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is probably meant the locust in a still earlier stage of development, when its wings are just appearing, before it is able to fly.¹

VERSE 16. Though the number of those that trade with thee exceed the stars of heaven, they shall disappear, as the locust, when grown, spreads its wings and flies away.

VERSE 17. In the time of cold, in the night, before the rising of the sun, the locust lies in an apparently torpid state, but when warmed by the heat, spreads its wings and disappears. So with those on whom thou hast placed thy dependence. In the time of thine utmost need they will fail thee. מְלִיכֵי אַשּׁוּרִים princes, Dag. euphon. סַטְרָפָה, *satrap*, a general, leader among the Assyrians and Medes, perhaps an Assyrian or Median word, and to be explained from the languages cognate with the Sanscrit. Ges. compares with the modern Persian, *prince* or *war-chief*. מְלִיכֵי, the ם belongs to the stem, § 86. 1. b.

VERSE 18. The utter impotence of the Assyrian leaders is pointed out.

VERSE 19. Conclusion. *Actum est de te*. By all which precedes, the way is prepared for the exulting cry. "Deadly is thy wound," which the prophet utters, in unison with all others. מְלִיכֵי, Gen. of object, 'the report of thee.' Who has not cause, on account of the calamities inflicted by thee, to rejoice in thy downfall?

ARTICLE XI.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS IN FRANCE.

[The following is a very condensed summary of the contents of the second chapter of Dr. Hermann Reuchlin's *Geschichte von Port-Royal, or Der Kampf des Reformiten u. des Jesuitischen Katholicismus unter Louis XIII. u. XIV.* Hamburg, 1844,—an historical work of great and standard value.]

At the time of the formation of the order of Jesuits, there was much in the condition of France to prompt them to make an early and strenuous effort to gain a sure footing in that kingdom. The Reformation was beginning there to raise its head boldly, and to manifest a spirit more hostile to whatever was akin to Catholicism than even in Germany or England. The Catholic State church too, was partially estranged from the communion of the true church. The Sorbonne,

¹ See Credner and Maurer on Joel 1: 4, and Ges. *Thesaurus*, p. 597.

which for centuries had been the oracle of Christendom in the expression of theological doctrine, seemed on the threshold of treason. Everything was at stake, but also perhaps everything was to be gained, and the renown of the order and its merit in behalf of church and pope in case of success would be only so much the greater.

Already as early as 1540, the year in which Paul III. affixed the papal seal to the bull "Regimini," which has been called the *Magna Charta* of the Order of Jesus, Ignatius is said to have sent a few of his disciples into France. They did not meet with a favorable reception; they were soon driven from Paris, where they had been obliged to live too much according to the original principle of the Order, by begging; and Francis I. commanded all the subjects of Charles V. to quit the kingdom. But as in the first times of Christianity, persecution served to spread further the doctrines of the gospel, like the tempest which scatters the seeds of a broken plant, so was this expulsion of these poor disciples of Loyola from Paris the first occasion for the settlement of the society at Louvain, where was first enkindled their contest with the Jansenists.

The Jesuits observed in different countries a different course of conduct, according to the national character and circumstances, and their own relation to the people. In the Spanish Provinces, they ventured to draw public attention to themselves by the most impressive means. In Palermo they represented, by a public procession, the power of death over all creatures. In the van of the procession was a large image of the Saviour in a coffin, with an escort of angels and men bearing the instruments of his tortures. Then followed lean and slender forms of knights upon pale horses, and then Death himself upon a black chariot drawn by black oxen, with Time as a driver. Death was a huge skeleton as high as the houses, a sickle of proportionate size in his hands with bow and arrows, and at his feet shovels and mattocks. Behind him, in fetters, was a long train of spectres, representing the different ranks of human life. Exhibitions of this kind, affecting the senses and feelings of great masses like visitants from another world, formed one source of the strength of the Jesuits in Spain, Italy, and Southern Germany; but not with such a retinue did they dare appear in France.

It was in the year 1545 that again some Jesuits, thirteen in number, entered Paris and took up their residence in the college of the Lombards, which had been founded in 1533 for the benefit of poor students from Italy. Here they remained for some time unnoticed. The first who rendered them any assistance and openly recommended them was William du Prat, then bishop of Clermont in Auvergne.

A more powerful protector was found for them in Rome, the cardinal of Lorraine, brother of the well known duke of Guise, and both of them, next to Philip of Spain, the greatest champions of Catholicism. This cardinal induced the king, Henry II, in Jan. 1550, to issue letters patent by which the papal bulls given to the Jesuits were confirmed, and it was permitted them by means of alms and presents, to purchase a house in Paris, in which they might live according to their own rules. But when the Jesuits petitioned parliament to acknowledge and confirm this permission, the attorney general Bruslart, who was called by the parliamentary party the Cato of his age, was disinclined to do it, and their petition was returned ungranted. What especially moved parliament to this step against the Jesuits was the unconditional dependence of the society upon the pope, by reason of which, it was thought, the rights of the Gallican church would be endangered. Moreover, it was said, that the Jesuits in their origin had the purpose to preach the gospel in Turkey and in Morea, and parliament did not wish to put anything in the way of their manifesting their zeal in this manner for the Catholic faith. Even the prelates of the Gallican church expressed the same view; the Jesuits, they said, should seek such places as Rhodes and Crete, which were most favorable to their purpose.

The right of parliament to register and thereby confirm whatever should have the force of law, was not altogether undisputed. Often the kings constrained the registry by their personal appearance, since it was maintained, that the king could not be contradicted in his presence. The Jesuits still hoped to carry their cause successfully against the parliament through the personal influence of some members of the court, and the parliament to maintain their position requested the opinion of the university and of the bishop (not then archbishop) of Paris, not doubting but that from both it would be in their favor. Eustace du Ballay, bishop of Paris, gave his sentence in the year 1554. Acknowledging the reverence and obedience which he owed to the pope and to the king, he yet maintained that the bulls granted to the Jesuits contained several points which could not be tolerated in the Christian church. Among these, he reckons as one, that they appropriate to themselves exclusively the name of disciples of Jesus as if they alone were Christians; next, that since the society would support itself by begging, they made it more difficult for the other mendicant orders, especially in such ungodly times, to get their bread. But a still greater cause of offence is, that the Jesuits, even as pastors, could be disciplined only by their own order, whereby the authority of the bishop in whose diocese they might happen to be, would be set at nought,

and much disorder introduced. Lastly, the Jesuits had reversed the motto *ora et labora*; and while other religious orders spent a large part of the day and of the night even in prayer, they regarded preaching, confession, instruction of youth, and the diligent visiting of families, as more effectual means to ward off heresy and to bring high and low under obedience to the pope.

In December of the same year, the theological faculty of the university gave their sentence. It consists, for the most part, of a repetition of the objections brought forward by the bishop; but the chief motive of their opposition is plainly seen to be their apprehension that the Jesuits would have too much control over the education of youth, the management of which hitherto had been directed entirely by the university.

The Jesuits kept themselves quiet for several years, believing that something would be gained for them by the lapse of time; for the novelty of the order was still a great objection to it. In the year 1559 they made a second attempt to gain a legal acknowledgment of their society in France. This time they were much indebted to the house of Guise. The queen wrote a letter to parliament in their behalf. It was declared that the Gallican privileges should remain inviolable, only let the society be recognized as a religious order. The bishop of Paris gave his consent provided that the bishops should have the right of visitation over them. But parliament deferred action upon the petition, yet without directly contradicting the queen-mother, who held in her hands the government of the State during the minority of Charles IX.

In September, 1561, the queen announced an assembly of the clergy to be held in Poissy, in order to effect some reform in the Catholic church and to terminate those disputes which had arisen with respect to matters of faith. The pope regarded this council with anxious thoughts, not merely because he had a natural disinclination to national councils, but because there was a possibility that it might seem good to the council to secure the tranquility of the kingdom by concessions to the Protestants; for the Guises and the leaders of the Calvinists both felt that in case of open war neither party was secure of victory; and still more did the queen desire a peaceable agreement between the two parties, since in unloosing such hostile elements her own power would be in danger, or, at the best, would be only of secondary authority in the contest of principles. For the Jesuits, however, all hope was lost, if the princes of the Catholic church should make an agreement with the reformed ministers. The personal favor which they enjoyed at court would be insufficient to withstand the hostility of

the university and of parliament. Therefore Laines, the general of the order and immediate successor of Loyola, accompanied the papal legate to the council. The president, cardinal de Tournon, received him with much favor, and the Order of Jesus was acknowledged by the council, under the condition, however, that they should renounce their name and whatever privileges were incompatible with the rights of the Gallican church. With these limitations, the parliament consented to the decree. The only name which the act of parliament gives to the society is that of *College of Clermont*. The bishop of Clermont, William du Prat, had made a large bequest of property to the society. The validity of the will was disputed in parliament, and it was proposed to divide the property among the other mendicant orders; but in the mean time the Jesuits took advantage of it to purchase the Hotel de Langres, and in honor of the testator called it College of Clermont. This college is situated in the Rue St. Jacques, in the Latin quarter, on the left bank of the Seine, not far from the Sorbonne. This neighborhood must necessarily make their disputes more bitter and personal. Now the Jesuits had a college, but no scholars. These, however, would not have been wanting, had not the Sorbonne immovably refused to have any fellowship with the institution. But what could not be obtained from the entire corporation, was won by craftiness from the rector St. Germain. Those disciples of the Jesuits who received the degree of bachelor, or licentiate, or doctor, should pay the fees for the same to the university. Large numbers of youth entered the schools of the Jesuits, and the influence of the university upon the system of education in the kingdom was at hazard. In 1565, Jean Prevot, who had succeeded St. Germain as rector, forbade the fellows of the College of Clermont to give instruction. They requested to be allowed to become members of the university under the condition that never should one of their number be chosen rector or chancellor. Prevot summoned them to appear before the deputies of the university to answer some questions which he would put to them. The rector, thinking to catch them in a snare, opened the examination with the question whether they were regular or secular clergy. If they replied that they were secular clergy, then their living together was contrary to law; if they were regular clergy, they had no right to give instruction. They replied we are *tales quales*, an expression which afterwards became proverbial. This answer was very shrewd on the part of the Jesuits. The university could draw nothing from it to their injury, for the meaning was clear, We are the society of the College of Clermont, as the council of Poissy has named and confirmed us. To appease the university with regard to this la-

conic reply, in which there was felt to be the sting of contempt, they explained themselves by saying that they were neither common laymen nor secular clergy, but that their humility prevented them from confessing that they were monks, for monks, said they, lead the purest and most perfect life.

When the Jesuits saw that it was vain for them any longer to attempt to gain for their disciples the privileges of the university, they appealed to parliament. But after a stormy debate, everything remained as at first. The Jesuits were not received into the university, but since they had opened schools, they were allowed to continue them. For this decision they were indebted not so much to the good will of parliament as to the influence of the court. The university sought to keep to herself the monopoly of instruction by the regulation that no disciple of the Jesuits should receive the degree of Master of Arts, or Licentiate or Doctor. The Jesuits, in order to elevate their school, invited to Paris one of the greatest scholars who ever adorned their society. This was John Maldonat, born in Estremadura, 1534. The attendance upon his lectures was so great that he was sometimes obliged to deliver them in the public squares. Students went to the lecture-room three hours before the appointed time, to secure a place for taking notes. It is also said that many Protestants attended his lectures. Against this man the theological faculty of the university now directed the force of their opposition. They accused him of heresy, because he thought it not necessary to maintain the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary. The Sorbonne upheld this doctrine as an indisputable dogma. But the Jesuit had on his side the authority of the Dominicans and negatively of the Council of Trent which had not deemed it advisable to give a definite decision upon it. The Sorbonne, in deciding as they did upon this doctrine, awakened the jealousy of the French clergy, who were displeased at the claims it put forth to be a judge of matters of faith. The pope directed the bishop of Paris to bring the contending parties to reconciliation. The bishop had become offended with the Sorbonne, because it had censured a translation of the Bible which he had approved and recommended, made by Benoit, pastor of St. Eustace. The strife was so warm that the bishop excommunicated the rector, and the Jesuits had now the pleasure of representing themselves as the defenders of episcopal authority. The noise of these contentions was soon drowned by the outbreking storm of civil war. The two Guises, the leaders of the Catholic party, had long been the defenders of the Jesuits, and these, therefore, were welcomed to their allegiance as a strong reinforcement for the defence of the

church against the Protestants. France became one vast field of slaughter. The two Guises were assassinated by the contrivance of the king. Soon the dagger of the avenger pierced his own heart. Henry, of Navarre, became thereby the legitimate successor to the throne. The pope declared France free from the duty of obedience to her king. Finally, on the twenty-second of March, 1594, Henry entered Paris, whose population were eagerly desiring to see their king. The Sorbonne and other corporations gave in their submission. The parliament were firm in their allegiance. The Jesuits, however, and also the Capuchins, refused to acknowledge Henry as king, because, notwithstanding his renunciation of the reformed faith, the papal anathema still rested upon him. The university now hoped to strike a decisive blow against the hated order. Most of the clergy of Paris had declared their loyalty, and they united with the university in bringing an accusation against the Jesuits before parliament. The clergy were represented by Louis Dole, the university by Anton Arnauld. The oration of Arnauld had great celebrity in that age. It was translated into most European languages. Fifty years afterwards, during the Jansenist controversy, it was called the hereditary sin of the Arnauld family and the Jesuits did not forget to take vengeance for it. "All France," says Arnauld, "is like the battle-field of Pharsalia, her children are madly destroying each other. They who have kindled this fire of blind and raging passion, are the Jesuits. Had it not been for them, the treasures of the Escorial would now have been in the hands of the victorious French. They have mingled and given to the people the intoxicating drink of rebellion, they have fed the people with bread fermented with Spanish leaven. Their purpose is to bring the kingdom in subjection to the sceptre of Spain. Their chief vow is to render in all things unconditional obedience to the general of their order. But this general is always a Spaniard chosen by the king of Spain. Loyola was a Spaniard, Laines a Spaniard, Everardus a Flemming, a subject of Spain. Borgia, the fourth general, was a Spaniard. Aquaviva, the present general, is a Neapolitan, a subject of Spain.—O Henry (III.) my great king, who now lookest down from heaven and rejoicest that thy rightful heir in triumph over the bodies of his enemies and surrounded by those who burn to avenge thy death, has thundered down the walls of the last rebellious cities, stand by me and give me fire and strength to enkindle in every French bosom the hatred and the indignation which are due to the authors of thy death and of the unhappiness of thy kingdom. Our country still hovers over the abyss, the authors of our calamities still live among us. It is treason to talk

yet of toleration and of mildness. But, it is said, the Jesuits are teachers of youth. What, I ask, what do they teach the youth? They teach them to wish the death of our kings, and instead of this occupation being in their favor, it increases their crimes in boundless measure, as those scholars who have rejected their doctrines and arts of persuasion, hate them a thousand-fold more than those people do, who never knew the Jesuits. But for one who withstands them, there are a hundred who are corrupted. We read in Dion that Maccenas said to Augustus, that there was no more effectual means for securing the peace of his reign than this, that he commit the instruction of the Roman youth to those whom he knew to be devoted to the monarchy. So for us there is nothing more dangerous than that our youth should be instructed by Spanish spies, who hate above all things else the greatness of the French monarchy. Nothing is easier than to infuse into these yet tender spirits a favorite inclination; nothing more difficult than to take it away from them. It was not the water of Eurotas which made the men of Sparta war-like, but the discipline of Lycurgus, so it is not the Seine nor the Savonne, which has made so many bad Frenchmen, but the schools of the Jesuits. Since the pupils of these schools have come into office, *majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo precipitati sunt.*" Arnauld proceeds to set before parliament the sad condition of the university, which is like to a river, whose waters have been drawn off by many canals so that it has become entirely shoal. The judges are called upon by their Alma Mater to fulfil the duties of piety and rescue her from her foes. Charlemagne founded the university as a refuge for science when persecuted by the barbarians. The day of the expulsion of the Jesuits would be the day of a new foundation for the university. Finally, he addresses the king (Henry IV.) whose dear life is continually threatened by these colonies of assassins. "Fearest thou not for thyself, so fear for thy servants." But, notwithstanding this "Philippic," the Jesuits escaped for a season the threatened sentence of expulsion. The king wished to secure their good will rather than further to provoke their resentment. But he was nigh becoming a victim of their fanaticism. He was giving a reception at the house of Madame de Liancour, when, as he bowed to some gentlemen kneeling before him, he suddenly felt the thrust of a knife, which pierced his upper lip and knocked out a tooth. A young man was seen running to the door and was immediately caught. When the king heard that he belonged to the school of the Jesuits, he said, So then the Jesuits must be condemned by my own mouth. The report ran quickly through the city. Naturally

the wound of the king was represented to be more than it really was. The college of the Jesuits was forthwith occupied by soldiers, and their persons and papers secured. Two days after this attempt of Chatel, the expulsion of the Jesuits from the city and kingdom was declared by parliament. The teachers and scholars of the College of Clermont were commanded within three days to remove from Paris and other towns in which they had schools, and within fifteen days to leave the kingdom. The Sorbonne could scarcely rejoice at the fall of their enemies, for six hundred students who were on their way to the university turned back again on this intelligence. About the same number went away. On Sunday, the 8th of January, 1595, the Jesuits were led by officers of justice out of the city. There were thirty-seven of them. Their guilt, as a society, in the attempt made by Chatel to murder the king, is very much to be questioned. The terrors of a frantic, we might say, satanic remorse incited him to the purpose. His past life had been one of flagrant transgressions, and he thought to expiate his sins by causing the death of one so high in rank and power who was under the ban of the pope. No confession could be drawn from him to the prejudice of the Jesuits, although one of the police-agents, disguised as a priest, and a master of his art, examined him amid the solemnities of the holy communion.

The expulsion of the Jesuits had not the desired effects. The jurisdiction of the Parisian parliament embraced but one half of the kingdom, particularly the north-eastern part and the country on the Loire. The parliament of Languedoc, which held its sessions in Toulouse and was constantly implacable towards the reformed churches, favored the Jesuits and declared that they were included in the general amnesty given at the close of the civil war. The parliament of Bordeaux did the same. Such a condition of things could not long continue. These half measures against the Jesuits only stimulated their activity, and in spite of the decree of parliament to the contrary, many children were sent from Paris to be educated by them in the provinces. In the meantime, the Jesuits had friends in Paris, who were intimate with the king. These employed every opportunity, and especially the occasion of his marriage with Mary de Medici, to induce him to give the Jesuits liberty to return. In answer to the reproach that the Jesuits were devoted to the interests of Spain, they replied, that this only showed their gratitude, it depended upon the king of France alone, whether he should be an object of their gratitude or of their hostility. The king still hesitated, though desirous of a reconciliation. He feared that the Protestants would regard it as an act of hostility to them. Accordingly

he wrote to Beaumont, his ambassador in England (August 15th, 1603), to instruct him in what manner he wished his decision to be represented to the monarch of that country. He did not conceal his fear of the dagger, he said that the existing regulations were powerless, and that he could control the Jesuits better as friends than as enemies. In September he gave permission to the Jesuits to establish schools within the districts of Dijon, Toulouse and Bordeaux, also at Lyons and la Fleche. No new settlement could be made without express permission of the government, and an ambassador of the Jesuits, as if of another sovereignty, was to reside at the French court, through whom communications were to be made between the government and the society.

Parliament remonstrated against these proceedings of the king, but perhaps nothing more clearly shows the want of power in the French parliament at this time to withstand the royal will than the result of this remonstrance. The king gave notice that he would not receive their counter-representations, and that their deputies might perhaps be ignominiously refused admittance to his presence. Parliament declared that they would not give their assent without some conditions. These were, that the Jesuits should give up their vow of special allegiance to the pope—that only native Frenchman should be received into the society (which would have made it entirely Gallican), that they should be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops, and that their schools should be under the control of the university. But the king, by new messages, announcing to parliament that they were his subjects and their first duty was obedience, and by threats of his personal displeasure in case of disobedience, commanded the registry of the act, to which parliament was obliged immediately to proceed. The Jesuits became the friends of Henry and the sure supporters of absolutism in France. Within six years after this time the number of their colleges in the kingdom was thirty-five.

Thus we see that even before the time of Louis XIV. the French parliament had lost its ancient venerable importance, and was presenting a striking contrast to the progress of the English parliament. The Parisian parliament was closely united with the Gallican church, but this church had lost its Christian faith. The more religious elements sought to form a quieter and more retired circle of action. They became embodied in the institution at Port Royal. The doctrine of predestination was common to the reformed church and to the Jansenists, the Puritans of France, but to the former it was a sword, to the latter a shield, to the former it gave courage to conquer, to the latter patience under persecution and endurance even in oppression.