il-

* Page 208.

† Hist. des Inst. t. ii, p. 31.

luminism. Whoever ventured to oppose them, was treated as an open or disguised Jesuit. Henceforth the word *Jesuit* comprised in its signification all that was flagitious, and was regarded as synonymous with scoundrel, assassin, enemy of religion, and disturber of public peace. This new epithet of opprobrium soon became common through Germany, and was the battle-cry wherever sedition was to be excited, or an enemy to be ruined. He, whom the propaganda of the Illuminati and the followers of the sect had once branded with this term of reproach, was so irretrievably ruined that no expedient could restore his honor and good name. By help of this epithet, how many disorders have been occasioned, how many revolting deeds of iniquity have been perpetrated! Did any one plot to deprive a Protestant prince of the affection of his subjects, it was sufficient to spread the rumor that a Jesuit had penetrated into his cabinet, and was endeavoring to proselytize him. Did any miscreant find it to his interest to pull down from his eminence some high-minded minister, or incorruptible officer of government, whether the state was Catholic or Protestant, it sufficed to whisper that he

was a Jesuit in disguise. The scholar even, who was suspected of being a Jesuit, however profound his learning and irreproachable his life, would vainly seek employment as a professor; he must withdraw to his obscurity, and submit to become a victim to the infatuation of the age."

It is therefore obvious that the Jesuits have been viewed with a hatred and detestation altogether peculiar. Yes, on the Jesuits have been concentrated all wrath, all rancor, all vengeance; they were the most formidable of the enemy; they personified all the defenders of revealed truth; they represented all who refused to bow their heads under the yoke of infidelity, all who defended the cause of the Church, or even of a supernatural religion.

And in fact these men are not entirely wrong. In spite of their efforts to hush the voice of the Jesuits; in spite of their malignant determination to mark with that ignominious name all who might prove dangerous to them, it has always been from this Society, menaced or destroyed, that have gone forth the most vigorous athletes to fight in defence of truth.

Before, and for some years after, the suppres-

sion they were the earliest and most formidable opponents of Febronius. That innovator was assailed successively by Father Zech and Father Antony Schmidt, both distinguished canonists, by Father Joseph Kleiner, professor of canon law at Heidelberg, by Feller, and finally by Zaccaria, who at length triumphed over Hontheim's obstinacy.

Feller was one of those who displayed the most talent, and obtained the most signal success in refuting the doctrines promulgated at the Congress of Ems. It was to Feller, and the members of the suppressed Society that Cardinal Pacca had recourse during his Nunciature at Cologne. "I entered into correspondence," says he, "with many ecclesiastics, the most of them ex-Jesuits, with whose worth, learning, and zeal I was acquainted. I earnestly besought them to write in defence of the Roman primacy, and the Apostolic Nunciatures, in order to refute the libels constantly vomited forth against the Holy See and its ministers. At my pressing solicitations, these pious and learned ecclesiastics assumed the task, and there soon appeared a number of books, which were received with joy by the good, which triumphantly repelled the calumnies of the

bad, and over the prepossessions of many obtained a brilliant victory for the cause of truth." Pacca then enters into a detail of his labors, and after the enumeration of some particulars, he subjoins: "These six productions were from the pen of the celebrated Father Feller, who, in France, has won high reputation as an author. For several years I was in constant correspondence with him. Another writer on the same side was the famous Zallinger, an ex-Jesuit, whose treatises on natural and canon law are so highly valued."* Then returning to Feller, the Cardinal thus concludes: "As soon as Feller's work, entitled 'True State,' etc., was published, I sent a copy to Rome. The book had the good fortune to be acceptable to his Holiness, who spoke of it in terms of admiration to Boschi and Zaccaria, deigning to add many expressions of benevolence and affection for me, for what he was pleased to regard my active zeal in behalf of the rights of the Holy See. Cardinal Boschi and Abbe Zaccaria joined in congratulating me for having given satisfac-

* Pacca also mentions "Father Dedoyar, a Belgian, formerly of the Society, who gained applause for other writings on subjects connected with religion."

tion to the Pope, and both requested a copy of the work for themselves."

In whatever part of Germany the Church was engaged in conflict, we see some Jesuits enter the lists, and mingle conspicuously in the strife. In one place we find Father Thomas Aquinas Mayer, who merited praise from the mouth of Pius VI; in another, Father Weissembach, skilful and zealous in controversy; in various places, such men as Aloysius Mertz, the scourge of Protestantism, which he combatted in no less than seventy-five works; Sigismund Storchenau, as successful in polemic discussion, as in metaphysical investigation; Antony Topp, who by his translations from the French, introduced many useful books into Germany; Hermann Goldhagen and Lawrence Veith, both eminent in sacred philosophy; Malsiner and Muttschell, young, but intrepid soldiers; James Antony Zallinger, whose eulogy Pacca has just pronounced, whom Pius VI summoned to Rome, that he might profit by his advice, and occupy him still more advantageously for the defence of the Church; John Schwab, and Sailer, then just emerging from youth, afterwards Bishop of Ratisbon. And finally, let us accord a

distinguished place to Matthias Schoenberg and Benedict Stattler; the latter one of the most esteemed Catholic writers of the time, the former a most indefatigable and powerful antagonist of heretics and infidels, and among the first to attack the sceptical philosophy of Kant. To him the Elector of Bavaria intrusted the direction of the *Golden Almonry*, an Institution whose object was the circulation of instructive books among the people. "Schoenberg himself," says the Protestant Schœll, in his Universal Biography, "prepared for the press forty works of a popular character, which being printed in large and repeated editions, have greatly contributed to the advancement of religion among the people of Southern Germany and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland."

In the following chapter will be more fully stated the condition of the Society of Jesus at the time of its suppression, and it will be more clearly seen that the courts and their advisers, when they expelled the Jesuits from their Universities, did not aim at punishing them for their negligence, or their literary and scientific deficiencies, but at inflicting, in their

person, a deadly wound on faith, and completing the Antichristian Revolution.*

* In this history of the reform of the German Universities, we have terminated our narrative at the year 1792, because then at length the ecclesiastical and secular princes, who had originated or promoted it, began to open their eyes, and discern the abyss into which the perilous Utopias of the innovators were conducting them.

Chapter the Fourth.

SCIENTIFIC CONDITION OF THE JESUITS, AND THEIR SCHOOLS AT THE TIME OF THE SUPPRESSION.

PART I.

1. In the eighteenth century, that century of religious, political, and moral decline, we should look in vain for the thoroughness of education, which had distinguished the two preceding ages, an education so favorable to the development of the mental faculties, and so productive of men eminent in intellect and profound in learning. Science had now gained in extent, but it had lost in depth. Under pretence of clearing the field of those cumbersome structures, devoid of art, sometimes even of utility, but nevertheless Cyclopean in dimensions; under pretence of giving form to a shapeless mass, for true science had been substituted order and classification.* Two cen-

* We willingly acknowledge more than one exception to this general proposition: we ourselves except the Bollandists, the collectors of the councils, the Hungarian annalists and historians, Muratori, Zaccaria, etc.

turies had exhausted the productive energies of Europe, and she now confined herself to the care of improving, or the pleasure of enjoying what already existed. Taste succeeded creative power; criticism held the place of genius. The children of St. Ignatius could not claim exemption from the law of their age; but in yielding to a sad necessity, they did not yield without resistance, and sometimes achieved a partial victory. "Their ranks," says Crétineau-Joly, "no longer numbered a Laynez, a Bellarmine, a Petavius, a Bourdaloue; they belonged to a decaying age. They did not tower above their predecessors in genius, and in sublimity of ideas; but, though affected by a blasting influence which they had resisted so long, they were yet orators and historians, philosophers and critics, scholars and men of letters."*

Let us endeavor to represent to ourselves their situation in the middle of the eighteenth century. They were free from no species of aggression. Kings, philosophers, ministers, magistrates, sometimes, alas! that it should be so, jealous and short-sighted brethren of the clergy, all were banded together in the general

* Hist. de la Comp. t. v, p. 378, 3d edition.

assault on the Society of Jesus. To these Catos it was a second Carthage: its destruction was the peroration of every discourse, the object of all diplomacy, the constant thought of its enemies, the term to which tended all their exertions. Pursued with such fury, and assailed so incessantly, the exigencies of the present excluded care for the future, and the necessities of the defence forbade application to science or literature. In a word, to be or not to be, with them as with the hero of the English poet, was the question which absorbed every energy of the mind, and exhausted every feeling of the heart. Whilst already under sentence of death, and scarcely hoping for a day's reprieve, did they possess that tranquillity, that security, that expectation of continuous leisure, which are so requisite for scientific research and literary meditation?

But the time of execution came, and the Jesuits are scattered through every quarter of the globe. In their state of isolation, a prey to sadness and regret, they were deprived of the help of combination, which multiplies individual strength; of that devoted courage which animates and sustains the religious, when he meditates, when he toils, not for his

own paltry interests, or some wretched dream of personal aggrandizement, but for the glory and exaltation of a mother, of a family he cherishes; they were deprived of that mutual counsel, that intercourse, that commerce and exchange of thought and invention, which are the property of each, and constitute the wealth of all. And indeed we shall see exemplified in the later years of their existence, how ready the children of Ignatius were to assist each other in their intellectual pursuits, and what benefit science reaped from the diffusion of a numerous Society, which embracing every country of Europe, was ever adding new knowledge to the treasures of science, or dispensing every where what had been acquired by their predecessors.

Remembering all the obstacles thrown in their way by their enemies, and the contests into which they compelled them to enter, reflecting on the anguish which their exile must have occasioned them, we are amazed that the Jesuits were able to bear up against the aggressions of their antagonists and their own dejection of mind, and still pursue their literary toils. Like the children of Israel, in one hand they grasped their weapon for com-

bat, whilst in the other they held the implement for constructing. On the banks of the rivers of their exile, animated by the recollection of the Society, their Jerusalem, and by the hope of seeing it rise from its ruins, they solaced the miseries of the past, and were preparing for it a new existence in the future.

Let us follow them in their travels through the field of science; let us enumerate the explorers; let us examine the discoveries they have made, and the riches they have added to former acquisitions.

2. Beginning with the ecclesiastical sciences, how many theologians, canonists, exegetists, sacred orators, ascetical writers, are marshalled before our view!

Among the theologians, we distinguish the two Voglers, Conrad and Joseph, doctors of Ingolstadt; Hermann and Seedorf, professors of the same University, and authors, the one of valuable treatises on the Divine knowledge and will, the other of twelve controversial letters, praised by the great Benedict XIV; Muszka, professor of theology, and afterwards Superior of the province of Vienna; J. B. Prileszki, the Hungarian, and Lineck of Bohemia, both erudite historians, and skilful theo-

logians; Gautier, a doctor of the University of Cologne; Pichler, who also appears among the canonists, but deserves place here for his work on polemic theology; John Haïden; Reuter, professor in the University of Treves, the author of the learned "Lessons," and the "Neo-confessarius," than whom, no one of that age contributed more to the propagation of theological science; Manhart, an eminent professor of Inspruck; the Wirceburgenses, Henry Kilber, Thomas Holtzclau, Ignatius Neubaüer, who labored in common on the theology of Wurtzburg, the most celebrated in Germany during that century, and enjoying high reputation even now; Edmund Voit, whose "Moral Theology," is remarkable for order, clearness, and for its judicious solutions; Sardagna, who wrote the dogmatic theology of Ratisbon, from whose merit time has not detracted, and of whose book a new edition has lately appeared.

To this catalogue of German theologians, we have other names to add, when we shall speak of the Universities. Those of Germany first attracted our attention, because, it will be remembered, the charge was that in Germany, particularly, the Society of Jesus had permitted the extinction of theological science.

But in every country of Catholic Europe we shall find honored names. After Viva, and Antoine, who immediately preceded him in the theological arena, we award the precedence to John Baptist Faure, equally illustrious in exegesis, in philosophy, in controversy, and in theology; in which sciences he filled professorships successively during a career of thirty years. Faure, without doubt, was the most eminent theologian of his age. The counsellor of Benedict XIV, and Clement XIII, imprisoned under Clement XIV, he withdrew into retirement when released by Pius VI, and died at Viterbo, where the city and senate honored him with a statue and a tomb. To Faure succeed Alegre, a Mexican, who was a theologian and a man of letters; Alticozzi, De Herce, Malsiner Navarro, Piascewich, an Illyrian; the French Jesuits Simonet, doctor of Pont-a-Mousson, Charles Merlin, professor at Louis-le-Grand, and the profound Dumesnil; Lazeri, whose theological lore was equalled only by his knowledge of languages, under different Pontiffs consultor of the "Index," corrector of oriental works, and examiner of Bishops, offices which he kept even under Clement XIV; Angeri, theologian of the Pope,

a title which Clement, who destroyed the Society, wished him to retain. From the suppression of the Society to its restoration, the same post of honor was occupied by Jesuits, by Hyacinth Stoppini, Arevalo, Vincent Bolgeni, so formidable to innovators, Joseph Marinovich, Vincent Giorgi, Alphonso Muzzarelli, after Faure, first in theology, controversy, and ascetical literature.

Following the example of the Sovereign Pontiffs, various prelates chose the Fathers of the Society for their counsellors and guides; they found among them, also, examiners for their synods, and the most experienced casuists.

Of the Society were the most skilful interpreters of the Sacred Scriptures; such as Videnhofer, Goldhagen, Weissembach, Weitenaüer, Lawrence Veith, the most renowned exegetists in Germany, and probably in Catholic Europe. Veith, professor at Ingolstadt, and after the suppression, at the Catholic Lyceum of Augsburg, is famous for his talent and erudition, and the merit of his works is attested by the briefs addressed to him by the Sovereign Pontiff.

Outside of Germany we see such men as Peter Curti, Professor of Hebrew at the Ro-

man College, the author of several learned and curious dissertations on various obscure passages in the Holy Scripture; Berthier and Philip Lallemant in France; John Baptist Gener, a Spaniard, conspicuous in theology, and exegesis; Alphonso Nicolaï, whose erudition, displayed in the chair of Sacred Scripture, at Florence, obtained his nomination as the theologian of Francis I, and who, though his writings on scriptural subjects fill thirteen quarto volumes, still found leisure for apologetic, literary, historical, and poetical labors.

The science of law was adorned by Ignatius Schwartz, whose "Institutions of Universal Law" are well known; by Joseph Biner, who has left us a learned treatise on ecclesiastical jurisprudence; by Francis Widmann; by Antony Schmidt; by Antony Zallinger, professor of canon law and natural philosophy at the University of Dillingen, the author of numerous works on both sciences;* and especially by Francis Xavier Zech, who succeeded his

* Cardinal Pacca (Nunc. de Col. t. ii, p. 189) relates that in 1786, when passing through Augsburg, he visited the residence of the ex-Jesuits, "among whom," says he, "I found several eminent men, and particularly Zallinger the canonist, and the theologian Veith."

preceptor, the famous Father Pichler, at Ingolstadt, and is regarded, says the "Universal Biography," as the most distinguished German canonist of his age.

Among the controvertists, apologists, and writers on various subjects, may be named, in Germany, Benedict Stattler, Sailer,* Manhart, Beusch, and Merz, whose works are yet in request: outside of Germany, Para du Phanjas; Antony Guénard, the laureate of the French Academy, whose "Apology," committed by himself to the flames during the Reign of Terror, is still regretted; Francis de la Marche; the brothers Champion de Nilon, and Champion de Pontalier; Francis Nonnote, the refuter of Voltaire; John Baptist Noghera, whose numerous Italian productions prove him a profound

* Alzog, in his "History of the Church," t. iii, p. 352, speaks of Stattler and Sailer, in the following terms: "The gifted Stattler, a Jesuit of Ingolstadt, treated of the teaching of dogmatic theology in accordance with the wants of the age: Sailer, Bishop of Ratisbon, himself an ex-Jesuit, as remarkable for his piety as for his talent, had been Stattler's professor at the University of Ingolstadt, and showed his appreciation of his merit, when he says of him: 'At that time there appeared a man in Germany, who taught us to think for ourselves, and rigorously pursue the chain of reasoning from the most elementary propositions in philosophy, to the last consequences of theology.'"

theologian, an able philosopher, and an eminent scholar; Louis Mozzi, whose laurels were won in theology, in controversy, and in ascetic literature; Augustin Barruel, the prophetic historian of Jacobinism, and the ingenious author of the "Helviennes;" Joseph de Ghesquière, one of the Bollandists; De Saive, who devoted his life to the triumph of faith; and above all Xavier de Feller, whose expanded mind embraced every species of knowledge, an historian, a philosopher, a geographer, a controvertist; and Zaccaria, the friend of Benedict XIV, of Clement XIII, and even of Clement XIV, the adviser of Pius VI, the brother in arms of Feller in the contest with Febronius, whom he finally converted, a laborious, and fertile writer, whose pen was ever consecrated to the defence of the rights of the Holy See.*

It was still the voice of the Jesuits that resounded with most effect from the sacred

* Pacca tells us (Nunc. de Cologne, t. ii, p. 181), that when Pius VI announced to him that he was destined for the nunciature at Cologne, his Holiness advised him to apply himself from that day (22 June, 1785), to sacred studies under the direction of Zaccaria, that library of erudition.

pulpit: in France, the voice of such as Charles de Neuville, whose career was so glorious; of Claudius de Marolles, Charles Perrin, Papillon du Rivet, Roissard, Henry de Bulonde, Peter Richard, Xavier Duplessis, the apostle of the towns and country, for whose service all the bishops eagerly contended; of Charles le Chapelain, in whose family eloquence was hereditary, and who sometimes brought back recollections of Bourdaloue; of Nicholas Beauregard, the orator of the people, who, during the jubilee of 1775, evoked, in a moment of prophetic inspiration, the impure and bloody spectre of demagoguism, and who, assisted by his brethren of the former society, at that time filling the most of the pulpits, to use the expression of an adept of atheism, adjourned, if not for twenty-five years, at least for some time, the coming Revolution; of Reyre, the court-preacher, and Lanfant, who, according to Guillon, recalled, in an age of mediocrity, the excellence of earlier times. In the rest of Europe were heard the voices of Wiltz, Neumayr, Wurs, Hausen, the apostle of Germany; of Calatayud, the preacher and ascetical writer, who during thirty years filled Spain and Portugal with the fame of his eloquence,

and of the prodigies it operated; of the venerable Onuphrio Paradisi,* Centini, Nicholas Zucconi, Vanini, Saracinelli, Vassalo, the apostle of Sardinia; of Trento, who, during thirty years, evangelized the towns and country; of Pellegrini, one of the most distinguished orators of his time; of Venino, surnamed the Massillon of Italy.

In fine, a pious celebrity is attached to the names of Ligny, Galliffet, Panizzoni, Daguet, Budardi, Griffet, Baudrand, Minetti, Beauvais, Couturier, Tartagni, Gravina, Fontaine, John Grou and Strark, who enriched with their works ascetic literature, the chief glory of the

* What Xavier Duplessis then was for France, Hausen for Germany, Wiltz for Belgium, Calatayud for Spain and Portugal, and Trento for Upper Italy, Father Onuphrio Paradisi was for the kingdom of Naples. At his death, the Bishop, the magistrates, and all the people, united in the same sentiments of veneration and regret.

In honor of the pious missionary, a medal was struck, which bore the following inscription: Onuphrio Paradisi, S. J., having spent twenty-three years in traversing the country of Otranto and the adjacent provinces, with great fatigue, with prodigious fruit in the conversion of souls, with the reputation of a wonder-worker; cherished equally by the high and lowly; regretted by all, but especially the poor, to whose instruction and assistance he had consecrated his life; died holily at Lecce, Apr. 14, 1761.

Society of Jesus. All devout souls have read and admired those excellent treatises, by which Baudrand conducts them through the various phases of a holy life, the "Christian Year" of Griffet, the "Marks of True Piety" by Grou, as all ecclesiastics make constant use of the Catechism of Couturier.

3. A tendency to materialism, impelled the men of the eighteenth century to the cultivation of mathematics, natural philosophy, and the kindred sciences, not unfrequently to the detriment of moral and literary studies. With such a movement the Jesuits would assuredly feel no instinct of sympathy. But theirs it was to follow the age amid its various pursuits, in order to mingle some thought of the soul and heaven, and frequently they outstripped it in its chosen career. In this species of knowledge, the Society of Jesus had produced, and, at the time of its suppression, possessed the most distinguished men. Among the Jesuits of that day, there was carried on an uninterrupted commerce of learning. As soon as a member of the order, in any part of Europe, attained reputation, immediately his brethren, from the most distant regions, flocked around his chair, received his

instructions, and then returned to benefit their own country by their acquirements. Steppling had introduced at Prague the study of the higher branches of mathematics. Among his disciples was John Tessaneck, in the opinion of Prochaska, not inferior to his master.* By his side sat Gaspar Sagner, who was afterwards to become a philosopher of distinction, and to lecture at Prague and Madrid on the system of Newton. In the skilful method of this school were formed the Polish Jesuits, Sickerzinski, Bohomeletz, and Schebrowski, who then diffused their learning through the academies of Poland.† Father Joseph Windlingen, also educated in Steppling's seminary, kindled the light of science at Madrid, where he was Professor of Mathematics, Cosmographer of the Indies, and Preceptor of the young Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Charles IV. At the same time Poczobut arrived from remote regions to study at Marseilles, under Father Pézenas, and then returning to Poland, became the ornament of her science. At Madrid flourished two Jesuit professors of foreign birth, Panel, the learned

* De sæcul. liberal. artium in Boh. p. 408.
† Ibid. p. 404.

Medallist, of French origin, and Joseph Rieger, an Austrian, Cosmographer of the King of Spain, and Lecturer on Astronomy and Architecture.

By this intercommunication, this system of exchange, carried on between the various provinces of the Order, it came to pass that no one province was deprived of the means of instruction, and that all the chairs were occupied by capable teachers, whose chief aim was to form worthy successors. And since we have lately made mention of Spain, some notice of the scientific labors of the Society in that country, will not be misplaced; and on this subject we may quote the testimony of Cox, an Anglican, and therefore biassed by no partiality to the Society:* "Azcoytia was the seat of this learned assembly"—he is speaking of a Scientific Academy—"which, though lately instituted, and hidden in an obscure corner of Biscay, counted its partisans of the systems of Nollet and Franklin.†

* Spain under the Bourbons, t. vi, p. 101.

† At the same time, Zaccagnini, a Spanish Jesuit, was sent to Paris, to study under the great masters, and particularly under Nollet. Having returned to his country, he taught natural philosophy at the College of Nobles, in

While the monks, who taught at Salamanca, were speculating on the useless questions of an incomprehensible metaphysics, the Jesuits of Azcoytia and Loyola acted more judiciously in seconding the views of the academy, in pursuing a road entirely opposite to that of other Spanish monks, in diffusing practical knowledge, and in substituting for the abstract reasonings of a school of pretended Peripatetics, sound and valuable ideas on the subjects of natural philosophy and natural history."

We quote another passage from the same author: "The Order of the Jesuits, at the time of their expulsion from Spain, was possessed of men distinguished in every science. The names of Andrès, Arteaga, Aymerich, Burriel, Cerda, Colomès, Eximeno, Isla, Lampillas, Lassala, Masdeu, Montengon, Nuix, and Serrano, will always be cherished by men of letters." Of these the greater part will deserve to appear in another and a more appropriate place: but Cerda and Eximeno vindicate their title to rank in the number of

Madrid, and was the preceptor of the Prince of the Asturias, and the other royal children (Caballero, Supplem. Script., S. J.)

mathematicians. Cerda was the author of a highly esteemed book on the elements of mathematics; and Eximeno, at the school of Salamanca, and afterwards at that of Segovia, instructed the young nobles in mathematics and the science of artillery, on which subjects, as well as on music, we have received contributions from his prolific pen.

But why tarry to enumerate all the ornaments of Spanish science? Who does not know how great was the multitude of learned men, expelled from Spain in 1767, by the infatuated Charles III and his advisers, and thrown on the coasts of Italy? Some of these exiles, Requeno, Ortiz, Clavigero, and others, whose names are yet in reserve to deck our pages, the Chevalier d'Azara, though he largely participated in the criminality of this ill-advised and barbarous measure, forgetting his antipathy for the Society in his veneration for learning, received and entertained in his Roman palace. "During the sojourn of the Spanish Jesuits in Italy,"—our quotation is again from Coxe—"many of them continued their literary and scientific labors. These men, always eager for improvement, thronged the public libraries: their sorrows

needed the solace of literary pursuits. The academies, the theatres even,* resounded with their productions. They deposited in the literary journals the rich hoards of their industry; and it should be mentioned to their glory that the frequent object of their exertions was to assert the honor of a country, from which they had been brutally driven, against the aspersions of certain Italian writers, who affected to undervalue the riches and the glory of her literature."

Thus amply is attested the scientific and literary merit of the Spanish Jesuits at the time of their expulsion. But it does not seem to have been sufficiently remarked that theirs is the honor of having kindled, in the reign of Charles III, the last ray of Spanish greatness; and that, from the date of their expulsion, science and literature have constantly declined, until they have at length reached their present state of degradation. Of the country of Ximénès the learned world no longer entertains a thought; and if perchance some eloquent voice, the voice of a Balmes or a Donoso Cortes, unexpectedly strikes the ear and arouses the attention of Europe, it is imme-

* Colomès wrote tragedies in Italian.

diately hushed in death, as if the maledictions of God were overhanging that unhappy land.

Nor did the Society of Jesus, in other countries, furnish to the natural sciences any stinted contribution.

In France, she gave her Laval, her Souciet, her Gouye, of the Scientific Academy of Paris, her Saint-Bonnet, her Bertrand Castel, of the Royal Society of London, so famed for the originality of his mathematical investigations, who received more than once the applause of France and England; Alexander Panel, the medalist, of whose erudition Spain reaped the benefit, Béraud, professor of mathematics at Avignon, the author of valuable dissertations on natural philosophy; Rivoire, member of the academy of Lyons, professor of natural philosophy and natural history, sciences which he illustrated by numerous works; Vautrin, to whom the same sciences owe their *Memoirs;* Paulian, who spent his whole life in lecturing on them, and displayed the fruit of his toils in his dictionary, which passed through nine editions; and particularly Esprit Pézenas, professor royal at Marseilles, who, deserting his chair in 1749, devoted himself to astronomical pursuits. The works of Pézenas on astronomy,

natural philosophy, and mathematics, were numerous, and yet amid these multiplied avocations, he did not neglect the offices of the sacred ministry, but exhibited, in his missions, a fervid eloquence, whose copious fountain geometry had failed to exhaust.

Among her mathematicians, Portugal glories in Cabral, Oliveira, Monteiro, and Viega. Italy gave birth or an asylum to Sanvitali, Cesaris, Troïli, Reggio, Asclepi, Simonelli, Gianella, Ludeña, whose dissertation on mechanics won the crown at the Academy of Mantua; Zabala, who studied medicine at Rome in order to succor the poor; Panizzoni, professor of mathematics at Prato, whence the scholars withdrew, when the brief of suppression drove their master from his chair, and where they again assembled, when he was reinstated by Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. High among her honored children Italy ranks Leonard Ximénès, professor of geography at Florence, geographer of the Emperor, mathematician of the grand duke of Tuscany, the oracle of the academies of Sienna, Bologna, and St. Petersburg, whose advice was solicited, when there was question of constructing roads and aqueducts, of draining the Pontine

Marshes, of the embankments of rivers, and who justified this honorable confidence by the learning displayed in his mathematical and hydrographic works; Belgrado, mathematician of the Court of Parma, member of all the Italian Academies, correspondent of the Scientific Academy of Paris, the author of a great number of scientific treatises; Charles Benvenuti, the successor of Boscovich in the professorship of mathematics at Rome, whose writings are yet in esteem; Joseph Rossignol, a Frenchman, successively professor at Marseilles, at Wilna, at Turin, and at Milan, where he was for some time director of the observatory, and where he assisted Boscovich in preparing his publications,—a prodigy of erudition, as is attested by the theses *de omni re scibili*, which, in his youth, he defended with great applause at Warsaw, and by the one hundred treatises he has left us; Vincent Riccolati, professor of mathematics at Bologna, the author of several works, the most profound of which is his "Treatise on the Integral Calculus," who investigated with especial care philosophical questions respecting the courses of rivers, and whom the Republic of Venice rewarded by a golden medal, struck in his honor.

But a still higher rank is conceded to Joseph Eckhel and Roger Boscovich, illustrious names which, twice already, we have been called upon to pronounce. Eckhel, born in Austria, had been a long time professor of literature at Vienna, when the magnificent collection of coins in the college cabinet, and the instructive conversation and example of Fathers Khell and Froelich, otherwise shaped his future career. Already meditating the great enterprise of exhausting in one work, the whole subject of his favorite study, he obtained permission from his superiors to visit Italy in order to examine the rich cabinets, in which that country abounds. Peter Leopold of Austria, Grand Duke of Tuscany, took advantage of the presence of his distinguished countryman, and intrusted him with the classification of his Medicean Cabinet, which Eckhel arranged according to his own newly invented system. Returning to Vienna, he was appointed by Maria Theresa, director of the cabinet of medals, and professor of antiquities. At length, after profound research and repeated experiment, he gave to the public his great work, "De Doctrina Nummorum," which constituted him the Linnæus of his chosen science.

This was the work of his life; scarcely had the eighth and last volume appeared, when he expired, at Vienna, May 16th, 1778, as if in death alone his humility could find secure shelter from universal praise.

Chosen professor of philosophy and mathematics at the Roman College, even before he had terminated his own course of studies, Boscovich embraced the Newtonian theory, with some modifications to obviate objections urged against it, and published a treatise on attraction, considered as a universal law of the world, under the title of "Philosophiæ Naturalis Theoria." The doctrine advanced in this work, was assumed by many learned men of various countries as the basis of their own publications, it became the rule of Newton's disciples in the Society of Jesus, and was taught by Benvenuti at Rome, by Paul Mako and Charles Scherffer at Vienna, by Leopold Biwald at Gratz, and by John Baptist Horvath at Tyrnau. From the time of this publication, Boscovich was a man of celebrity. When the University of Pavia was re-established, his name was required to give it celebrity; to insure the stability of the dome of St. Peter's, his opinion was demanded; the draining of

the Pontine Marshes was not prosecuted without the assistance of his learning. The Society Royal of London, of which he was a member, deputed him to observe in California, the second transit of Venus. After the suppression, Courts, Universities, and Academies, vied for the honor of his presence. How solicitous Louis XVI was to obtain the prize in this contest, in which he was ultimately successful, is evinced by an autograph letter of that monarch, in which he invited Father Boscovich "to retire to his states, that he might devote himself to his sublime contemplations, and satisfy his ardor for the advancement of science." He was appointed chief optician in the marine, with a pension of eight thousand livres. But D'Alembert and Condorcet, incited by hatred as philosophers, or jealousy as men of science, compelled him to resign his post.* Boscovich then removed to

* To show the vexations Boscovich endured from these men, M. Crétineau-Joly (Hist. Comp. Jes. t. v, p. 373), extracts a note, written by Lalande, from Montucla's History of Mathematics (t. iv, p. 288). "Father Boscovich, who, in 1755, had made some ingenious and profound observations concerning this species of equilibrium, was assailed by D'Alembert (Opusc. 1761, t. 1, p. 246), who had felt no affection for the Jesuits, since they criticized

Milan, where he was appointed director of the observatory, was charged with various scientific labors, and was treated with the deference merited by his extraordinary acquirements. There he expired, in 1785, and five years after, Lalande, in the heat of the revolution, ventured to write his eulogy in the "Journal of Men of Science" (February, 1792). By his numerous poems, and especially his verses *De solis ac lunæ defectibus*, in which are happily united the exactness of science and the ornaments of imagination, Boscovich merited a place among the best Latin poets of modern times.

Germany counts her representatives amidst this noble array. Hers were Schœnwisner, Pilgram, Sainovits, Mako, Horvath, Luino, Triesnecker, all of whom labored at Vienna; Weiss at Tyrnau; Mayr and Tirneberger at Gratz; Christian Mayer at Manheim; and

the Encyclopædia in the Journal de Trevoux, and who persecuted Boscovich all his life. But Boscovich gained a complete triumph by a note, inserted, in 1770, in a translation of his work on the measurement of the earth (Astr. Journey, p. 449), in which he proved D'Alembert to have been entirely in the wrong. D'Alembert has done more than Boscovich for the improvement of the integral calculus, but was not his superior in talent."

Scherffer at Augsburg. Hers, too, were James Kylian, "whose works," says Feller, "show him possessed of the combined talents of Kircher, Schott, Bonanni, and Boscovich;" Francis Keri, the philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer, who greatly contributed to the perfection of the telescope, who gained reputation by his astronomical observations, and by his talents and zeal in the cause of science, won the applause of Cassini de Thury;* Antony Lecchi, born at Milan, at first professor of literature and mathematics in his own country, then chosen by Maria Theresa as court mathematician, a title which was also conferred on him by Clement XIII, when he was charged with the inspection of the rivers in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, the author of numerous books on mathematics and hydrostatics; Erasmus Frœlich, who composed a number of treatises, sixteen of which are on the subject of medals, and are of pecu-

* Cassini, who had seen Keri at Tyrnau, wrote to him, 15th July, 1761, in this enthusiastic manner: "Your literary treasures are immense, and in science you have shown yourself a Mæcenas. You have laid the foundation of an enduring monument; may you complete it for the good of society, the welfare of religion, and the advancement of learning."

liar merit; Martin Poczobut, a Lithuanian, the scholar of Pézenas, a correspondent of all the mathematicians of his time, astronomer of the King of Poland, professor of astronomy at Wilna, where, with the assistance of Strecki, he rendered the observatory the best and most celebrated in Europe; he also calculated with the most rigorous exactness the eclipses and phases of the moon, observed at Revel the transit of Venus, and was the first to contest the fabulous antiquity ascribed to the Zodiac of Dendera; Francis Wulfen, the learned naturalist, who had explored all the mountains and valleys of the Alps, whose reputation was so wide-spread, that the Societies of Stockholm, Berlin, Erlangen, Jena, and Ratisbon, vied for the honor conferred by his presence; and finally, Maximilian Hell, one of the most distinguished of the Jesuit astronomers. Summoned to Vienna, in 1755, he filled during thirty-six years, the offices of court astronomer, and director of the observatory, and published annual observations, beginning from the year 1757, and amounting at the time of his death, to thirty-five volumes. Being invited in 1768 by Christian VII, King of Demark, to observe, at Wardhuys, in Lapland, the transit of Venus,

during his journey of two years, he collected, on the subjects of geography, history, language, arts, religion, natural philosophy, and natural history, sufficient materials to fill three folio volumes. But the astronomical observation, the chief motive of his journey, was also the chief result. The important event of its complete success was announced by the cannon of the Castle of Wardhuys. "This," says Lalande,* "was one of the five complete observations, made at great distances apart, which, influencing most the duration of the transit of Venus, gives us the means of determining the distance of the sun and planets from the earth: an epoch memorable in the annals of astronomy, with which shall ever be connected the name of Father Hell, whose journey was as useful, as curious, and as arduous as any undertaken on that occasion."†

* Bibliogr. Astr. 1792, p. 722.

† In the Astronomical Bibliography, p. 498, occurs the following memorandum: "Year 1767. Vienna, Hell, S. J., *Ephemerides anni* 1768—where are collected many observations made by Wargentin (a Swede), Pingre (the abbè, a Frenchman), Messier (also a Frenchman), Hell (the author of the Ephemerides, a Jesuit), Gavronski (a Pole, probably a Catholic, and perhaps a Jesuit), Tonhauser (a Jesuit), Bugge (a Dane), the two Mayers (Andrew, a Pro-

In the preceding pages we have seen that the Jesuits did not content themselves with the mere theories of science, but that they directed their speculations to some practical result of general utility. Father Walcher, we are informed by M. Crétineau-Joly,* was despatched by the Court of Vienna to examine Lake Rofner-Lise: by repairing the dikes, he preserved the adjacent country from the disasters of a flood. As a reward for his services, Maria Theresa appointed him director of navigation and the department of mathematics. Father Cabral found an ingenious expedient to arrest the falling of Velino, which had al-

testant; Christian, a Jesuit), de Rohl, Scheibel (of Breslau), Filxmilner (a Benedictine), Wolff, Barlet (a Jesuit), Lagrange (a Jesuit), Weiss (a Jesuit), Sainovits (a Jesuit), Tiernberger (a Jesuit), Poczobut (a Jesuit), Hoffman (a Protestant)." "This catalogue shows," concludes the astronomer, "how widely Father Hell had extended his correspondence, and with what zeal astronomy was even then cultivated in Germany." Among the nineteen correspondents of Hell, named in this document, one was a Benedictine, eight of the Society of Jesus, two French Catholics, Gavronski and Schiebel, we presume were Catholics, and six were Protestants; from which may be concluded how rash is the assertion that in science the Catholics were inferior to their Protestant rivals.

* Hist. Comp. Jes. t. v, p. 367, 368.

ready proved so destructive to the town of Terni; and when after an absence of eighteen years, he was permitted to return to his native land, he confined the Tagus to its bed, saved the surrounding lands from devastation, and thus gloriously avenged the injuries of banishment. John Antony Lecchi repaired the military roads of Mantua; Vincent Riccati, by regulating the course of the Po, the Adige, and the Brenta, protected Venice from their desolating waters; a like service was performed in Tuscany, and at Rome, by Leonard Ximénès, who also levelled the roads and constructed a new system of bridges. By order of Frederick II of Prussia, Father Zeplichal, in 1774, made a mineralogical survey of the district of Glatz.

It must have been remarked, that of all sciences, astronomy was to the Jesuits an object of predilection, and the reason of the preference is obvious. Obliged to follow the age through the fields of science, they wished to sow there some religious thought, and to reap in them some aliment of their own devotion. But astronomy above her sister sciences, whilst demanding the help of the sublimest mathematics, afforded them an occasion to introduce

some religious element amid materialism and atheism, whilst their own piety might refresh itself in deciphering in the heavens that hymn to His praise, inscribed by the finger of the Creator. Thus it happened that astronomy, that admirable commentary on *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei*, was cherished by them with peculiar love. "In Germany and the neighboring countries," says Montucla, "there were few Jesuit colleges without an observatory. They were to be found at Ingolstadt, Gratz, Breslau, Olmutz, Prague, Posen, etc. Most of them seem to have shared the fate of the Society, though there are a few, as that of Prague, which survive the general destruction. The observatory of Prague, built in 1749, was for a long time under the care of Father Steppling,* to whom the University principally owes the introduction of the exact sciences in her course of studies." In their magnificent college at Lyons, the Jesuits possessed an observatory most eligibly situated, which had been erected by Father de Saint-Bonnet. To him succeeded Father Rabuel, the erudite

* Prochaska, by no means partial to the Jesuits, calls Steppling *one of the most brilliant luminaries of Bohemia.* (De sæcul. liber. artium in Boh., p. 402.)

commentator on the geometry of Descartes, Duclos, and finally, Father Béraud, an ingenious philosopher, an excellent geometrician, a zealous and laborious observer. It affords me sincere pleasure," continues Montucla, "to cast some flowers of remembrance on the tomb of this worthy and learned Jesuit. He it was who initiated me in the science; and the same service was performed by him for citizens Bossut and Lalande."* To the Jesuits we owe the multiplication of observatories in various parts of Europe. Hitherto they were scarcely to be found even in the capitals; but the Jesuits spared neither pains nor expense to erect in every considerable college a building consecrated to astronomy. Thus Father Huberti superintended the building of an observatory at Wurtzburg, Father Hell at Vienna. At Manheim a third was founded by Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, at the instance of Mayer and Metzger, and under their direction. Like establishments were erected at Tyrnau by Keri, at Prague by Steppling, as

* During the French revolution Montucla was engaged in preparing the second edition of his History of Mathematics. The last two volumes, from one of which we have made the above extract, were published by Lalande.

Montucla has just informed us, at Gratz by the Jesuits of the college, at Wilna by Lebrowski and Poczobut, at Milan by Pallavicini, after the designs of Boscovich and at the expense of the Society, at Florence by Ximénès, at Parma by Belgrado, at Venice by Panigai, at Brescia by Cavalli, at Rome by Asclepi, at Lisbon by Carboni and Copasse, at Marseilles by Laval and Pézenas, and by Bonfa at Avignon.

4. However splendid the scientific condition of the Jesuits, at the time of which we speak, their literary glory was not inferior. In Portugal they numbered among them such men as Azevedo, Rodriguez de Mello, and Francis Furtado; in Germany, Michael Denis, of whom we have already spoken sufficiently, Frederick de Reiffenberg, Ignatius Wurs, and John Starck. Of these, De Reiffenberg, having completed his own course of studies at Rome, was, upon his return to his native country, chosen to instruct his younger brethren in the ancient languages, and particularly in that classical latinity, of which he himself was their best example. His own Latin poems, his "Latin and Greek Precepts and Examples," collected from the best authors, all displaying,

in composition or in selection, talent, taste, and method, show how well he acquitted himself of the duties belonging to his office. Ignatius Wurs, after having prescribed admirable rules in his "Treatise on Sacred Eloquence," reduced them to practice in the forcible, glowing style, and in the pure and elegant diction of his sermons and panegyrics, and in his translations from the French of Bossuet, and other eminent writers. Starck, also, by his translations enriched the literature of his country.

But if, in the sacred and profane sciences, the German Jesuits have perhaps surpassed their brethren, the pre-eminence in literature must be conceded to the Spanish, French, and Italian members of the order.

Among the Spanish Jesuits are to be seen, besides Aimerich, Lassala, and Ortiz, Vincent Requeno, a medalist, an antiquary, a man versed in literature, a writer on coins, painting, and music; Andrew Burriel, an antiquarian, but most famous for his "Treatise on Weights and Measures;" John Colomès, who in three Italian Tragedies, sang of Coriolanus, Scipio, and Inez de Castro; Stephen Arteaga, author of an essay on "The Beautiful," and a sketch of the "Revolutions of the Musical

Theatre in Italy;" Francis de Isla, whose satirical and ingenious fiction, "The Life of Friar Gerund of Campazas," purified sacred eloquence from a vicious style, which, though banished from every other department of literature, yet lingered in pulpit oratory; Xavier Lampillas and Thomas Serrano, whose patriotism, triumphing over their partiality for their brethren, incited them to defend the literature of their country against the attacks of Bettinelli and Tiraboschi; John Andrès, in fine, honored with the favor of sovereigns, and the friendship of the great, who, amid numerous writings on philosophical, scientific, and literary subjects, presents to our admiration his great work on "The Origin and Progress of all Literatures."

In Italy, Antony Zannoni and Julius Cæsar Cordara were cultivators of Latin verse, in which the former celebrated the salt-pits of Cervia; Ignatius Rossi, for thirty years professor in the Gregorian University at Rome, gained reputation by various literary labors, particularly those on the Coptic tongue; Andrew Rubbi was no less distinguished as a professor of literature than as a writer; Stephen Raffei, for twenty years professor of

rhetoric in the Roman College, wrote two tragedies, besides essays and poems; Louis Pellegrini, whose fame as an orator we have already commemorated, by his exquisite Latin and Italian poetry, merited to be enrolled in all the literary societies of his country; John Granelli, eminent as a preacher and a poet, still more renowned as an exegetist and theologian, was honored by the translation of his poems and tragedies into several languages; Charles Santi, thoroughly acquainted with the Latin and Italian classical poets, composed, among other poems, an epic on Constantine, in imitation of Tasso; Xavier Bettinelli addressed to Voltaire his famous "Letters of Virgil," which contributed to his fame, even more than his poetry, his tragedies, and his other works; Antony Benedetti, professor of rhetoric in the Roman College, deserved commendation for his literature and his knowledge of coins; Antony Ambroggi, during a professorship of thirty years, saw the Italian youth flock together at Rome, around his chair of eloquence and poetry; Raymund Cunich, also professor of literature at the Roman College, cultivated oratory and wrote Latin verse, into which he translated the Greek Anthology and

the Iliad; Alexander Giorgi, by his treatise on the manner of instructing the young in the Italian and Latin languages, evinced his own skill as professor; he had also prepared the plan of an Italian Encyclopædia, which premature death prevented him from completing; Louis Lanzi, among the most illustrious of the Italian philologists and archæologists, composed twenty-eight works, and among them a "History of Painting in the Peninsula," a standard work in its class; Antony Volpi, gifted with an extraordinary talent for Latin poetry, was for twenty-six years professor of rhetoric at the University of Padua, and, in conjunction with his brother Cajetan, founded the great publishing establishment called "Libreria-Cominiana," or Volpi-Cominiana, from the skilful printer with whom they were associated; Jerome Lagomarsini, one of the most erudite men of the age, aided his friend Facciolati in the compilation of his dictionary, and composed an amazing number of works in pure and choice Italian, or in Ciceronian Latin, the fruit of assiduous study of that great orator, whom he selected as the subject of an immense work, by which he gained the admiration of the learned, and merited the

homage paid by them at his death; Joseph Mazzolari, the friend of Lagomarsini, was himself conspicuous as a humanist and Latin poet; and finally Jerome Tiraboschi, professor of rhetoric at Milan, and prefect of the library at Modena, immortalized himself by his great history of ancient and modern Italian literature.

In the same department France boasts a long catalogue of venerated names. No less than eighteen times were the productions of Theodore Lombard declared, by various Academies, worthy of the prize of excellence. John Grou, already enrolled among the ascetic writers, made an excellent version of the "Republic, the Laws and the Dialogues of Plato." At the College of Louis-le-Grand, John Baptist Geoffroy, by his skill in teaching and by his classical Latin, during the space of twenty years, showed himself able to fill a chair which had been graced by such men as Cossart, Juvency, and Porée. His brother, Julian Geoffroy, after the suppression, began his critical career in the *Année littéraire* of Fréron, where, with this formidable adversary of infidelity, himself a scholar of the Jesuits, he combatted Voltaire and his impious asso-

ciates; and afterwards by his dramatical works established the reputation of the "Journal des Débats," in which they were published. Another writer for the *Année littéraire* was the Jesuit Grosier, who somewhat later succeeded Fréron, and who continued the Journal de Trévoux, under the name of Journal of Literature, Science, and Art. Among the journalists appears also the name of Louis Coster. William Berthier, ranked among the ascetic writers for his "Psalms and Spiritual Reflections," among historians for his "History of the Gallican Church," assumed the direction of the Journal de Trévoux, and never was that periodical more replete with useful and interesting matter, than during his editorial term of seventeen years. A "Universal Latin-French Dictionary" was compiled by William Lebrun, and two French dictionaries, one grammatical, the other critical, by Francis Féraud. For editions of various authors we are indebted to Ives de Querbeuf; Laurent Paul, more commonly known as Abbé Paul, deserves notice for his "Latin Course," and for his translations; Louis Jacquet wrote elegant academic discourses, and an ingenious "Parallel" between the Greek and French tragedy;

whilst Bardou Duhamel taught the "Method of Reading with Utility." Ives André, deeply versed in literature, has supplied us with collections of sermons, with poetry and a philosophical "Essay on the Beautiful;" Rodolph du Tertre refuted Malebranche's Metaphysics. To Bonaventure Giraudeau we are indebted for a "Method of learning Greek;" his "Parables" entertained our childhood, whilst his "Meditations on the Gospel" have been the spiritual nourishment of our mature age; John Baptist Blanchard wrote works on education, and among them his "School for Manners;" James Lenoir Duparc and Louis Domairon, professors, the one at Louis-le-Grand, the other at the Military School, wrote on literature and geography, as did also Bernard Routh, in whose arms Montesquieu expired. By his analysis of two of Seneca's treatises and the Life of the philosopher, which he prefixed, Ansquier du Ponçol gained the undesirable approbation of Diderot, and his "Code of Reason" was received with equal applause. Gabriel Brotier, a worthy successor of Sirmond and Petavius, with the single exception of mathematics, was a universal scholar; his capacious mind embraced history, antiquities, medicine, and the languages,

the Latin particularly, as is shown by admirable editions of the classics. His edition of Tacitus, whose eloquence is rivalled in the Supplements of his editor, was rewarded with the praise of learned Europe. Among the Latin poets may be enumerated Antony Panel, Papillon du Rivet, already named among the orators, Bérault Bercastel, the author of the "Promised Land," and Terrasse Desbillons, the author of the Fables, styled by a critic "the last of the Romans."* In fine,

* In a letter addressed to his brother by Father Desbillons, and written April, 1773, at Manheim, where the Elector Palatine had offered him a generous hospitality upon his expulsion from France, occurs the following passage. "I live in a very retired manner: nevertheless I sometimes enjoy the conversation of our Fathers, but in Latin, for German I neither know nor care to know. This does not displease them, for they are not so ready to take offence as many of our countrymen, particularly of the Parisians. Their Latin without being affectedly nice, is good, and even better than what is usually written in the North. It is devoid of solecisms and barbarisms, is easy and natural, so that without exaggeration I might say the Latin is even yet, among them, a living language. It must not be supposed that all Germans enjoy the same facility; our Jesuits excel, because they are constantly exercised in Latin, even from their noviciate, and with such success that I have scarcely met one, who did not express himself in the language

William Bertoud recounted the "History of the French Poets," and the antiquary Legrand d'Aussy published his "Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."

5. Ample, too, is the catalogue of historians. The same Legrand d'Aussy was the author of a "History of the Domestic Life of the French," and the "Life of Apollonius of Tyana;" Berthier continued Father Longueval's "Gallican Church;" Bérault Bercastel wrote a history of the Church; to Francis de Ligny we are indebted for the well-known "Life of Christ;" to Joachim du Tertre, a valuable abridgment of English history, and a "History of Celebrated Conspiracies;" to Peter Guerin du Rocher, so profound in his knowledge of oriental languages, and the historians of antiquity, the famous "True History of Fabulous Times." In the revolutionary paroxysm of September, Du Rocher was massacred with his brother, a Jesuit also, and author of a poem on architecture. The series of historians is continued by the names of Claude Millot, who had once been a Jesuit, the author of the "Elements of History," and the "His-

of the Romans with as much fluency as in his native tongue." (Autogr. letters in the possession of M. Terrasse de la Brosse, grand-nephew of Desbillons.)

tory of the Troubadours," productions to be commended for the talent, if not for the spirit displayed in them; of Francis Velly, who composed a "History of France;" of Henry Griffet, the editor, and continuator of Daniel, the author of a "History of Louis XIII," a book which, even regarded as a mere collection of materials, merited the applause of the learned, and the approbation of M. Charles Lenormant, one of the most distinguished scholars of our age.*

The Portuguese Novaës was the annalist of the Popes; the historian of Mexico was Xavier Clavigero; of Poland, Stanislaus Naruszewicz, after the suppression, Bishop of Smolensk, then translated to Luck, estimable as an historian, still more admired as a poet; of Illyria, Daniel Farlati, whose "Illyrium Sacrum," was praised even by the Protestant authors of the "Acts of Leipsic." Walstelain described the "Three Historic Ages of Belgic Gaul;" Mark Antony Laugier, besides several works on the fine arts, wrote a history of the "Venetian Republic," after Daru's the most complete extant; Isla abridged the history of Spain, and Masdeu obtained a prominent position among the historians of Spain, and the prose writers of

* Religious Assoc. (Paris, 1845), p. 43.

Spain and Italy, by writing, in both languages, "A Critical History of Spain, and of its Progress in Science, Literature, and the Arts." In this immense work, death interrupted him in the twentieth of the fifty quarto volumes, which his plan embraced.

Here, also, the German Jesuits are distinguished above their brethren: among them flourished every exact and profound science. They had the honor of inaugurating a new historic school, in which they have found followers among so many writers of modern Germany. To be convinced of this, it will suffice to name Henry Schüz, of the University of Ingolstadt; Adrian Daude, of Wurtzburg; Francis Kery, whose learning is already known to us, the author of the history of the Eastern Emperors, from Constantine the Great down to the last of the name, and of the history of the Ottoman Emperors, the latter continued by Father Nicholas Schmidt; Ignatius Schwartz, professor at Ingolstadt, who, in his "Collegia Historica," raised a monument to his genius and literary taste; Mark Hansitz, whose "Germania Sacra" is a fit companion for the "Gallia Christiana" of the brothers of Saint Martha, and whose "Analecta" is so

valuable for the history of Carinthia; Joseph Hartzheim, the Labbe of Germany, who succeeded Schannat, and was himself followed by Hermann Scholl, and Giles Neissen, in the publication of the "Collection of German Councils," besides composing works of his own on subjects connected with history and antiquities.

The Hungarian Jesuits, in particular, filled with a tender affection for their native land, jealously collected and transmitted to posterity the memorials of her glory. The "Vitæ Palatinorum sub regibus Hungariæ," by Nicholas Muszka, the "Sacra Concilia Hungariæ," by Charles Peterffi, the "Hungaria Diplomatica," first written by Stephen Kaprinaï, and enlarged by Joseph Pray,* exhaust the political and religious history of the country, whilst Stephen Katona, in his critical history of the Hungarian kings (forty-one volumes in octavo, which he also abridged), traced the destinies of the national monarchy.

6. To this comprehensive enumeration of men versed in every intellectual pursuit, we

* Pray is an example, unhappily of too frequent occurrence, of men eminent for learning, who are yet almost unknown in France, and whose names are not to be found in any of our historical dictionaries.

have still to add names of persons no less meritorious, who were at that time engaged in distant missions. France had sent forth to the Celestial Empire men worthy to succeed Parennin, Verbiest, and Schall; she had sent Martial Cibot, to whom astronomy, languages, history, mechanics, agriculture, all sciences were familiar; Amiot, not inferior to Cibot, whom he assisted in collecting the most of the information respecting China, we now possess; Joseph Mailla, to whom we are indebted for various maps of China, and a version of its annals, who was so expert in the sciences, the arts, the mythology, and the language of the Chinese, that he astounded even their learned men; Michael Benoit, an astronomer, a mathematician, and a philosopher, who to gain the favor of the Emperor, unriddled the problems of hydraulics, and undertook the profession of engraver; and Antony Gaubil, a correspondent of the Scientific Academy, a member of that of St. Petersburg, the astronomer and interpreter of the Court of Pekin, and so profound in Chinese science, literature, and history, as to be capable of teaching the professors themselves.

Germany contributed to the Chinese Mis-

sion, Slavislek, Goggeils, Sichelbart, a distinguished painter; Godfrey Leimbeckoven, who became Bishop of Nankin, and died in 1787; Kœgler, and Hallerstein, who succeeded Kœgler as president of the tribunal of mathematics.

At the same period, Portugal, who had before furnished the Pereiras, Antony and Thomas, was worthily represented by John Seixas, Ignatius Francesco, Felix de Rocha, and Joseph Espinha, who successively followed Hallerstein in the presidency of mathematics, and Joseph Bernardo, who, in 1779, succeeded Father Collas.*

7. Viewing only the multitude of its members, who consecrated their lives to the study and teaching of science and profane literature, we might at first be inclined to think that the Society of Jesus was simply a learned association, or at least that it had then become oblivious of its primary end, the salvation of souls, and the religious instruction of the ignorant and poor. But whilst the venerable men whose names we have just transcribed, amidst their scientific labors, never lost the remem-

* About the same time, Andrew Rodriguez, a Spanish Jesuit, was also president of the same tribunal.

brance of their missionary duties,* and always regarded science as only a means of gaining the favor of the Prince, and aspired to the favor of the Prince, only to secure the liberty and triumph of the gospel; so, too, in

* Nothing can be more touching than the letters addressed to his brethren by the celebrated Father Gaubil, himself honored as learned by all the learned men of Europe. "By the order of my Superior," he writes to Father Maignan, at Paris, "I enclose several astronomical observations for the Academy, and for other learned persons, whatever I have discovered that is most interesting or important in Chinese history, or in the traditional astronomy of the nation; but for these occupations I confess I have no relish, and only perform them through obedience." Under the date of November 26th 1728, writing from Pekin to Stephen Souciet, Gaubil ingenuously discloses the benefits he flattered himself would accrue from his literary toils:—"I know that Your Reverence is full of zeal, and objects on which to exercise it are never wanting. I beseech you to take into consideration the good that may be done with respect to the poor children, that are exposed here and at Canton. I shall esteem myself fortunate, if what I send you will furnish you with an opportunity to introduce this subject to the notice of influential personages." Elsewhere he says, "It is of very little importance whether the gentlemen of the Observatory (at Paris) accredit my labors to me, or not. The reputation that would redound to me is a matter not worthy of concern, and of all the missionaries I least deserve honor." (Autograph letters of Father Gaubil—Manuscripts of Father Brotier.)

Europe, the sons of St. Ignatius sought to render their mental accomplishments tributary to the spiritual improvement of those, whose esteem and confidence they had attracted. In the same catalogues of the Society, embracing, as they do, so many renowned professors, we shall find the names of many, who were applied exclusively to the apostolical functions. For example, the catalogue of the province of Vienna contains, besides a great number of Fathers charged with the duty of preaching the gospel in the colleges and cities, four distinct classes of missionaries; missionaries, whose office it was to catechize; missionaries of stations (probably devoted to the instruction of a single town or district); missionaries of penance, founded by Father Segneri, for the conversion of sinners; and, finally, missionaries of camps, attached to armies for the spiritual care of the soldiers. In the catalogue of Austria for 1761, nineteen belong to the first class. At their head appears the renowned Father Parhamer, who, when torn from his poor, and appointed confessor of Francis I, consoled the irksomeness of his elevation in founding various useful establishments, and among them an asylum

for orphans, whose fathers had died in the military service of their country. In the same class, we find John Delpini, afterwards appointed by Maria Theresa to the abbacy of Kolos-Monostros, as a recompense for services rendered to religion in Transylvania; and Stephen Mihalcz, whose nobility of birth, whose fine talents, and profound and extensive learning did not raise him above the lowly office of the catechist of the poor and ignorant. In the same catalogue, the second class of missionaries numbers eight, the third twenty, and fourteen were attached to camps or armies. In the catalogue for 1770, the other classes remaining nearly the same, the missionaries attached to stations had increased to thirty-three. This was the period (1770–1–2) of the astonishing conversions in Hungary and Transylvania, where more than seven thousand families were reclaimed to the faith.

In all the catalogues are found indications of the same apostolic activity: that of the province of Upper Germany, for 1770, shows, that in the parishes surrounding the various colleges, many priests, scholastics, and professors, in addition to their ordinary duties, assumed the office of catechizing. Of these catechists, sixteen belong to the College of

Ingolstadt, six to the College of Hall, six to Neuburg; in 1773, six are supplied by the College of Amberg, in the province of Bavaria, nine by the College of Munich, and by the rest in the same proportion. In the province of the Lower Rhine, ten catechists were furnished by the College of Treves, ten, of whom three were scholastics, by the College of Paderborn, eight by the College of Osnabruck, twenty-one by the College of Munster, and the same number by that of Cologne.

This will be a sufficient evidence of the esteem in which the Society of Jesus, especially at the last moments of her existence, held the charge of imparting religious instruction to the poor; and we have already proved that so far from having degenerated from her high standard of intellectual superiority, she had never been so brilliant in literature and science;—not, indeed, that her children now surpassed their brethren of earlier times, but that her scholars and men of science had never been so numerous.

8. But it is asserted that these men achieved their intellectual greatness after the suppression; which is no doubt attributable to the terrible lesson they had received, and to the

leisure conceded them by the Courts and the Sovereign Pontiff. The assertion indicates great ignorance or great folly. The greater part, on the contrary, were enfeebled by old age, or at least were beyond that time of life when education is possible, or mental treasures may be stored up. Many, as Liesganig, deeming, in the extremity of their grief, that they had no longer a mother to honor, or a country to defend, withdrew from the fields of science, and found refuge in the consolations of religion. Some, it is true, took advantage of the leisure, which the cessation of their sacred ministry imposed on them, to give themselves to study and to the writing of books, as did the famous Eckhel, but even he had studied the science of coins under Joseph Khell, his master and colleague; as did Antony Morcelli, who, though his great work on inscriptions was not written until after 1773, had, about the year 1771, instituted in the apartments of the Kircher Museum, the Academy of Archæology, of which he was prefect, and had there read several antiquarian dissertations. The most eminent among the theologians, Zaccaria, Berthier, Kilber, and the authors of the theology of Wurtzburg, had published their prin-

cipal works prior to 1773. Those of later date, as Barruel, Stattler, Sailer, Para du Phanjas, whatever may be their merit, are of inferior fame.

We are then justified in drawing the conclusion, that the Society of Jesus, at the time of its suppression, was in point of learning not inferior, either absolutely, as we have seen in glancing over its literary history, or relatively, since no body of men, of the clergy or of the laity, could, at that epoch, boast of so many remarkable men. For the further elucidation of the latter part of our conclusion, we shall add some particulars on the Jesuit schools and education at that date.

SECOND PART.

1. Is it true that at the time of the suppression, the Society of Jesus could no longer exhibit a roll of distinguished professors, and that with respect to teaching, she had failed in her lofty mission? It would seem that the question has already been sufficiently answered. How many celebrated names have caught our attention, as we turned over the pages of her literary annals! And yet these men had stored up their intellectual treasures

while professors, or while they yet filled chairs which their previously acquired renown illustrated. Nevertheless, where proof is superabundant, let us suppose not sufficiently proved what we have proved, and let us make this point the object of farther investigation.

But let us preface our inquiry by determining the object of our search. We are to look for professors, that is, for men, who to a competency of learning unite zeal, aptitude, and all the means requisite for imparting it. Learning, aptitude, zeal, a judicious system, a tact for exciting emulation: these are the qualifications of an able teacher. His science need not be pre-eminent. He may teach rhetoric without rivalling Bossuet, or even Bourdaloue; theology, without vying with St. Thomas, or even Suarez, or Bellarmine; poetry, though inferior to Racine, and even to Vanière, and Desbillons.* By a competency of learning we mean that degree, which will enable the professor to educate his scholars, as good Catholics

* When some one mentioned to Father Porée, that Voltaire had said of him (his teacher), that he could not write good French poetry: "At least," happily and modestly replied the Jesuit professor, "it must be confessed that my scholars can."

and useful citizens, according to their rank in society. We shall see if the Jesuits were destitute of the qualifications enumerated; qualifications that had always been an heir-loom in their family, and the hereditary glory of their order.

Zeal proceeds from a conscientious feeling, a sentiment of duty, a mission august in its dignity, and important in its consequences. But it is clear that the Jesuits, yet so ardent, according to the confession of their adversaries, in all that concerned the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, so tenacious of all their traditions, could not have allowed to become extinct in their hearts that fire, which their holy founder had kindled, and their ancestors so diligently nourished.

By aptitude, we here understand a peculiar talent for imparting knowledge; a talent, which is the gift of nature and experience. Having at his disposal many thousand subjects, the Superior selected those for professorships, in whom he discovered that faculty of sympathizing with his audience, which is as indispensable for the professor, as for the orator. But the inexperienced professor thus selected, was not at once admitted into his career, and then

abandoned to his own guidance. He was at first applied to protracted and serious study; then, when he entered on the performance of his duties, he saw around him those, who had grown old in their occupation, who by their advice shaped his course, and saved him from those errors, which, inexperienced and unaided, he could have scarcely avoided. Experience in a religious body is not only individual, it is collective; it results from tradition, as well as from personal observation.

A good method is that course, any deviation from which would be retrograding from the object, to which master and scholars tend. It is a code of laws springing from the teachings of wisdom and experience. This code the Jesuit found in the "Ratio Studiorum," where every circumstance was pre-arranged, the discipline of the class, the relations existing between teacher and scholar, the objects of study, the manner of teaching, the means of inspiring emulation, a legislation whose equilibrium neither prejudice, nor imagination, nor immoderate zeal, nor an arbitrary spirit could disturb.

Finally, emulation is as influential in the school-room, as it is in every career of life.

By the impartial dispensation of rewards and punishments, by a thorough insight into the characters of the scholars, by affording each the general means of advancement, by the division of the class into two parties, ranged under conflicting standards, by the constant habit of appealing to motives founded on reason, or personal interests, or the higher and more efficacious incentives, which faith suggests; thus the Jesuits fostered in the hearts of their pupils that emulation which resulted in the most brilliant success.

2. Such the Jesuits had ever been, and that such they were still, is evinced, not simply by the testimony of their friends and partisans, but by the admissions of their opponents, and their competitors. In his "History of the College of Louis-le-Grand,"* M. Emond, a member of the University, reports to us sentiments, with reference to the expulsion of the Jesuits, expressed in 1765, by M. Louvel, principal of Harcourt College: "The expulsion of the Jesuits," said he, "will be for the University what the downfal of Carthage was for the Roman Republic. The emulation that animated

* Page 244.

the two rival bodies, produced great mental activity, and thus proved advantageous to the cause of education. Where now is that ardor which once inspired scholars as well as masters? May it not be said that the departure of the Jesuits has extinguished it? Four years have elapsed since they quitted Paris, and from that time we have witnessed no sign of zeal for study; and among the professors, with the exception of Le Beau, who belongs to their epoch, we possess no one of reputation. At least, you will tell me, you are freed from ambitious rivals, the objects of court patronage, and the favors of the great. What profit, let me ask, do we reap from the change, even in this respect? The College of the Cholets, which was able to resist the extravagant pretensions of the Jesuits, has been sacrificed to Louis-le-Grand. But why speak of the Cholets? The twenty-five Colleges of Paris with all their property, the University itself, with its Council, its archives, and library, are devoted to destruction for the sake of the aggrandizement of one institution."

The Oratorians united in the avowal, that the decline of learning in France was a consequence of the ruin of the Society of Jesus.

"The suppression of the Order,"* says M. Collombet, "has proved no less fatal to the Oratory; this is the remark of a member of that congregation.† With the extinction of their rivals, ceased emulation, an efficient cause of intellectual exertion. Then, in the space of six years, from 1776 to 1782, the Oratorians assumed the direction of five of the Colleges left vacant by the Jesuits; the consequence was, that as a greater number of members was required for the direction of the multiplied Colleges, their theological studies were materially weakened, they could not devote the same care to them as formerly, and some even made no regular course of theology whatsoever."

These consequences were not unforeseen by the Bishops of France, when, attempting to ward off the blow, with which the parliaments, and the infidels threatened religion, they thus addressed the king:‡ "We are of the opinion, Sire, that the closing of their schools would be an event fraught with serious evil to our

* Hist. Supp. Jes. t. i, p. 229.

† Ami de la Rel. t. xviii, p. 95.

‡ Declaration of the Bishops, in 1761, on the usefulness of the Jesuits.

dioceses. In the education of youth, it would be difficult to replace them by successors who would be equally useful, particularly in the provincial cities where there are no Universities."

So, too, when the destruction was complete they could say to the monarch:* "The dispersion of the Jesuits has left so lamentable a void in the functions of the sacred ministry, in which, under the direction and approbation of the Bishops, they were employed; in the education of youth, to which they consecrated their talents, and their labors; as well as in the sublime and arduous work of the missions, the principal object of their institute, that the clergy will never cease to offer up prayers for their restoration."

From all these testimonies, some of them derived from opposite interests, it is evident that the Jesuits were then unrivalled in the offices of instructing, and that since, none have been found capable of succeeding them. "The Jesuits have been expelled," complains Abbé Emery; "their system of teaching has been rejected. But what substitutes for them have

* Procès-verbaux des assemblées générales, etc. t. viii, p. 1406.

we discovered, and in what have the new theories resulted? Are the youth better instructed or their morals purer? Their presumptuous ignorance and the depravity of their morals force us to sigh for the old masters, and the old ways."*

About the same time Abbé Maury openly declared in the Academy, that, "At Paris, the great college of the Jesuits was a central point, which attracted the attention of the best writers and the most learned men. It was a permanent tribunal of literary decisions, so that the famous Piron, in his emphatic style, was accustomed to call it 'the Star Chamber of Literary Reputations,' always viewed with awe by men of letters, as they regarded it as the source and focus of public opinion in the capital."†

At the commencement of the present century, a more imposing voice was heard, exclaiming, "In the destruction of the Jesuits, learned Europe has suffered an irreparable loss. Since that unhappy event, education

* Pensées de Leibnitz, p. 429. Edit. of 1803.

† Eulogy on Abbé Radonvilliers (an Ex-Jesuit), pronounced May 6, 1807.

has never been in a state of prosperity. To the youth these religious were singularly agreeable. Their polished manners took away from their teaching that tone of pedantry, which is so disgusting to the young. As the most of their professors were men of reputation as scholars, the pupils were apt to fancy, that their class constituted an illustrious academy. They had succeeded in establishing, between students of different fortunes, a certain patronage, which was highly advantageous to learning. These alliances, formed at an age when the heart is susceptible of generous emotions, remained constant between the prince and the man of letters, and revived the ancient and noble friendship of Scipio and Lælius."* In another place, Châteaubriand expresses himself to the same effect: "The Jesuits maintained and were increasing their reputation to the last moment of their existence. Their destruction has inflicted a deadly wound on education and letters: of this, at the present time, there is no diversity of opinion."† The judgment of Châteaubriand is thus confirmed by M. de Bonald: "These

* Spirit of Christianity. † Melanges.

religious united talent with piety, elegance of manners with austerity of life, the divine science with human learning."*

France was not the only country that testified to the value of Jesuit instruction. When the Society was now suppressed, a Protestant, and a schismatical court carefully preserved and cherished what remained of their body, rendered homage to their services, and acknowledged their importance. The Russian Court, replying, in 1783, to a note of Mgr. Archetti, nuncio to Poland, thus expressed its sentiments on the subject of the Jesuits. "The Roman Catholics of the Russian Empire, having given unequivocal proofs of their fidelity, and having loyally discharged their duties to the Empress, have thereby acquired a right to the confirmation of their former privileges. Of this number is the instruction of youth, which has been heretofore committed to the Jesuits. The zeal animating these religious and the success crowning their efforts have

* The learned publicist adds: "The suppression of this body was a part of that immense systematized destruction, which has made France a heap of ruins: it was the first act in a tragedy replete with so many shocking catastrophes." (Primitive Legislation, t. ii.)

been remarked by the Imperial Government, with the utmost satisfaction. Would it be just to deprive the inhabitants of White Russia of this precious Institution? And yet this would be the consequence of impeding the Jesuits in the exercise of their ministry, and of forbidding them to expect a continued existence. In other countries where the Order has been suppressed, no substitutes have been found. And why single out for destruction, among the many religious orders, that which devotes itself to the education of youth, and consequently to the public welfare?"

From every part of Germany, if we hearken, we shall hear re-echoed the same loud tribute of praise. Even Father Theiner joins his voice to the general plaudits, and exhausts every expression of admiration and gratitude, whenever he speaks of the great superiority of the Jesuit Fathers, and of their indefatigable exertions in the cause of clerical education in Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.*

But we should have anticipated, that he would have bounded the expressions of his enthusiastic approbation by the limits of the

* Instit. Eccl. Educ. particularly, t. i, p. 280–1.

seventeenth century, and that to accents of laudation would have succeeded cries of sorrow, wrung from him by the sight of so mournful a degeneracy. But no: it was only at a later date that this pretended degeneracy was manifested to him: and his eulogies accompany the teaching of the Jesuits through every age, and attend them even to the last moments of their existence. In speaking of the suppression in France, Spain, and Italy, he does not hesitate to repeat: "the wound inflicted on education was incurable."* And when he comes to treat of Germany, patriotism adding ardor to sentiments inspired by justice, he exclaims: "The incredible exertions made by the Jesuits to improve their ecclesiastical seminaries, and the magnificent results which have attended them, fill me with wonder and admiration. At a time when their calumniators are undeterred by fear of punishment, it is the duty of the friends of truth to expose their baseness, and brand upon their foreheads the mark of infamy, with which they would stigmatize all that is honorable."†

And farther on, after having recorded the

* Tom. iii, p. 400. † Tom. i, p. 78.

prodigious number of men, eminent in Church or State, who had been educated at the Germanic College, he is moved to indignation that Germany could have ungratefully forgotten an Institution, to which she owed so large a share of her glory. "The friend of truth may reasonably ask, how does it happen that this land of piety, whose character has always been remarkable for justice and equity, has suffered herself to be deceived by the delusions of the age, and has allowed herself to view with a look, I do not say of contempt, but of coldness and disregard, the services this Institution has rendered her?"*

In describing the lamentable state of the German Seminaries after the suppression, Father Theiner makes honorable exceptions of those yet directed by members of the Society of Jesus. "In Prussia, and particularly in Silesia," he tells us, "the seminaries for the longest time retained their primitive excellence. The theological education remained under the control of the Jesuits, even posterior to the suppression of their Order. The Episcopal Seminary of Breslau was closely connected with the celebrated University of the Jesuits,

* Tom. i, p. 224.

which has given birth to so many men, illustrious in every department of knowledge. Its course was still attended by the young seminarians. The other excellent colleges of the Province, those of Neustadt, Neisse, Schweidnitz, Jaur, and Liegnitz, the pride and ornament of Silesia, also furnished a great number of students for the theological course, who completed their studies at Breslau."*

One of these students was Father Theiner himself, who feels himself under the obligation of paying elsewhere, a tribute of gratitude to the Jesuits, as represented by his former professor. "I owe," says he, "the education of my youth to this Kœhler, so well known in Silesia, who has the glory of having introduced into that province the solid study of the oriental tongues. The services rendered by Kœhler to public instruction are recognized equally by Catholics and Protestants. From the knowledge of the Jesuits which I afterwards acquired, I can bear witness that he was a worthy member of his illustrious order. I have often heard him express with the most amiable simplicity a pious wish to expire in the habit of the Society."†

* Tom. ii, p. 48. † Tom. i, Introd. p. 51.

There is a work in which the praise of Christianity is celebrated from the mouth of Rousseau, who is condemned to become the apologist of a religion he spurned. A somewhat similar character we impose upon the reluctant Father Theiner, in transforming him into the apologist of the Society of Jesus.

3. It is objected that Frederick, King of Prussia, who had entertained a high opinion of the Jesuits, on the occasion of his visit to Silesia (where, we have just been informed, by their labors, *education had retained its primitive excellence*), was not a little astonished at finding in the Universities and Colleges (which, as we have just seen, were *the pride and ornament of the province*), even in the *celebrated* University of Breslau, men of a surprising mediocrity, and on that account required, that capable professors should be procured from the French and Italian provinces.

We indeed know that Frederick II, after the suppression, charged the Jesuits of Silesia to invite their brethren of the other provinces to participate in his hospitality, assigning to each a pension of seven hundred florins; but in that royal act, we discover nothing more than a deed of charity towards the proscribed,

or an act of policy, inasmuch as they would be useful to his subjects; but nowhere have we found that this invitation addressed to foreign Jesuits was prompted by a knowledge of the deficiencies of the Silesian Jesuits. Without doubt the latter were possessed of less literary taste than their brethren of France and Italy, and of this we have seen some testimony in the book of the Franciscan Prochaska, where he accuses the Jesuits of Bohemia and Moravia (perhaps the same fault is imputable to those of Silesia), of inculcating a false taste and a declamatory style of composition; but we have certainly proved that in erudition they were not inferior.

But as for this diminution in Frederick's esteem for the Jesuits, the assertion is not supported by the slightest proof. On the contrary, we shall quote the words of Frederick himself, in which he expresses his real sentiments. Being determined to preserve them in his kingdom, he wrote to Abbé Columbini, his agent at Rome, an autograph letter, dated from Potsdam, September 13th, 1773, in which he informs him of this intention in the following terms: "I am determined that in my kingdom the Jesuits shall continue to exist,

and maintain their ancient form. In the treaty of Breslau I guaranteed the *status quo* of the Catholic religion; nor have I ever seen better priests, in any point of view, than the Jesuits. You may add, that since I belong to an heretical sect, His Holiness holds no power to dispense me from the obligation of keeping my word, or from my duty as a king and an honest man." On the 15th of May, 1774, writing to D'Alembert, who was dissatisfied that the Jesuits were not completely exterminated, and feared that other kings, moved by the example of Prussia, might demand of Frederick seed to cultivate in their own kingdoms, he replied: "I view them only as men of letters, whose place in the instruction of youth it would be difficult, if not impossible, to supply. Of the Catholic clergy of this country, they alone apply themselves to literature. This renders them so useful and necessary, that you need not fear any one shall obtain from me a single Jesuit." The contradiction between the Frederick of history and the Frederick invented by the enemies of the Jesuits, can only be paralleled by the opposition between Father Theiner, the author

of "Ecclesiastical Institutions," and Father Theiner, who wrote the "History of Clement XIV." But where we find on the one side assertion without proof, and on the other authentic testimony, the choice admits of no doubt or delay.

It is still objected, that in order to remedy the decline of learning in the University of Vienna, until then directed exclusively by the Jesuits, Maria Theresa was forced to deprive them of several important professorships, and confide them to secular priests and religious of various orders.

Note meanwhile another contradiction. The Jesuits, we were informed, after having engrossed the offices of education throughout Germany, had not formed one really distinguished man; and yet see how suddenly spring up professors of the sublimest sciences, capable not only of succeeding them, but of imparting a superior education, of supplying their deficiencies. But let the names and the works of the new professors be produced. Where that renown, that splendor, which was to eclipse the glory of the Jesuits? We turn the leaves of our historical and our bibliographical

dictionaries in vain: we discover no mention of either. Reference may be made to Michael Ignatius Schmidt, the author of a voluminous history of Germany, written in the national language. But Schmidt had been a pupil of the Jesuits at Wurtzburg; he did not come to Vienna at the invitation of Joseph II, and only arrived at the time of the suppression; and finally his arrival coincides with the beginning of those endeavors, which Joseph made, to effect a change in the constitution of the Church, a coincidence which brings into suspicion the power with which he was invested, and subjected him to many accusations, especially those preferred by the Bishop of Wurtzburg, of connivance in the measures of the schismatical prince. It will be remembered that we saw in our third chapter, that the Jesuits were not expelled from the professorships, and others substituted, for the purpose of elevating the standard of learning, but in order to gain a favorable opportunity to introduce Jansenism and infidelity.

That there was a decline of learning in the schools of the Jesuits is not proved, cannot be proved by the citation of a single authentic testimony. If the change then effected in

public instruction, had been simply to modify and enlarge the course of studies pursued in the University, to draw the schools of the Empire within the influence of that literary movement, which had passed through France, and was now gaining ground in the Protestant States, we should acknowledge its legitimacy, we should laud it as honorable. It was the aim of Cardinal Migazzi, it was what the Jesuits, first in the Catholic body, were endeavoring to effect. It was the object of Michael Denis and his associates of the Society, who then aided in the development of the national literature. To the examples and proofs already adduced at the termination of the second chapter, we might in addition heap up other examples, and other conclusive facts. We might name Francis Schœnfeld, who, besides many German works, wrote poetry full of ardor and elevation. To some we might impart the information, that, as early as the seventeenth century, there lived a Jesuit, Father Frederick de Spée, who was the first to reveal the poetic richness of the German idiom, and to evince by his own example the flexibility with which it accommodates itself to all the necessities of lyric rhythm. This collec-

tion of sacred poetry, entitled "Trutz-Nachtigall," is characterized by its strength and inspiration, and Father Spée is even now ranked as the first of the religious poets.

If the development of the national literature among the Catholics was here retarded, the causes were the proscription of the Jesuits, and the evil influence of Stock and his accomplices. Under the pretext of reforming instruction, these innovators sought to substitute their schismatical doctrines. Then by blending what was good and necessary with what was poisonous, they caused pious Catholics to distrust even the good and salutary.

What should we say, for example, of the rule promulgated by Stock, this great reformer of education, "that no one should be ordained priest, who could not read the Holy Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew." How absurd, how utterly impracticable! For saying mass, for administering the sacraments, for catechizing, for preaching, the sole duties of the greater part of priests, what indispensable necessity for an acquaintance with the Hebrew language? Are all aspirants to the sacred ministry capable of passing through so arduous a course of studies? And then, if it

be requisite to apply themselves to the acquisition of these difficult languages, what time will remain to acquire knowledge indispensable to the sacred ministry, what time even to exercise it? Jansenism, under various forms, always pursues the same projects; to realize the project of Bourg-Fontaine, it would annihilate the sacraments, by rendering their administration impossible.

It is undoubtedly desirable, that some of the Catholic clergy should devote themselves to the critical study of Scripture; but this portion must necessarily be the smaller. So thought the Jesuits, who taught all that was necessary for their ministry, and particularly the practices of piety and zeal; the few privileged by nature, they directed to the acquisition of sublimer knowledge. So thought St. Ignatius, who established this distinction in the Society itself; so thought St. Charles Borromeo, who had adopted it for his own priests: but the zeal and the wisdom of an Ignatius and a Charles Borromeo, fell short of the far-reaching aim of the Viennese reformers.

4. Let us examine the question proposed still more narrowly, and reply still more directly. In the beginning of the eighteenth century,

the statistics of the Society of Jesus showed the existence of six hundred and twelve colleges, one hundred and fifty-seven pensionnates, or normal schools, and twenty-four Universities, empowered to confer degrees. A half century later, from the same source, we find that in spite of the antagonism of infidelity, the number of colleges had augmented to six hundred and sixty-nine!

These Colleges were almost universally in a state of prosperity, and their professors were men of more or less distinction in the learned world. It would be impossible to investigate the condition of each Institution; but let us choose, for an indication of the rest, the University of Wurtzburg, and the Theresan College at Vienna, in the midst of that Germany, where, as the accusation runs, the Society of Jesus had been most oblivious of its honorable traditions. Of the former, we obtain our details from "An Essay on the History" of this University, by Christian Bœnike. A cursory glance at the work will remove all suspicion of any bias for the Jesuits. On the one hundred and sixty-first page, we find: "Father Francis Huberti, professor of the higher branches of mathematics, from the year 1754,

worthily filled the chair which had been adorned by Fathers Athanasius Kircher and Gaspar Schott in the preceding century." On page two hundred and seventy-three, we read: "The zeal for Biblical and Hebrew studies, so happily diffused through our University by Fathers Videnhofer and Nicholas Zillich, decreased after their death. . . . To restore these studies, the Prince Bishop Adam Frederick successively appointed to the Chair of Holy Scripture Fathers Henry Kilber and Thomas Holtzclau, who had published (in 1768) their learned works on theology (the celebrated theology of Wurtzburg)." Thus sacred and profane science were then flourishing at Wurtzburg, under the direction of the Jesuits.

Of the Theresan College, we obtain information from a published letter of Rossignol de Val-Louise, dated in 1767. After having celebrated the Imperial Gymnasium as one of the most famous schools in the world, he thus continues: "In this institution were assembled the flower of the nobility from every part of the Austrian dominions: there were Germans, Hungarians, Italians, and Flemings. There were cultivated, with the utmost diligence and corresponding success, science, lite-

rature, and the fine arts. Natural History was an object of particular inquiry. Collections were formed by the students, and the productions of nature imitated. Mathematics, natural philosophy, geography, history, music, dancing, fencing, in fact, everything was taught that could be deemed necessary to form an accomplished cavalier.* Thirty of the pupils devoted themselves to the study of jurisprudence. These being of a more advanced age were separated from the others. Infidel philosophy would scarcely appreciate the motive of this discrimination. It was not then customary to frequent the sacraments of Confession and Communion more than once a month. These youths confessed and communicated monthly, and were thus inured to such practices of piety, as they might be expected to retain in after-life. But what will particularly interest our countrymen of France, is the tone of amenity, politeness, and urbanity, pervading the school. A stranger was sure of hospitable entertainment, and of being made to feel as if he were in no foreign land. An interpreter was not needed. The students spoke all the

* The College, at that time, counted among its professors, Khell, Michael Denis, Eckhel, Paul de Mako, etc.

languages with the same degree of facility, and yet this exercise did not encroach upon their ordinary tasks. The habit was thus acquired. On one day of the week, all were compelled to speak German, a second was assigned for Latin, the third for Italian, and two days were prescribed for French. Thus what I am about to relate will appear less surprising. I was seated at table by the side of the young Count Bathiani, an Hungarian, of only eleven years of age. He conversed with me for some time. I had already heard him speak Latin with the fluency and propriety of an experienced professor: when he spoke French, you would say that he had been educated on the banks of the Loire, at Blois, or Orleans. Our conversation was principally at the table. During the meal there was no reading, in order that the students might take advantage of that time to habituate themselves to the use of the languages, and to the manners of good society. For this object the tables were round, or oval, and constructed so as to accommodate eight students and four Jesuits, the latter so distributed as to have care of all. Each pupil, in turn, administered to the wants of his companions, and thus learned

how to do so with propriety. Such decorum regulated their whole conduct, that although I remained for some time in their midst, I never heard a single expression otherwise than in perfect harmony with the respect due to religion, with purity of morals, and with courtesy which good breeding prescribes."*

This distinguished success, this splendor of the Theresan College, this reputation which attracted crowds of pupils, was principally owing to the exertions of Father Henry Kerens. Maria Theresa had observed his extraordinary qualifications, and had specially demanded him for her College, where he taught moral philosophy and history, and was afterwards appointed Rector. The Empress, after the suppression, recompensed the zeal so happily exercised in his former office, by nominating him to the See of Neustadt. There he displayed the sanctity of a worthy prelate, and was one of the few possessed of courage sufficient to resist the innovations of Joseph II. The prefect of studies was Father Francis Charles Palma, who also signalized himself by his skill in directing and forming

* Letter to M. Noël, Editor of Guthrie's Geography, p. 16. (Turin, 1805.)

the young nobility. After the abolition of the Society, Maria Theresa named him Bishop Suffragan of the Archdiocese of Kolocza, in Hungary. And, finally, in the same college was displayed the ability of Father Sigismund Hohenwart, professor and prefect, a man familiar with almost every modern tongue. To his charge, Maria Theresa committed the education of her grandson, afterwards Francis II. This prince, as a mark of grateful esteem, obtained for him, in 1803, the Archiepiscopal See of Vienna, and merited, by this happy choice, the felicitations of Pius VII.

An examination of the other colleges of Europe, will show the same flourishing condition, and the same remarkable men. Have we not heard the honorable testimony borne by the members of the University, to the capacity of the Jesuits who directed the College of Louis-le-Grand? But why continue the investigation? We have already made an enumeration of members illustrious for their learning, who belonged to the Society at the date of its suppression; these men, we repeat had been, or were then professors, and in number surpassed those of the preceding ages of the Society. Granting that in certain branches, theology,

for instance, they were behind their fathers, for this they compensated by their superiority in mathematics and the natural sciences, and in everything were in advance of their rivals. In theology, what magnificent professors were Hermann, Manhart, Reuter, Gravina, Giorgi, Piascevich, Kilber, Holtzclau, Neubaüer, Voit, Faure, Bolgeni, Iturriaga, Gener, Sardagna, Stattler, Stoppini, and Zaccaria! Videnhofer, Veith, Nicolaï, Tirsch, Haselbauer, Weitenauer, Curti, Hartzheim, Goldhagen, Franz, Khell, Zillich, Girardeau, in holy scripture and the sacred languages! Schwartz, Biner, Zallinger, Zech, Stefanucci, Antony Schmidt, and Vogt, in canon law! Eximeno, Béraud, Scherffer, Rivoire, Pézenas, Lagrange, Veiga, Asclepi, Ximénès, Hell, Monteiro, Kratz, Riccati, Benvenuti, Belgrado, Walcher, Weiss, Weinhart, Wülfen, Steppling, Huberti, Paulian, Liesganig, Lecchi and Boscovich, in the mathematical and natural sciences! Contzen, Storkenau, Du Tertre, Mako, Horvath, Sagner, Andre, Para du Phanjas, Azevedo, Denis, Terreros, Colomès, Isla, Guénard, Grou, Wurs, Andrès, Bettinelli, Mazzolari, Larraz, Rossi, Rubbi, Raffei, Santi, Lagomarsini, Lampillas, Serrano, Tiraboschi, Geoffroi, Desbillons, Bro-

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How then, let us ask again, with this catalogue before us, can we be told that the professors of the Society of Jesus were absolutely, or even relatively inferior? With whom would you compare them? The Protestants? But, at least in the natural sciences and theology, the Protestants of that, and former ages, present no shining names. Their advancement in literature, occurring in the last century, is posterior to, or atmost coincident with the dispersion of the Jesuits.

The friends of the Society of Jesus, therefore, retract none of the eulogies they have lavished on the last days of that illustrious body. They may continue to speak of the grandeur of the Colossus, at a time when an entire age combined to effect its demolition, and they will not be charged with exaggeration by men of intelligence, by men cognizant

of the facts. In unison with every great, every noble voice of the time, they may join in deploring the irreparable loss then sustained by European literature and science; they may send forth ardent prayers, that upon our age, the unlucky heir to the miseries and ruins of an age of infidelity, may not devolve the heritage of its senseless animosities, that it may permit the Society of Jesus to be constructed on its ancient basis, and allow it to form a new generation, a generation of studious, learned and spotless youth.

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Your very faithful servant in Christ, † SAMUEL, Archbishop of Baltimore.

Mr. H. W. HEWET, New York.

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I remain, very sincerely, your obedient servant, † JOHN HUGHES, Bishop of New York.

New York, Feast of St. Thomas, Apostle.

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† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bishop of Philadelphia.

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New Orleans, August 4th, 1848.

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Charleston, S. C., August 12th, 1848.

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