# S. Ignatius Loyola
## and
# The Early Jesuits

*Stewart Rose*

19

# LIFE

OF

# ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

H. Adlard. Sc.

ST IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

*From a Photograph from Original Portrait at the Gesù in Rome*

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# ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

AND

# THE EARLY JESUITS

BY

STEWART ROSE

*Parvum ingentis pignus reverentiae*

REBUS OF THE LOYOLAS,
OVER THE ENTRANCE TO THE SANTA CASA, LOYOLA

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TO THE

*REV. WILLIAM EYRE, S.J.*

**This Book**

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR

SANCHO EL SABIO

# PREFACE

TO

## THE ILLUSTRATED LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS.

THE appearance of the *Commentarium de origine Soc. Jesu*, by Simon Rodriguez; of the Memoirs of F. Manare, *De Rebus Societatis Jesu Commentarius Oliverii Manaræi*, Florence, 1886; of the Letters of St. Ignatius, *Las Cartas de San Ignacio*, Madrid, 1874–1889; of Père Clair's elaborately illustrated and annotated *Vie de S. Ignace*, Paris, 1890, have given materials for a work which may be called a new life. The illustrations are from the pencils of Mr. Wain and of Messrs. H. W. and H. C. Brewer. It has been the wish of the author to reproduce, as far as possible, the surroundings of the story as they were in the days of the Saint. The authorities for these restorations, which have been the subject of most painstaking study, are given in the Appendix. The Bollandist Fathers have kindly put at the disposal of the author the copperplates which illustrate the life of St. Ignatius in their great work. It would be impossible to thank sufficiently the many who have assisted

the author in such various ways, as by research, or by procuring the photographs, engravings, or sketches, and the authorities for the illustrations. Father Eyre, S.J., has kindly devoted himself to passing the work through the press.

STEWART ROSE.

# LIST OF CHIEF AUTHORITIES,

## BESIDES THOSE MENTIONED IN THE PREFACE.

The Bollandists, t. xxxiii., July 31, who, in addition to the two lives—the *Vita antiquissima*, by Gonçalez, really an autobiography of the Saint, and the standard *Life* by Ribadeneira, both carefully annotated—give a long preliminary dissertation full of documents and citations from various authors; Maffei, *Vita Sancti Ignatii;* Orlandini, *Historia Soc. Jesu*, Pars. I.; Alcazar, *Chrono-historia de la Compañia de Jesus;* Nieremberg, *Varones illustres de la Compañia de Jesus;* Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio, Italia, Memorie degli uomini e dei fatti della Compagnia di Gesù;* Prat, *Vie de Ribadeneyra, Vie de Maldonat;* Cantù, *Gli Eretici d'Italia;* Boero, *Vita del B. Pietro Fabro, Vita del P. Paschasio Broët;* Genelli's valuable *Life of S. Ignatius;* and Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes.*

It may be well to add that the *Cartas de S. Ignacio*, besides giving the exact text of the *Letters*, illustrate that text by a wealth of documents, which, like the letters themselves, are in great part new, and are all accurate reproductions of the originals.

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# LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

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## BOOK I.

### From his Birth to Leaving Paris.

1491–1535.

# LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

## BOOK I.

### *FROM HIS BIRTH TO LEAVING PARIS.*

1491–1535.

## CHAPTER I.

LOYOLA—BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF IGNATIUS—1491–1521.

IN the beautiful province of Guipuzcoa, in a broad valley beneath the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, stands the old House of Loyola, wherein St. Ignatius was born. It is now concealed within the buildings of the Jesuit College which surround it, but was then shrouded, amidst fruit trees and gardens, on the banks of the stream of the Urola, at no great distance from the little town of Azpeitia. The mountains all round are abundant in marble and in iron ores, worked from long distant times by the people of Azpeitia and Azcoitia, about two miles apart on either side of Loyola.

When Henry of Castile, to restrain the power of the nobles and put an end to their continual feuds, caused all the strongholds of Guipuzcoa to be demolished, that of Loyola, by a special grace, was exempted from the general doom. The tower, indeed, which had been constructed throughout in the fourteenth century of massive squared stones, was half pulled down in 1456, during the civil strife; but it was rebuilt to the summit with brickwork by the Saint's grandfather, and such is its condition to the present day.

Over the doorway remain the curious arms of the ancient family, answering to their name, and descending from the misty tenth century, in which tradition

loses itself—a camp-kettle hung by a chain between two wolves—"Lobo y olla," the wolf and the pot.[1] The country people, still full of remembrances of Ignatius and his ancestry, relate that this name was given in those feudal times when great lords made war on one another with a band of followers, whom they were bound to maintain; and this the family of Loyola used to do with such liberality, that the wolves always found something in the kettle to feast on after the soldiers were supplied.

LA SANTA CASA OR HOUSE OF LOYOLA, WITH SURROUNDING BUILDINGS.

A large and rich domain, in the thirteenth century, by the marriage of Inés de Loyola with Lope de Oñaz, passed into the possession of the latter house. The family of Oñaz was held in high repute in Spain, not only on account of its ancient estates, but because it had produced men famous alike in arms and letters.[2] It was connected with the most illustrious families of the country, and was one of those called *parientes mayores*, which had the privilege of being personally invited by the sovereign, whenever the nobles of the land were summoned to do homage to the crown, or for any other cause.

The parents of St. Ignatius were Beltran Yanez de Oñaz y Loyola and Marina Saenz de Licona y Balda. The family[3] of the Saenz were related to that of Loyola; they resided in no great opulence at Azcoitia, and their house is still shown. The people thereabouts still recall every particular of the Saint's kinsfolk and history with a personal pride and attachment; he is the patron of Guipuzcoa and of the Basques; his hymn is their national hymn.

[1] A wolf was the device of the *Ricos-hombres*—nobility. The arms evidently are a rebus on the name Loyola.

[2] Two brothers of their ancestry, Juan Perez and Gil Lopez, were leaders of the Guipuzcoans in the famous battle of Beontivar, where 800 Spaniards defeated 70,000 French, Navarrese, and Gascons, an inequality which, if the circumstances had been reversed, might have suggested the idea of a gasconade.

[3] They claimed a descent from the Gracchi and Scipios of Rome.

They show the spots connected with his name, the house where he lived with his foster mother; they relate incidents that have been carried down from his time to this by popular affection; and every male child born in that neighbourhood is christened in the font at Azpeitia in which he was baptized, and is named after him, though the eldest only is called by the name. Marina had five daughters and eight sons, of whom Ignatius was probably the youngest. He was born in 1491, the year in which Columbus set out on his voyage of discovery; Innocent VIII. being Sovereign Pontiff, Frederic III. Emperor of Germany, Charles VIII. King of France, and Ferdinand and Isabella reigning in Spain. His mother was remarkable for her piety. The room in which he was born was shown to St. Francis Borgia, on his first visit to Loyola. It is a small chamber opening into the little family chapel, of which it now forms part. A lamp was continually burning there in later years, and a document, giving the endowment for its keep, confirms the statement, which was current in Ignatius' lifetime. St. Francis on that occasion said his first mass in another chapel. The child was baptized in the church of St. Sebastian, at Azpeitia, being the parish church of Loyola, where he received the name of Enico, or Iñigo, the sainted Abbot of Oña, near Burgos. He told Francis Borgia that in after life he called himself Ignatius out of reverence to the martyred Bishop of Antioch. Maffei, who knew the Saint well, says that his father, Don Beltran, was severe towards his children, and not judicious in his training; adding that, from early childhood, Ignatius was imbued with worldly notions, common among persons of his station. Nevertheless, it is said that Beltran took his son Iñigo every year to the shrine of Santiago di Compostella. Probably his mother died while he was still very young; for he was soon removed from home and sent to one of his aunts, Doña Maria de Guevara, a lady of remarkable piety, who lived at Arevalo, in Castile. He remained with her until he was old enough to be transferred to the court of King Ferdinand.

There he was trained, with other young lords of his own age, in all knightly exercises, Don Antonio Manriquez, the Duke of Najera, kinsman and warm friend of the Loyola family, taking charge of his education. He caused him to take lessons in fencing daily; taught him the art of war, and along with this made him acquire the skill in writing and speaking held in those days to furnish "the two wings of letters and of war," which were to lift him up to the summit of honourable distinction whereto his thoughts aspired.

According to the usage of the time, he devoted himself to the service of a noble lady, whose name in after days never passed his lips. The Saint,

indeed, never adverted to this passage in his life except very slightly, and then only to characterise the whole affair as a piece of worldly vanity; yet thus much he said of the lady in question to Gonçales, that she was not a countess nor a duchess, but of a rank more exalted than either—a lady of very illustrious and high nobility. The circumstance is one which may serve as an early indication of a mind and character which had a natural affinity with lofty aspirations and noble and arduous enterprises. The Jesuit Genelli, in his life of Ignatius, though he discreetly says he will not hazard a conjecture, remarks that there were only two ladies at the Spanish court at that time who could be thus designated. One was the Princess Catharine, daughter of Queen Joanna and the Archduke Philip; but the complete retirement in which she lived with the poor crazy Queen makes it, he thinks, improbable that she was the person to whom Ignatius alluded. The other was Germaine de Foix, the youthful wife of Ferdinand.

But two other royal ladies were living at this time under the protection of the King; and the younger of these we may conclude with some certainty to have been the object of Iñigo's devotion. When Ferdinand I. of Naples, married to the sister of Ferdinand of Aragon, had left her a widow with one daughter, his uncle Frederic, succeeding to the throne, was invited by the Spanish King to affiance his young heir, the Duke of Calabria, with this daughter, Juana; but Frederic liked neither the Queen-Dowager nor her daughter, and thought also that the alliance with France would be more advantageous to him than that of Spain. Ferdinand of Aragon consequently summoned the widowed Queen and Princess to Spain, where they were received with affectionate courtesy by Isabella at Granada; Ferdinand gave them a residence with royal appointments at Valencia, a town ever full of stir and bustle, and frequently visited by the court. The year after, Frederic found he had made a mistake, and endeavoured to revive the project of marriage between his heir and Ferdinand's niece. Ferdinand by that time had also changed his mind; he coveted the kingdom of Naples for himself.

It is probable that Ignatius was in attendance at court, and formed part of the brilliant escort which accompanied her when the King met Germaine de Foix at Dueñas, in Castile, and was there married to her on the 18th of March 1506, to the great disgust of the Castilians, not yet consoled for the recent loss of their own Queen Isabella, and who still remembered her marriage to Ferdinand, thirty years before, in that very city. Germaine was the daughter of the Vicomte de Narbonne, and niece of Louis XII., King of France. At the time of her nuptials, she is described as being handsome,

VALLEY OF LOYOLA, WITH AZPEITIA IN FOREGROUND, AND ITS CHURCH, IN WHICH THE SAINT WAS BAPTIZED.—*Page* 4.

haughty, gay, fond of show and amusements, and astonishing the Spaniards, who had so much revered the grave and pious Isabella, by her French manners and tastes. She was particularly fond of having entertainments given for her; and without any great stretch of the imagination, we may suppose that the brilliant and gallant Don Iñigo often helped in contriving pastimes for her diversion.

It is not surprising that at this time Ignatius took a poetical turn; his sonnets and *canzones* were usually addressed to the lady he served, but they were often of a religious character; and one which has been preserved seems to have suggested those well-known lines on the love of God attributed to St. Francis Xavier. He also wrote a long poem, now lost, in honour of St. Peter. With his heart and imagination thus occupied, he was not tempted to indulge in the common excesses of young men thrown upon courts and camps; he avoided even gambling, the dominant vice of Spain; he delighted in romances of chivalry, and read diligently the interminable volumes of "Amadis de Gaul," and works of imagination of a like nature, to whose popularity, not long after, Cervantes gave a fatal blow.

The descriptions that have reached us of Ignatius represent him to us as possessed of all those chivalrous qualities and accomplishments which formed the character of a Spanish gentleman. He was generous, high-spirited, an honourable lover, a loyal courtier, well versed in every branch of knightly education; with something, too, of taste and skill in his handling of the pencil and the pen. He loved splendour and new devices for display or amusement; he liked to show himself in the saddle, managing with equal skill the jennet or gineta, used in the tourney or the ring, and the heavy war-horse which bore him with his lance into the field. He followed the war, says Padre Garcia (but without saying in what quarter), and gained himself a name that seemed to promise him the highest place in military honours; he made himself beloved by the soldiers; he respected the churches and convents, and all consecrated things; and once defended a priest who was in considerable danger against a "streetful," as he termed it, of men. He was scrupulous in speaking always the strictest truth, holding that as indispensable to true nobility; his words were ever guarded and modest, such as a lady might have heard; he was master of his wrath, and never drew his sword on slight occasion; he thought it unworthy of his nobility to assert a right of precedence; more than once he had appeased dissensions among the soldiers, even at his personal risk, and averted mutiny in the field; impetuous and quick to resent an insult, he was equally ready to excuse and forgive; and the gift of influencing men's minds, which was afterwards so

remarkable in him, showed itself amongst his companions, whether in the camp or court. He was short of stature, but he was active, lithe of limb, and light of heart—easily moved to mirth; his complexion olive, his hair very black, glossy, and clustering; his features well formed; his forehead high; his countenance so expressive and varying, that no painter could ever make a true portrait of him. His dark eyes had the deep lustre of the south; and, to the close of his life, their eloquence could command, console, and speak the liveliest sympathy, even when he did not utter a word. We hear often in his after life, from persons not among his followers, of the power of those marvellous eyes, then seldom raised from the ground except to gaze on heaven, but fraught with a fascination and persuasiveness exceeding that of language.[1] When young he was conscious of his good looks, delighted in gay and splendid attire, and in paying his court to ladies; his movements were remarkably graceful, his manners most courteous and noble; his high birth betrayed itself even when he had assumed the disguise of extreme poverty.

Of this early portion of his life very little has been left on record, and of that little scarcely anything was derived from the Saint's own lips. He said of himself that "up to his twenty-sixth year, he was entirely given up to the vanities of the world; but that he especially delighted in martial exercises, being led thereto by an ardent and innate desire of military glory."

Some of his biographers think Iñigo served in the army of Naples, as did two of his brothers, both of whom lost their lives in the field, under the Viceroy Gonsalvo de Córdova, whose wife was their kinswoman, a sister of the Duke de Najera.

It is probable that Pamplona, where he was afterwards taken prisoner, was also the scene of some of his early exploits; for we hear that the Duke of Najera fought there, about 1512, "surrounded by almost all the young nobility of Spain."

In the autumn of 1506, Ferdinand, desirous of settling the affairs of Italy somewhat to his own advantage; coveting Naples, and not quite confiding in the fidelity of Gonsalvo de Córdova, whose enemies represented him as seeking to make his own terms with the French King, Louis XII., sailed from Barcelona for Italy, accompanied by all the court, in twenty-three galleys, escorted by as many other vessels, Raymond de Córdova commanding the fleet. The young Queen Germaine was with her husband,

[1] The portraits of the Saint in early life are not contemporaneous, as the I.H.S. on the armour, and the date and style of the painting, show.

Ferdinand, the Queen of Naples, and Princess Juana, in another galley; and Iñigo probably not far off. When they approached Genoa, Gonsalvo de Córdova met them, and passed into the royal galley, where he was well received, and succeeded in justifying himself with his suspicious master, for a time at least. At Genoa Ferdinand would not land, but received the senators on board; afterwards they parted excellent friends. The weather had been all along unfavourable; the ships took shelter in the Bay of Porto Fino, where Ferdinand heard of the death of his son-in-law, the Archduke Philip; which news, says Ferreras, "he received with great resignation to the will of God"—as he well might, since the two princes had never concealed their mutual dislike to one another. The royal party stayed a few days at Gaeta, then at Pozzuoli, while splendid preparations were making for their reception at Naples. The joy seemed universal; it was very probably sincere, for the Spaniards were more acceptable than the French as protectors to the kingdom of Naples, too weak to defend itself. Splendid fêtes were given to the King and the royal ladies. The Princess Juana must have remembered that she had been offered a crown in that lovely country; but the companion intended for her, the Duke of Calabria, was apparently of a character that would have made the dignity not an enviable one. After illuminations came politics; the States of the kingdom were held; but the Spanish King, "maliciously," it was said, prevented his bride, Germaine, from being present when the oath of fidelity was received, in order to secure the right of succession to his grandson Carlos. Many envoys came from the Pope and other Italian powers, to recognise Ferdinand as sovereign of Naples; the Emperor Maximilian also sent ambassadors. There were claimants on all sides for compensation of past services, which Ferdinand knew not how to satisfy; and Gonsalvo de Córdova made the generous offer, which was imitated by some other nobles, of giving back to the King the estates he had received from him as the just reward of incomparable services. In June Ferdinand sailed for Savona, where the King of France awaited him; thence, after three days of hospitalities, he sailed for Valencia; left Germaine to act as Regent of Aragon,[1] and went himself to his unruly kingdom of Castile.

At this time we cannot trace Iñigo's career distinctly, but as outbursts of civil war were perpetually calling the King's soldiers into the field, we may be certain that his sword was not allowed to rest. Isabella had governed Castile with great judgment and good fortune; when Ferdinand succeeded

[1] She held the States at Calatayud.

her as Regent on behalf of his half-witted daughter, widow of Philip, the nobles and the common people, opposed to one another, were both opposed to Ferdinand; and even in Aragon there were disturbances which often resulted in bringing the royal exchequer very low indeed. When Queen Germaine held the States of Catalonia at Lerida, she could obtain nothing for the King; but going to Saragossa, where the Archbishop had great personal influence, they prevailed on the nobles to offer a large and much-needed subsidy. But now the miraculous bell of Villila was heard to toll of itself; a sound invariably the forerunner of some misfortune, for in the metal of the bell the country people believed was melted one of the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas. It might also have foretold the death of the Great Captain; but when Ferdinand died both Castile and Aragon thought that the country had sustained a heavy loss. He left not money enough in his treasury to pay for his funeral; his people then forgave what they had called his covetousness; and Spain, neglected by its arbitrary and then distant sovereign, Charles V., and plundered by the foreigners whom he placed over it, long had reason to look back with regret on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

King Ferdinand had made the Duke of Najera, who at the time Iñigo went to the court was known as the Count de Triviño, his Viceroy of Navarre, when he took it (1512) from its rightful sovereign, Jean d'Albret, and annexed it to the crown of Spain. But on the death of Ferdinand (1516), and under the regency of Cardinal Ximenes, the unfortunate monarch, taking advantage of the absence of Charles V., and of the discontent and disaffection that prevailed among the Spanish nobles, attempted, with the aid of France, to recover possession of the country, whose inhabitants for the most part retained their attachment to his family. He besieged St. Jean-pied-de-port; but Ximenes, with his characteristic vigour, dispatched additional troops, who defeated and drove out the French; he then razed all the principal castles of Navarre, and began forthwith to strengthen the defences of Pamplona. Meanwhile, certain Castilian towns, always ripe for revolt, having profitably seized the occasion to reclaim their liberties by force of arms, Ignatius was sent to suppress the insurrection. He himself led the attack on the small town of Najera, on the frontier of Biscay, which was taken by assault, chiefly through his personal valour. He refused, however, any share in the spoil. But the sword, in that state of affairs, could not do very much.

The young King Charles brought with him from the Low Countries a host of counsellors and favourites, who treated Spain as if it had been a

CHURCH AND COLLEGE, CONTAINING THE SANTA CASA, LOYOLA.—*See p.* 29.

conquered province, with little regard for legitimate claims or national susceptibilities. Ximenes had deprived the nobility of a large proportion of their privileges, which were both excessive in themselves and oppressive to the people, and had even succeeded, by a diminution of their territorial possessions, in reducing their exorbitant power. By his decision and firmness, by a sagacious combination of force and forbearance, by the justice of his measures, and their popularity with the burgher class, ever ready to lend their aid to the humiliation of their aristocratic rivals, he had so conducted and executed what in effect was a great social revolution, that with the exception of some slight commotions quickly appeased, the internal tranquillity of the country suffered no interruption. When, however, Charles became Emperor of Germany, and, being about to leave Spain, demanded large subsidies from the Cortes of Castile, whom for his better security he had assembled, not at Valladolid, but, contrary to custom, at Compostella, the people of the chief towns, jealous of their privileges, showed determined signs of resistance, and required that their grievances should be redressed before they would vote the supplies. The inhabitants of Toledo were especially loud in their remonstrances, while those of Valladolid, who resented the transference of the Cortes to Compostella, rose in open mutiny, and would have prevented Charles continuing his journey to the latter town, had he not succeeded in making his escape in the midst of a violent tempest. A majority of the Cortes, however, sided with the King, and granted the money for which he had applied; and Charles, now indifferent and defiant, left Spain without paying any attention to the complaints that had been laid before him, or making any provision to meet the threatening insurrection.

Then began the war known in history as the War of the Comuneros, so fatal in its termination and so remarkable in its lasting results.

Disturbances broke out at Segovia; and Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, the future Adrian VI., whom Charles had made Regent of Spain, sending Ronquillo, one of the King's judges, attended by a large body of troops, to proceed against the delinquents with all the terrors of the law, the inhabitants shut their gates against him; and, having been reinforced from Toledo, compelled him to retire with the loss of his baggage and military chest. The leader of the insurgents, who had driven Ronquillo to make this ignominious retreat, was Juan de Padilla, son of the Comendador, or Grand Seneschal, of Castile—a young nobleman of great popular talents and chivalrous courage—the only person, besides Pedro de Giron, belonging to the high nobility that had taken part with the towns. To

repair this disaster, the Cardinal ordered Antonio Fonseca, commander-in-chief of the forces in Castile, to assemble an army and proceed to Segovia with all the appliances for a regular siege. But the cannon he needed were at Medina del Campo, the inhabitants of which refused to deliver them up to be used against their compatriots. Fonseca, foiled in an attempt to seize them by force, set fire to some houses, in the hope of compelling the citizens to abandon the defences; but he was again repulsed with great loss, while the flames, spreading rapidly, reduced almost the whole town to ashes. Exasperated by an act so wanton and cruel, all the other chief towns of Castile, including Valladolid itself, which Adrian had made the seat of his government, formed themselves into a confederation, and held a general convention at Avila, at which deputies presented themselves from nearly all the places entitled to send representatives to the Cortes. Binding themselves by solemn oath to live and die in the service of the King—the usual phraseology on such occasions—and in the defence of the privileges of their order, they assumed the name of the Santa Junta, and proceeded to deliberate on the measures to be taken for the redress of their common grievances. Their first act was to decree the deposition of the Cardinal Adrian, as a foreigner. Their next was to remove their sittings to Tordesillas, where Padilla had seized the person of the crazy Queen, and to carry on their deliberations and issue orders in her name. Charles, now sensible of his imprudence in disregarding the clamours of his subjects, issued circular letters to all the cities of Castile, offering pardon to the rebels on condition of their laying down their arms, promising not to exact the subsidy voted by the late Cortes, and engaging that no office for the future should be conferred on any but natives of the country. At the same time, he summoned the nobles, who had hitherto remained inactive, to the defence of the throne, and gave as coadjutors to Cardinal Adrian, two Spaniards—Don Fadrique Henriquez, the High Admiral, and Don Iñigo de Velasco, Constable of Castile.

But these concessions to the Commons came too late. The Junta answered by a fresh remonstrance, setting forth their numerous grievances, some of which doubtless were well founded, and concluding with a long list of demands dictated in great part by a selfish regard to the interests of their class, and by the revolutionary spirit then rife. The nobles, with the instinct of their order, now actively embraced the cause of the King, whom hitherto, from dislike of the Flemings, they had neglected to support. Adrian and his Spanish coadjutors assembled all their troops at Rio Seco, a considerable body of veteran infantry having

been drawn out of Navarre, and gave the command to the Conde de Haro, son of Velasco. This able officer at once marched on Tordesillas, took it by surprise, and captured the poor Queen with several of the Junta.

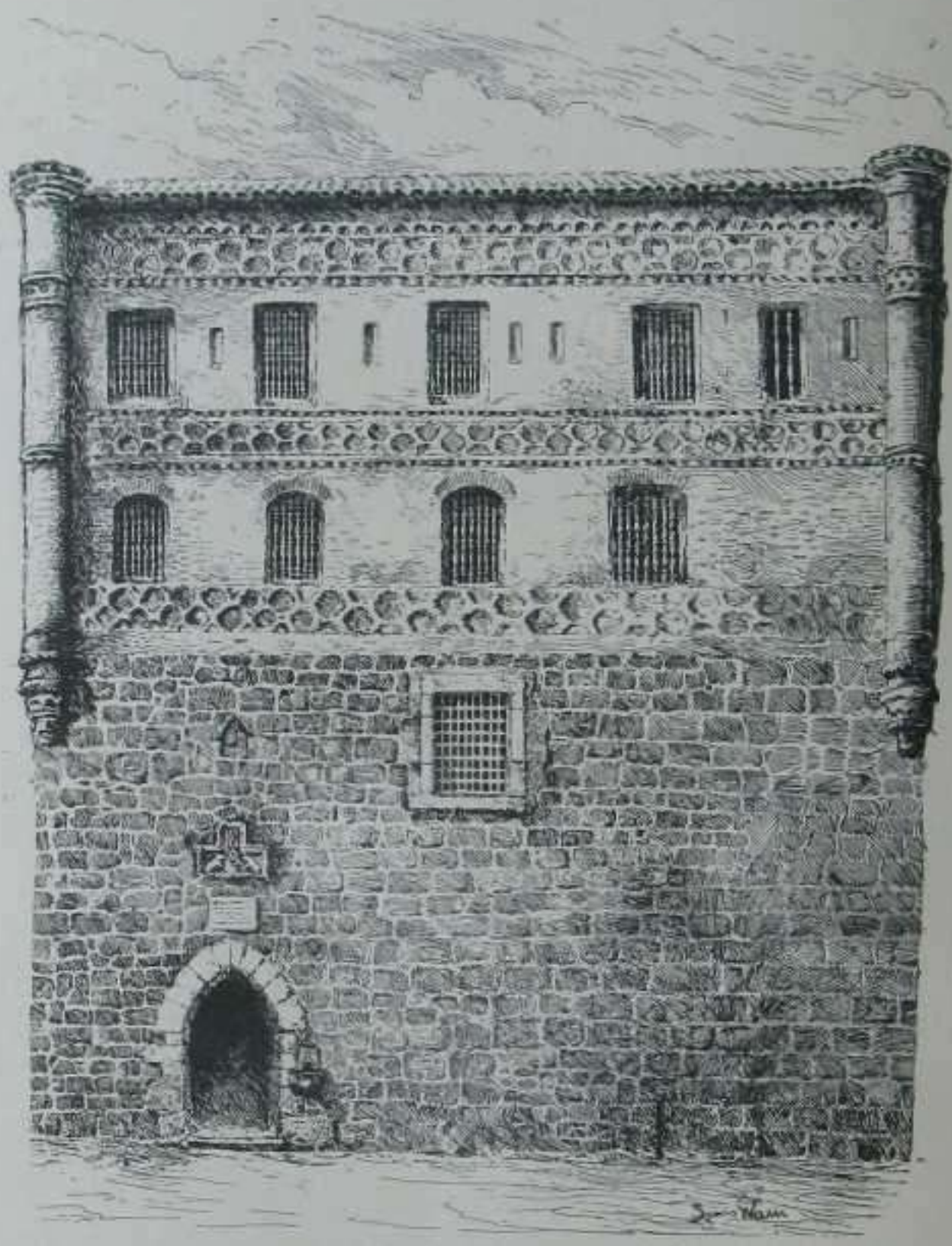
Valladolid was now the headquarters of the insurgents, and Padilla took the chief command. Their army grew stronger every day, but money was wanted to pay the troops. From this difficulty they were extricated by the audacity and address of Doña Maria Pacheco, the wife of Padilla. This extraordinary woman proposed to strip the altars in the cathedral of Toledo of their richest ornaments; but not to shock the piety of the people, she proceeded with her retinue to the church in penitential habits, and there, falling on their knees and beating their breasts, they implored the forgiveness of God and His saints for the sacrilege which dire necessity compelled them to commit. Meanwhile, continual overtures were made by the Regents to the Junta, but without success; and Padilla's soldiers, wearied with delays, having laden themselves with plunder, deserted from him in great numbers. He was attempting a retreat, when De Haro overtook him near Villalar, obliged him to fight, and put his forces, which consisted mostly of raw recruits, entirely to the rout. Padilla himself, after vainly seeking death amongst the ranks of the enemy, was taken prisoner, and beheaded the next day. His end was as heroic as his short career; calm and patient, he met his fate like one who was conscious that he fell without disgrace.

When one of the two companions who went to execution with him, gave vent to his indignation at hearing himself proclaimed a traitor, Padilla rebuked him with a gentle dignity: "Señor Juan Bravo," he said, "yesterday it was our part to fight like gentlemen: to-day we have to die like Christians."

Thus ended the war of the Commons, and with it the last hope of the partisans of the ancient liberties of Spain. Toledo indeed still held out, at the instigation of Padilla's widow. She levied soldiers, and paid them by an impost on the clergy of the town, while she left no means untried to stimulate the passions and sustain the energies of the people. She ordered crucifixes to be used instead of standards, and went through the streets of Toledo with her young son seated on a mule, clad like herself in deep mourning, and bearing a banner with a device representing how his father had died a martyr for the liberties of his country; and even when the French, whom she summoned from Navarre, had failed her, she maintained her attitude of defiance, and in several sallies beat off the royal troops. But at last she was driven from the city, and retired into the citadel,

which she continued to defend for four months longer; then, reduced to the last extremity, she made her escape in disguise, and fled into Portugal.

Meanwhile, tranquillity had been re-established throughout Castile, and the only result of this determined struggle for freedom was to consolidate the power of the crown and aristocracy, which it had been the object of the Commons to diminish and restrain.



LA SANTA CASA, LOYOLA, BIRTHPLACE OF ST. IGNATIUS, IN ITS ACTUAL CONDITION.

PAMPLONA.

# CHAPTER II.

FALL OF PAMPLONA—ST. IGNATIUS IS WOUNDED—HIS CONVERSION—1521–2.

IN Navarre, events had meanwhile been passing which were to reverse the interests and future career of Ignatius. By the treaty of Noyon (August 13, 1516), Charles V. had engaged to examine into the claims of Jean d'Albret and his heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; and, on his failing to do them justice, the King of France was to be at liberty to assist them with all his forces. Of this engagement, Charles had eluded the performance on frivolous pretexts; and Francis seized the opportunity offered by the Spanish troubles to assist Henri d'Albret to recover his dominions. However, to avoid being brought into direct collision with the Emperor, he had ordered the troops to be levied, not in his own name, but in that of the dispossessed family. Their leader, André de Foix de l'Esparre, who had been entrusted with the command by Francis, in order to gratify the young man's sister, the beautiful Countess de Châteaubriand, proved unequal to the position; and, having imprudently crossed the frontiers of Castile, in compliance with an invitation from the Comuneros, then in insurrection at Toledo, was defeated and taken prisoner with the principal officers of his army. For a time, however, as there were no forces in the field to oppose him, he was successful. Aided by the French party in Navarre, and favoured by the bulk of the population, his troops speedily overran the country, and advanced without hindrance up to the very walls of Pamplona. Here it was that Ignatius was stationed; not that he was actually in command, but it would seem that he had received

a special charge from the Duke of Najera to see to the defence of the place, while he himself went to obtain reinforcements. The fortifications begun by Ximenes were still uncompleted; the garrison was weak, artillery and ammunition insufficient; the townspeople regarded the French as their friends, and were urgent for granting them immediate entrance. The magistrates, desirous of obtaining favourable terms, were willing to yield to their demands; and the more so because they believed that the Spaniards would never be able to retrieve their losses and retain possession of the country. Ignatius was of another opinion; he urged resistance, and said, "I do not think even Æneas worthy of admiration, when I see him escaping from the flames that consumed his city; for to shun the common peril is the nature of cowards; to perish in the universal ruin is the mischance of brave men. I should deem him worthy of immortal glory if he had died a holocaust of his fidelity."

Knowing how important it was that the capital should hold out until the Viceroy had time to return to its succour, he would have defended the place at all hazards. But in this resolution he was seconded by none; not even by his brother officers, who, seeing the disposition of the inhabitants and the superior numbers of the enemy, considered the case to be desperate. They accordingly proceeded to evacuate the town; but Ignatius, denouncing their cowardice, turned from them with disdain, and retired alone into the citadel, where he prevailed on its commandant to prolong his resistance.

On the retreat of the Spaniards, the French marched into Pamplona, and instantly summoned the garrison of the citadel to surrender; at the same time they prepared for a vigorous assault. The commandant now decided on negotiating; and for this purpose repaired to the headquarters of the French, accompanied by three others, of whom Ignatius was one. The French, aware that it would be impossible for the besieged to hold out long, proposed hard and humiliating conditions, which the Spaniards, in their state of hopelessness, might have accepted, had not Ignatius made such energetic remonstrances that the interview was abruptly terminated, and the commandant and his companions retired. The assault commenced at once.

Ignatius, seeing himself and those around him in immediate danger of death, prepared to meet it as devout Catholics have often done when no priest was near, by making his confession to a comrade in arms, a gentleman, with whom, he said, he had often fought. Then he addressed the officers and men; he represented to them how much better was an honourable death than a cowardly capitulation; he reminded them of the duties of a loyal soldier, and the glory that crowns an heroic sacrifice. The attack on the fortress and its defence were equally obstinate. The French, endeavouring to effect

a breach in the walls, directed the fire of their batteries against a quarter where Ignatius was combating with desperate valour, when a stone, detached from the wall by a cannon-shot, struck him on his left leg, and the ball itself, by a fatal rebound, shivered the right.[1] Under these two blows he fell, and with him sank the courage of the garrison. On the same day, Whit-Monday, May 20, 1521, the French made their entrance into the citadel.

From the victors, who honoured him for his determined resistance, Ignatius received the utmost consideration. Instead of treating him as a prisoner, they conveyed him to his own lodging in the town, where he re-

PAMPLONA.

mained for twelve or fifteen days, attended by the most skilful surgeons in the camp. Here he was frequently visited by the officers of the French army, to whose courteous attentions he responded with that winning grace and cordiality which was natural to him; and, when he quitted Pamplona, he presented them with almost all he had left to give—his sword, his helmet, and his shield. It was soon apparent that his wounds were of so dangerous a nature as to need longer and more assiduous treatment than in his present

[1] This is Ribadeneira's account. Gonçalez, who gives St. Ignatius' own words, says, "the ball passed between his legs, wounding both of them."

position it was possible for him to receive; and Robert de Gourgues, a French officer, caused him to be carefully transported in a litter to the Castle of Loyola.[1]

Ignatius' father was dead; and his brother, Don Martin Garcia, now become the head of the house, inhabited Loyola with his family. He had married Doña Magdalena de Araoz, of a family whose property extended to the south of the Loyola territory, already connected with the house of Oñaz; a member of it became one of the most active and attached of Ignatius' adherents.

The distance from Pamplona was considerable to one in his condition; and, whether it was that the journey had disturbed the fractured limb,[2] or that the surgeons had done their work imperfectly, on Iñigo reaching home, it was announced to him that it would be necessary to break the bones again, and reset them, if he wished to prevent a permanent deformity. Iñigo at once consented to undergo the painful operation, and bore it with no other signs of suffering than the rigid clenching of his hands. But fever supervened, and his weakness became so great that he was reduced to the last extremity. Apprised of his danger, he desired to receive the Last Sacraments.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1521, and the physicians declared that he must inevitably sink if a salutary crisis did not occur before morning. That night he was favoured with a vision of the Apostle St. Peter, to whom he had always had a particular devotion, and who promised him that he should recover. From that moment a sensible improvement began; his strength returned, and the wounds healed. But upon examination it was found that, whether from the unskilfulness of the operators, or from the nature of the fracture, a portion of the bone of the right leg protruded below the knee, and that not only would the limb be shorter than the other—so that he would not be able to walk without limping—but the protrusion would be a lifelong deformity, which, mortifying enough to any man desirous of making a figure in the world, was intolerable to a proud and energetic spirit like that of Iñigo. Agility and dexterity were in those days indispensable qualifications of the true knight and gentleman in the court no less than in the camp; besides, Iñigo de Loyola was a cavalier of nice and elegant tastes, and one who took no little pleasure in the adornment of a person remarkable for its graces. He anxiously inquired if there were no remedy. The surgeons replied that all they

[1] The fortress of Pamplona, which existed at the time of St. Ignatius, was afterwards demolished, but on its site now stands a chapel, dedicated to the Saint, replacing another monument which had marked the spot where he fell. See Vignette, p. 30.

[2] It was the right leg which was most shattered; twenty pieces of bone were taken out of it.

could do was to reopen the wound and saw off the bone where it protruded; but they warned him that the operation would cause him far greater suffering than anything he had yet gone through. He bade them commence at once.

Ignatius owned himself that he was chiefly induced to bear the operation by his wish to be able to wear the trunk hose then in fashion. Such, too, was his resolution, that he would not allow himself to be bound, as usual in such cases, where a slight movement is attended with the utmost risk. Don Martin, as he watched his brother all through the terrible process, was struck with astonishment, and declared that he himself should never have had the courage to encounter such pain. But Ignatius endured all with an unflinching fortitude. Nor was this all: as the right leg was still shorter than the other, an attempt was made to lengthen it by means of an iron machine; and to this treatment he submitted for several weeks together, though, as the event proved, with only partial success, for he was sensibly lame for the remainder of his life. In after days the Saint used to speak of this martyrdom of vanity, as he called it, with a feeling of deep compunction, and as a motive for suffering great things for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

For weeks and months Ignatius lay as if stretched upon a rack; but it was his own resolve that had doomed him to it, and in this his proud heart found its satisfaction. Nevertheless, the time passed heavily, and he sought to relieve the weary hours by some diversion for his thoughts. He did not as yet look for it in heavenly things; he considered the apparition of St. Peter, and the recovery that followed, as a favour from heaven, granted to enable him to continue his former life—not as a summons to leave it. He was full of new hopes, and suspected nothing of the designs of Providence regarding him. The better to indulge those dreams of daring exploits and romantic adventures in which his imagination loved to revel, he asked for one of those books of chivalry in which he had been wont to take so much delight. But none being found in all the Castle of Loyola, there were brought to him instead, a life of Our Saviour, by Ludolph of Saxony, a Carthusian monk, and a treatise on the Lives of the Saints; both in the Castilian tongue.

As may be imagined, such reading was very little to his taste, but gradually it began to produce a sensible effect upon his mind. Speaking afterwards of this time, he said that his first feeling was one of extreme astonishment at the rigorous austerities practised by the Saints, and the contrast which the motives and objects of their lives presented to his own: how they kept God always before their eyes, and acted and suffered simply for the love of Him, and for the accomplishment of His will, while he sought only to please himself, and laboured solely for his own glory and worldly renown.

At times the interest excited in his mind was so great that he even felt drawn to imitate them. He would pause and reason thus with himself: "What if I were to do that which St. Francis used to do? What if I were to do that which St. Dominic did?" And so, the old instinct of ambition rising in him, but now with a new and higher object, he would propose to himself grave and arduous undertakings in the cause of God; and the more he did this, and the longer he dwelt upon such thoughts, the more courage and capacity he seemed to feel within himself for achieving what he meditated. But then, again, a crowd of worldly, flattering images would present themselves before him, and his imagination would feast itself with the remembrance of the pleasures and enjoyments of his former life and the hope of the military glory he was yet to win.

He has himself related how for three or four hours together his mind would be wholly engrossed with the thought of the noble lady whom he served, as he pictured to himself in what way he could best display his devotion to her, in what guise he would approach her, in what terms he would salute her, what gallantries he would address to her, what *motes* they would have together,—*motes* are a sort of language known only to the two persons concerned; what feats of martial prowess he would perform to win her favour. Yet there was always this difference—to which at first he did not advert, but which at length he deeply realised—that while thoughts of worldly vanity and ambition were gratifying at the time, they left him dissatisfied and sad; whereas when he considered heavenly things, and how he might imitate the Saints and their dear Lord, his meditations produced in him a state of entire contentment and ineffable repose. And this was the first lesson that Ignatius received from God relating to the interior movements of the soul. He was led by his reflections to perceive that a sure rule for discovering the source from which interior movements come, is to consider the impression left upon the mind when its agitations have subsided; seeing that from the Prince of Peace proceed joy, calmness, and repose, while from the powers of darkness come depression, confusion, and unrest. Roused to self-watchfulness, he observed the changes and the issues of his thoughts and inmost feelings: he began to have a profound insight into the intricacies of his own heart; and, from this continual habit of self-inspection, conjoined with after-experience, it was that he derived those marvellous rules for the discerning and trying of spirits which are contained or indicated in the book of "Spiritual Exercises."

Iñigo woke as from a lethargy; his senses were divinely quickened, light streamed in upon his mind; and, together with this light, there was infused into his soul a high and holy fortitude, by which he was enabled to spurn

the allurements of the world, and resist the exigencies of human respect. He was no longer disturbed by the thought of the ridicule and reproaches to which he might be exposed from his former companions, when they came to learn why he had withdrawn from military service; but, day by day, as he revolved the new ideas that had been imparted to him, remorse for past actions, never perhaps blamable in his eyes till now, came to stimulate him onward in a course which was naturally congenial to a spirit so intrepid, and a will so resolute, as his. The more firmly he resolved to change his life and serve God henceforth with a perfect heart, the more he felt himself impelled to follow in the very footsteps of his Lord and of the Saints. Actuated by a deep contrition, but, in his ignorance, conceiving that the essence of repentance consisted almost exclusively in bodily mortifications, he determined on making a pilgrimage, barefoot, to Jerusalem, and by repeated macerations of the flesh wreaking that vengeance on himself which his sins deserved. On his return, he would enter secretly the Carthusian house at Seville, where he hoped to remain unknown, living on herbs alone, and engaged in the continual practice of the severest penance. But not being sure that even there he should be able to carry out his desire with sufficient liberty, he charged one of the servants of Loyola, who was going to Burgos, to obtain for him exact information at the beautiful Charterhouse of Miraflores near that city as to the nature of their rule. The report that was brought to him pleased him well. But God had other designs concerning him; and the only result of the purpose he had entertained was the close friendship which always continued to exist between Ignatius and the holy order of St. Bruno. While he was revolving these projects in his mind, a strange portent happened. Being now able to leave his bed, he had begun the practice, which he ever after continued, of rising in the night for prayer. One evening, as he was on his knees before an image of Our Lady, and, with a heart more than usually inflamed with love, was offering himself to Jesus Christ, by the hands of His Virgin Mother, to be His champion and servant for the remainder of his days, a sudden violent shock was felt throughout the Castle. In the chamber of Ignatius the windows were broken, and a rent was made in the wall, which is visible to this day. It was the effect of no ordinary earthquake, for in the Castle of Loyola alone was the concussion felt. But as to the nature of the prodigy the Saint's biographers are divided in opinion—some taking it as a sign of approbation and acceptance from heaven, such as was once given to the Apostles; others, as a last effort of despairing hell. Be this as it may, from that moment the transformation in him was complete. He had made the resolve which was to decide all his subsequent career, and gave himself finally to God.

This generous act of self-devotion was rewarded by a transporting vision. On another night, when he was again engaged in prayer, his heavenly Benefactress, his holy Mother, his true Mistress, who had led him thus far by an invisible hand, appeared to him with the infant Jesus in her arms. Standing before him at a little distance, she regarded him, without speaking, with a look of maternal tenderness, suffering him to gaze upon her and feed his soul with her celestial beauty. And so he continued for a space, contemplating that vision of the Immaculate Mother and the Divine Child; and when it disappeared, all his heart's affections had passed with it, once and for all, from earth to Heaven. That look had ravished his soul. All that the world loves and prizes, all that had hitherto enchanted and enthralled him, now became wearisome or hateful to him.

Henceforth his time was spent in prayer and devout reading; and the better to impress upon his mind the lessons which he had learnt, he employed himself in writing out the principal events in the lives of Christ and of the Saints, with much care and skill, for he was an adept in the art. The words and acts of Jesus he inscribed in vermilion or in gold; those of His Blessed Mother in blue; and those of the Saints in various other colours. He thus compiled a quarto volume of three hundred pages; and this was the only thing he carried away with him when he quitted Loyola.

Ignatius confided to none of those about him, not even to Don Martin, the secrets of God's dealing with his soul; but his brother and the servants of the house were well aware of the change that had taken place in him; noting, as they did, his love of retirement and prayer, his reserve in conversation, his indifference to all that had before engrossed his thoughts. Those, also, who came to visit him were amazed at the luminous manner in which one whom they had known only as a courtier and a soldier reasoned on divine things. It was observed, too, that he would remain for hours gazing up into the starry firmament—a habit which he seems ever after to have retained; because, as he said, the contemplation of the glorious vault of heaven inspired him with contempt for the false grandeurs of earth, and with courage to dare great things in the service of Almighty God; and he thirsted now for the new life he had marked out.

The year which had been so important to Ignatius was one eventful in history. War raged over half the continent of Europe; and it was but a small compensation for the miseries it caused, that brilliant deeds were done and admirable characters displayed. Lautrec fought at Milan; Guicciardini defended Reggio and Parma; Bayard, the blameless and fearless, in whose history we may fancy that we see something of what Iñigo would have been,

had he escaped the cannon-ball at Pamplona, defied all the strength of the Imperialists at Mézières, and drove them off. Luther, now hidden in the Wartburg, had become an European power. Henry VIII., replying to his attack on the Seven Sacraments, had received the title, so soon forfeited, of Defender of the Faith, which he carried that same summer to the field of Ardres, with protestations of a friendship no less fickle than his religious professions.

But in the winter a greater event happened. Leo X., not yet an old man, died after a very short illness; and to the surprise of all parties, and chiefly of the successful candidate himself, the Conclave chose for his successor the Cardinal Adrian, who had been Viceroy in Spain for Charles V. during the war of the Comuneros. Like so many other great men in the Catholic Church, he had risen from small beginnings. Margaret, widow of the Duke of Savoy, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, who governed the Netherlands during the minority of her nephew, Charles V., was passing late one winter's night by the Collège du Porc at Louvain, as she returned from an entertainment. She saw a light in an upper window, and asked who was burning a lamp at that unusual hour. It was Florent, they said, a young boy from Utrecht, whose passion for study kept him up through the cold midnight, though he was so poor that he could not afford himself a fire. Next day she sent him, anonymously, money to purchase fuel and books; but he soon learned who was his benefactress, and she never afterwards lost sight of him. He was pious and gentle; the Regent procured that he should be made tutor to the young Prince. He was named by Charles V. Governor of Spain, and then chosen Pope, with no consent of his own. He kept on the throne his Christian name, Adrian; and when he was dying, he desired that this epitaph should be placed on his tombstone:—

HERE LIES ADRIAN VI.
Who accounted it the greatest misfortune of his life
that he was forced to govern.

In the royal court, as afterwards in his own, Adrian lived with the simplicity and piety of a recluse. He was respected no less for his learning and good sense than for his many and admirable virtues. He was profoundly impressed with the necessity for a wide and thorough reform in the Church, and asked advice from all his clergy whose judgment and character he could trust; and if he had not fallen on evil men and evil times, his short pontificate might have been as useful as it was blameless. But it pleased God to suffer the holy barque of Peter to float long in seeming helplessness on the stormy waters—perhaps to show that He Himself, and not the wisdom of man, was its protector and guide.

In the spring of 1522 Ignatius felt sufficiently recovered to be able to carry out his resolution of going to the Holy Land. He was still very weak, but the ardour of his soul gave him a strength which his body did not possess. He told his eldest brother that as the Duke de Najera knew that he was better, it would be well for him to pay a visit at Navarrette to his illustrious relative, who had been so kind to him during his illness. But Don Martin, and many of his household besides, had good reason to think that the visit to the Duke was only a cloak to hide further designs. Possibly the servant on his return from Burgos had reported to others his master's inquiries. The life of prayer and penance which Ignatius was leading gave quite grounds enough for Martin's suspicions. He was very agitated at the announced departure. He took his brother first to one room and then to another; and, enjoining him to consider well what he was doing, said—"I know, my brother, that you meditate some great change; I cannot believe it is because Fortune has for once betrayed you; she is fickle; it is only after disasters that you may look specially for a speedy success. And why do you refuse to our house the future honours we had expected from you, when you had already given us so much? It is worse to lose what we have hoped for, than never to have hoped at all. Do not disappoint the liberal gifts of Heaven, your good abilities and judgment, your valour, the favour of princes, the applause of the people, and that which seems like magic in you—the influence you exercise over all minds. I myself have no advantage over you, except in having been born before you; in all other points I admit your superiority; you may found, if you will, your fortunes on your own merit alone. If you tell me you desire to become a saint, I tell you there are many holy men in the army. You need not leave this house for that reason; we are not such bad Christians that we should interfere with your good intentions; but if we were, you ought to convert us by your example. I oppose no obstacle to your designs; only, as an elder brother, I exhort you never to forget that you are a Loyola."

From such affectionate and honest words, it might seem hard that no sympathetic response was elicited. But Ignatius had already begun to practise that entire self-repression which regards with jealousy any object of earthly love or duty, and seeks to please God by renouncing the ties that He has formed.

Ignatius briefly assured Don Martin that he might trust him not to do anything unworthy of his ancestors, or that would bring discredit on his family. He thought himself obliged, he said, on the ground both of duty and courtesy, to present himself before his late commander, who must be aware that he had now recovered from the effects of his wounds; but as to

his subsequent movements, he was as yet undecided. In all which he was careful (says Gonçalez), while disclosing to his brother nothing of his future plans, to adhere strictly to the truth; "to which even then he paid a scrupulous regard."[1] His brother, seeing he could neither gain his confidence nor move him from his purpose, whatever it might be, accorded the permission he sought; and Ignatius hastened to make preparations for his departure.

The hour, so long desired, had come at last. Ignatius bade farewell to home and kindred, in obedience to what he knew to be the voice of God, though as yet ignorant whither that voice was calling him. But in going he bequeathed unconsciously an odour of sanctity to the old House of Loyola; for tradition says, that the room which he had occupied, the scene of so much suffering, where so great a change had passed upon him, and where the vision of the Holy Mother and her Divine Child had been vouchsafed to him, became possessed of a wonderful virtue. They who retired to rest in it with good and pious thoughts, would find themselves sweetly awakened in the night, their minds filled with heavenly consolations and with a devout horror of their past sins; while ungodly men felt the house tremble to its foundations, and beheld sights which struck terror into their souls; as happened once to a foreign soldier, and on another occasion to a knight, when occupying the chamber of the Saint.

During the lifetime of Ignatius, and while his niece, the daughter of Don Martin, was possessor of the domain, the room continued to be inhabited by the family; but not long afterwards it was converted to the purpose for which it seemed designed by Heaven, and it continues to this day to be a chapel consecrated to God and His servant Ignatius.

The whole of the house has been reverentially preserved, though the buildings of the Jesuit College, which surround it on all sides, conceal it from the outer view. This immense edifice, with the great Church in the centre, forms a noble structure. The dome surmounting the Church is enriched within by jaspers and marbles from the mountain of Itzarrais, which towers high about it, and from whose sides all the stone for the construction was quarried. The work was only completed in 1888, and there used to be a proverb in the country, when an undertaking proceeded slowly, "It will take as long as the building of Loyola."

The House of Loyola became one of the places most venerated in Spain,

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[1] "For on this matter he was scrupulously exact"; and Padre Garcia says he answered, "Without keeping back any of the real truth, since on this point I was so particular that nothing in the whole world would have induced me to say what was false."

the resort of countless pilgrims from all parts of Christendom. So great were the multitudes which year after year thronged together to keep the feast of the Saint, that in Bartoli's days, before the Church was built, mass was celebrated at the entrance to the Castle, the open country and the blue vaults above serving for a temple; and he records that the Communions used to amount every year to 15,000. The *fiestas* took the form, as they do to this day, of a national holiday. Thus Ignatius, by his contempt of all earthly honour, in a sense other and higher than Martin de Loyola dreamed of at the time, not only did not tarnish the glory of his ancestors, but conferred immortal glory on his house.[1]

[1] In 1683, Marianne of Austria, wife of Philip IV.. purchased the Tower of Loyola from Luis Enriquez de Cabrera, Marquis of Alcañizas, and his lady, Teresa Enriquez de Velasco y Loyola, whose property it had become, and gave it, together with the land immediately around it, to the Society of Jesus for the foundation of a college, of which the King was to be perpetual patron. Her son, Charles II., confirmed the donation, and to satisfy his mother's devotion to the birthplace of the Saint, ordered that every portion of the ancient house should be preserved.

THE BASILICA, PAMPLONA, BUILT ON THE SPOT WHERE ST. IGNATIUS WAS WOUNDED.—*See p. 22, n. 1.*

# CHAPTER III.

## MONTSERRAT—THE VIGIL AT THE SHRINE—1522.

IGNATIUS left home mounted on a mule, accompanied by one of his brothers and two servants on horseback. His first destination was Oñate, where his married sister lived, some twelve miles from Loyola. He persuaded his brother, however, to turn aside and spend a night with him in prayer in the famous Basque Sanctuary of Our Lady of Aranzazu,[1] thus (as Mariani expresses it) "returning the visit which his heavenly mistress had paid him."

The chapel was attached to a Franciscan convent; and Ignatius looked on it, says Padre Garcia, as the first harbour opened to him after the tempests through which he had passed.

He parted with his brother at his sister's house, and rode on to Navarrette, attended by the two servants. He spent some days with the Viceroy; and, remembering that a sum of money, which he had formerly lent to one of the Duke's household, was still owing to him, he gave written directions to the steward for part of the money to be distributed among some persons to whom he was in debt, and the rest to be spent in richly adorning an image of the Blessed Virgin. He then took leave of his kinsman, sent back the two servants to Loyola,[2] and being as yet too weak to walk, again mounted his mule and rode on in the direction of Catalonia. He had resolved to pay his devotions at the famous shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat, and thence to set out on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Ignatius was now alone—alone with God. His heart burned with the desire to achieve great things for Jesus. He would do and suffer all and more

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[1] Literally *Our Lady of the Thistles*. The image was discovered by a shepherd in 1469 lying among a bed of thistles on a hill near Oñate, whereon the Sanctuary was built. The adjoining convent was burnt down in 1552, and Ignatius interested himself greatly about its rebuilding.

[2] An aged priest, Gabriel Perpinis, deposed at the Process of Canonisation, that when he was about twelve, he spent seven or eight months at the monastery, and that Ignatius *came with two servants*. He saw him after he had changed his fine clothes for sackcloth.

than all that any of the saints had done and suffered to prove his loyalty and his love; and in all this (as he himself said afterwards), he thought, not so much of expiating his sins—although they were grievous in his eyes—as of doing what would be most pleasing to God, and would most conduce to His glory. The glory of God—the greatest glory of God—this was now his chief thought and aim. But as for interior acts of virtue—humility, charity, patience, self-abjection, and that discretion which prescribes the rules and

HERMITAGE OF SAN DISMAS, MONTSERRAT, AFTER LABORDE.—*See p.* 39.

measures to be observed in the interior practice of them—he as yet, according to his own account, knew nothing. The chivalric element was still predominant, affecting all the ideas he had of piety; and it was only by degrees that it was extinguished, or rather, that it became even sublimated and absorbed in a higher sentiment. Of this he was now to give a signal proof—unless it were more true to say, receive a signal lesson.

He had passed through the town of Cervera, and was proceeding slowly

MONASTERY AND CHURCH OF MONTSERRAT, FROM THE EAST.

along the high road to Barcelona, when he was overtaken by a man, mounted, like himself, upon a mule, whom he perceived to be of the unhappy race of the Moriscoes (as the Moors, or Spanish Arabs, had now begun to be called), at that time numerous in the south-east of Spain, and especially in Aragon and Valencia. Many hundreds of them had left the country rather than comply with the conditions imposed by Ferdinand; but the vast majority, being loth to abandon their native land, had made profession of Christianity; and of these, as was inevitable, a large proportion remained Mahometans at heart. The man who now joined Ignatius seems to have made no attempt to disguise his misbelief; for, on learning that his fellow-traveller was on his way to Our Lady of Montserrat, he began disputing with him about the Blessed Virgin; admitting that she was a virgin when she conceived and gave birth to the Redeemer, but denying that she had retained her right to the title afterwards. In this opinion he persisted, in spite of all the arguments which Ignatius, in his faith and zeal, could urge against him. The dispute soon waxed hot and vehement on both sides; till the Moor, whether incensed at his opponent's retorts, or alarmed at the warmth of feeling he displayed, suddenly put spurs to his mule, and, without any word of leave-taking, galloped off at full speed. He was scarcely out of sight before Ignatius began to take blame to himself, as well for having failed to convince him of his errors, as for having allowed the follower of the false prophet to depart unscathed. The fierce spirit of the zealot was roused within his breast, and so bore down and stifled, for the time, every sentiment of Christian charity and pity, that he seriously debated with himself whether he ought not, as a knight and gentleman,[1] to follow the blasphemer and wash out the stain cast on Our Lady's honour in the offender's blood. But then, the fear arose lest, by so ruthless a proceeding, he should be angering both her and her Divine Son; and, unable in the heat of his excited feelings to decide between right and wrong, he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of God. Coming, therefore, to a point where the road divided, leading on the one hand to the place, about fifty paces further on, to which the man had told him he was going, and on the other to a steep and stony mountain pass, he threw the bridle on his mule's neck, and left it to take which way it pleased. "If," thought he, "it follows in the direction in which the infidel has gone, it is a sign that I am to pursue and dispatch him with my poniard; but if it takes the other road, Heaven does not intend that he should perish by my hand." In His mercy, God had regard rather to the

1 "A Churchman should refute heresy with argument; a Knight with his dagger."—Quoted by Sir Walter Scott.

untutored zeal than to the rash resolution of His champion; for, strange to say, although the road along which the Morisco had gone was broad and smooth, the mule turned up the rough ascent, and Ignatius was saved from the commission of a great crime.

On reaching the little town of Iguelada, which lay at the foot of Montserrat, Ignatius purchased for himself a long coarse sackcloth gown reaching to the ankles, and a rope to fasten it round the waist; a sandal for his wounded foot, made of *esparto*, or *atocha*—a fibrous grass indigenous in Spain—such as is still worn by the country people; and a pilgrim's staff and gourd. These he placed before him on his mule, and so rode onward—regardless of all external things, and meditating, as was his wont, high deeds for God—up the winding bridle road that led by a very steep ascent to the church and monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat.[1]

At the distance of a day's journey from Barcelona stands a lofty mountain, remarkable for the series of singularly shaped cones or pinnacles of which its summit is composed, resembling, from a distance, the jagged teeth of a saw (*serra*), whence its name. Standing apart, detached from the great Pyrenees chain, to which it might have been thought of right to belong, its elevation and isolated position would seem to have marked it out as one of the chartered places of the earth, about which sacred associations and venerable traditions would be sure to gather. Such, in fact, has been its destiny; for here is the far-famed sanctuary of the Madonna, second in rank and sanctity, among all her numerous shrines throughout the world, only to the Santa Casa of Loreto.

More than half way up the acclivity, where there was just enough space to build between the sheer precipice in front and the mountain wall behind, stands the celebrated shrine of Our Lady, an ancient place of pilgrimage, and close by its side the great Benedictine abbey nestling under the mighty rock pinnacles. Upon the heights above, accessible only by steep staircases cut in the rock, were thirteen detached chapels and cells, each dedicated to its particular saint, and occupied by monks who lived as hermits, by the permission of the abbot of the monastery; one of their number (the inhabitant of the cell called by the name of St. Benedict) having the immediate direction of the rest. The life of these recluses was one of great austerity; their only diet being bread, herbs, and fish, "seasoned with frequent fastings." Once only in the year, on the festival of their great

[1] A magnificently engineered road now leads up from the railway station of Monistrol by gentle gradients to the abbey.

ABBEY AND CHURCH OF MONTSERRAT, FROM THE SOUTH.

patriarch, the thirteen brethren took their midday repast together in the cell of the Superior, after receiving Communion from his hands; and on the feast days of the saints to whom the respective hermitages were dedicated, they met to hold spiritual converse with each other. Except on these occasions, or when serious illness obliged them to have recourse to the care of the infirmarian, they never left the cell in which they dwelt, until they were carried down to burial; but (as Laborde expresses it), "elevated above the earth, they breathed the pure atmosphere of heaven, and lived the life of angels." There were never wanting candidates from among the monks of Montserrat for these solitary abodes, and not a few of these were men of rank, who sought a more complete retreat than that of the cloister. After a year's probation they made their profession of perpetual seclusion; but for seven years more they were permitted to descend to choir both night and day, though they took no part in the chanting of the monks. The seven years ended, they entered on a life of complete solitude, not being allowed even the companionship of pet beast or bird—at least in a cage; but the feathered songsters, it is said, became so familiarised with their presence, that they would come at their call, and pick crumbs out of their hands. Each hermitage, besides its chapel, had its cistern or fountain, and its little garden-plot filled with flowers and odoriferous plants; wild pinks, roses, and violets bloom there all the year round. They employed themselves also in making wooden bowls, which were eagerly purchased by the pilgrims. The gardens of the monastery were famous for their magnificent cypresses and box-trees; and aromatic herbs still grow in great variety and abundance on the mountain sides.

At Montserrat the rule and discipline of St. Benedict were strictly followed; and there was a confessor for every language in Europe. The pilgrims averaged daily throughout the year from four to five hundred, and on festivals as many thousands; to each of whom the abbey supplied lodging for three days, together with bread, wine, oil, salt, vinegar, and fuel; and if any fell sick, they were received into the infirmary and carefully tended by the brethren.[1]

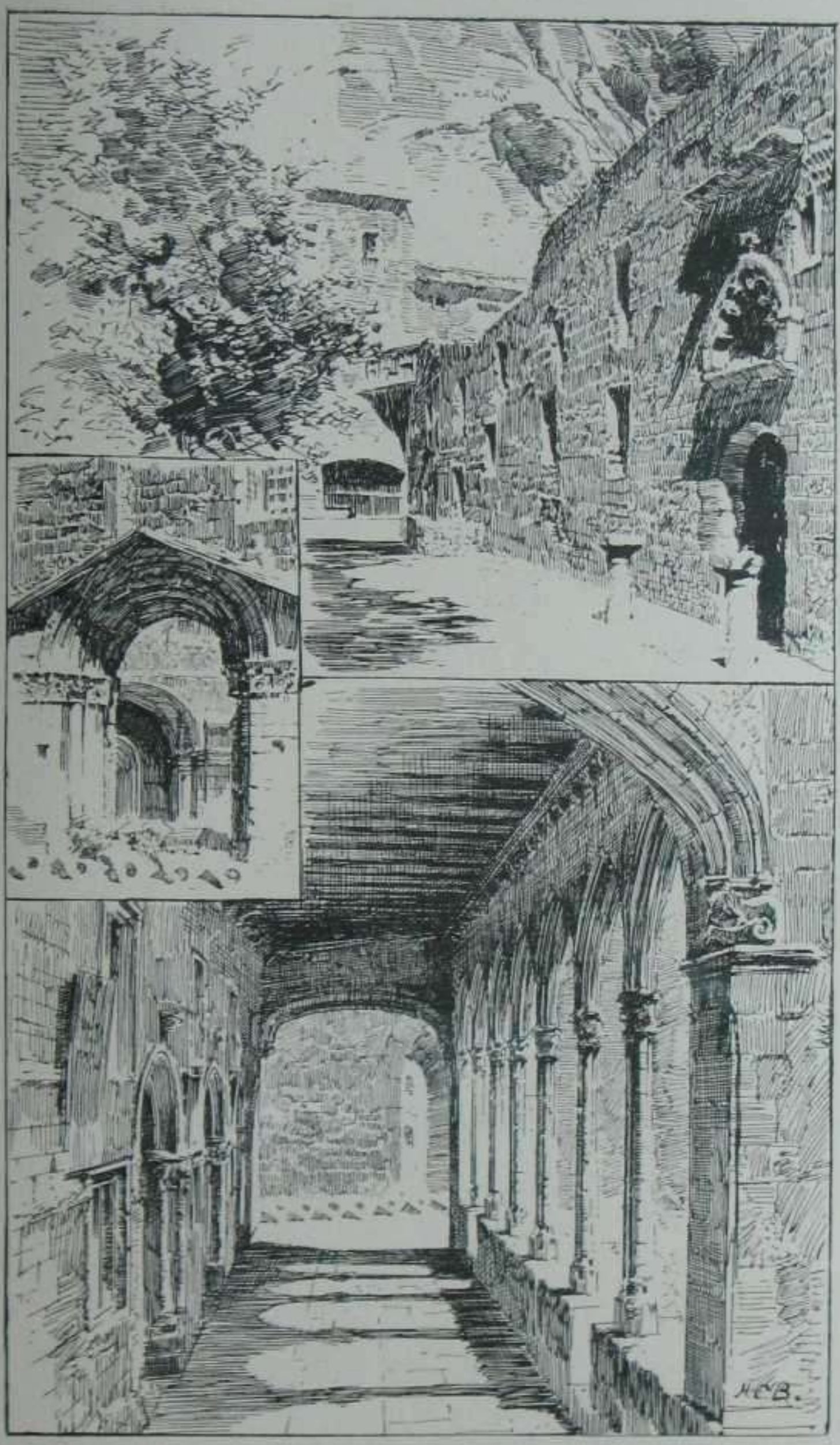
Besides the monks, who were seventy in number, there were some ninety lay brothers, religious like the rest, and bound by the three monastic vows, whose office it was to receive the guests, wait on the sick, discharge all the domestic duties of the establishment, and act as the external police of the community.

[1] His sons of the Cassinese Congregation still occupy the sanctuary; and the pilgrims are very numerous, though the monks are unable, owing to the spoliation of their lands, to give the hospitality of old.

In the monastery also there was always a band of youths, thirty in number, who went by the name of "Our Lady's pages." They were received from the age of seven to that of twelve, and remained till they had completed their fifteenth or sixteenth year. Most of them were the children of noble parents, whose piety prompted them to consecrate their sons to the service of the Blessed Virgin. They took their meals in the refectory with the lay brothers, but at a separate table; and were placed under the special care of one of the oldest and most venerable of the monks, who superintended the instruction they received from their several masters. They chanted at the solemn Mass of Our Lady, which was celebrated every morning at four o'clock; and they sang canticles to her honour every evening after compline. On Saturdays, Sundays, and at all the greater festivals, they joined instrumental music to their singing; and one might have thought (says an old writer) that he was listening to a choir of angels, descended from the sky—such entrancing melody did they make with their youthful voices and various instruments, filling the hearts of the worshippers with a most sweet and heavenly devotion.

Little probably had our pilgrim noted of the beauty or the grandeur of the scenery through which he passed; now beneath majestic oaks of ancient growth, just putting on their summer foliage; now amid scarped and lichen-covered rocks, where the stillness of the solitude was deepened rather than broken by the ceasless flowing of the torrent streams. High up amidst the loftiest rocks is the Hermitage of St. Dismas—the good thief—once a castle of Christian knights, then a shelter for brigands, and last of all a sainted cell and chapel. Perhaps, as he gained the aerial height on which this cell stood, Iñigo cast a hasty casual glance to where—far below, and far away beyond the level plain, beyond the town and port of Barcelona—the surface of the Mediterranean glittered and sparkled in the sunbeams, and where his eye might perchance have caught the faint, uncertain outline of the distant Balearic Isles. His mind, we may be sure, was intent on other thoughts and prospects, brighter and more glorious, stretching beyond the furthest horizon of a world doomed to perish on account of the sins of men.

The dweller in St. Dismas at this time was a very saintly priest, a Frenchman by birth, but whom the Spaniards called Juan Chanones. He had been Vicar-General of Mirepoix, and, in his thirty-second year, had come as a pilgrim to visit Our Lady of Montserrat; but, edified by the holy and blameless lives of the monks, he joined their community and persevered with them in a course of great sanctity until his death at eighty-eight years of age. He observed always the strictest abstinence; and every day he gave




REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND CLOISTERS, MONTSERRAT.
TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 44, *n.* 1.

away in alms a third part of his allotted portion of food. He wore a long hair-shirt, and passed the greater part of the night in prayer, either in choir with the brethren, or alone in his cell. It pleased God to visit him with great infirmities, which he bore not only with patience, but in a spirit of devout thankfulness. His life was a model of religious virtue to his order; and convents which had become relaxed, returned, under the influence of his exhortations and example, to a strict observance of their rule.

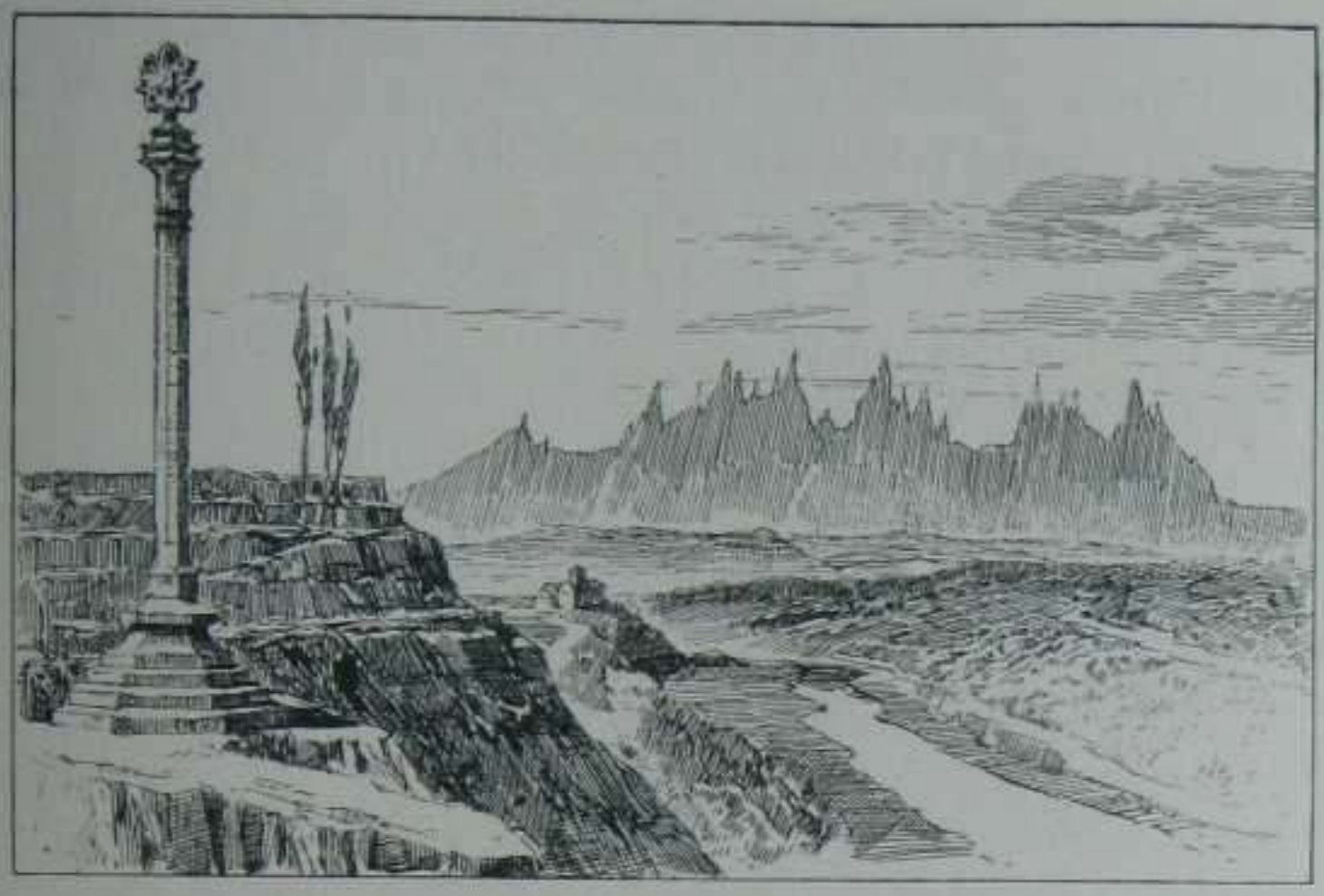
To this holy man Ignatius had been directed, as he desired to commence his new career by a general confession. For this purpose he had written down all the sins of his past life with the minutest care; and such was the completeness and exactness with which the enumeration was made, interrupted as it was with frequent sobs and tears, that three whole days were spent over it. To this priest also Ignatius disclosed what he had never made known to any one, even in confession—the manner of life to which, so far as light had been yet vouchsafed, he felt himself called—receiving in turn all that instruction and encouragement which so experienced a master of the spiritual life knew how to impart. His mule he gave for the service of the monastery; and incited, as he afterwards acknowledged, by what he had read in "Amadis de Gaul," and other books of old romance, he desired to do at the commencement of his spiritual warfare what the heroes of chivalry were wont to do before receiving their sword and spurs, the insignia of knighthood. His noble nature prompted him to inaugurate the lifelong contest he was about to wage with the powers of evil, by an act of consecration of himself to God, which should resemble that by which, at no very remote date, the candidates for knighthood had actually prepared themselves for their career in arms. As they had watched through the night before the altar, standing in their panoply of mail, and praying to God to grant them grace to fulfil the obligations to which their new condition bound them, so did he perform his "vigil of the armour" ere he went forth to do battle for his liege Lord and for the royal Lady whose true knight and servant he had vowed to be.

It was the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation, 1522, when Ignatius went out at nightfall in search of some poor object on whom he might bestow his worldly clothing. Such a one he soon found among the numerous pilgrims who filled the hospice of the monastery. Great, doubtless, was the wonder of the man when he was requested to exchange his rags and tatters for the splendid dress of the cavalier before him. But being told that it was in order to the fulfilment of a vow, his wonder would be less. To Ignatius it mattered nothing what the man imagined or suspected. Gladly, like the

great patriarch, St. Francis, when he took the peerless maiden, Poverty, for his bride, he stripped himself of his gay and soft apparel, even to his shirt, receiving instead the beggar's rags; then with great joy put on his true knightly garb as a soldier of Jesus Christ—the sackcloth gown, with its girdle of rope; his head and left foot bare; his right with its sandal of grass, because the leg, not perfectly healed, had become inflamed and swollen by the journey. Then he hung up his sword and dagger beside Our Lady's image. And thus he watched and prayed the whole night before her altar, one while kneeling, at another, from weakness, leaning on his staff; lamenting his sins, renewing his resolutions, and commending himself and his designs to the aid and protection of her who, on this same night, became the Mother of the Eternal Son Incarnate.

At early dawn, Ignatius received his Lord in the Blessed Sacrament; and then he left the monastery, in order to avoid the crowd of pilgrims that always flocked to the church on the Festival of the Annunciation, and by some of whom he feared he might be recognised. Clad in his penitential garb, he had become, in his interior life as in outward guise, another man. Iñigo de Loyola was no more; and he who now descended from the heights of Montserrat was, as he called himself, "El pobre ignoto peregrin"—the poor unknown pilgrim.[1]

[1] The sword and poniard long remained where Ignatius had suspended them. The sword was afterwards given to the Jesuits' College at Barcelona. It is still religiously preserved in the church of Belem, which formerly belonged to the college. It is a rapier of damascened steel. The church where the vigil was kept was destroyed in great part by the French in the Peninsular War. Its Romanesque doorway, and Gothic window over it, with some of the walls, still survive. The Madonna was removed in 1599 to the new church, now standing. (See p. 41.) An inscription of 1603 at the entrance to the atrium recalls the vigil of St. Ignatius, and a chapel is dedicated to him in the church.



CROSS OF TORT, MANRESA, WITH MONTSERRAT IN THE BACKGROUND.
RESTORED AS AT THE TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 50.

# CHAPTER IV.

## MANRESA—THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES—1523.

TO escape observation, Ignatius, instead of leaving the mountain by the highroad to Barcelona, took the way that led, by a steep and wooded descent, to the little town of Manresa, which, from what appeared to be the mere chance visit of an obscure stranger, was to gain a name of undying renown in the annals of the Church.

It is from a narrative left by Juan Pascual, the son of one of those who were the Saint's companions on the road, that we learn how Ignatius reached Manresa, and what was the manner of his life there.

Pascual's mother, Inés, whose usual residence was at Barcelona, being detained at Manresa by affairs of business, was in the habit of going frequently on Saturdays to visit Our Lady of Montserrat, twelve miles distant. She had not failed to be present on the Feast of the Annunciation, and was returning home about noon, in company with three other women and two young men, when they were accosted, near the Chapel of the Holy Apostles, some short way down the mountain, by a man clad in a long coarse garment. He was of middle height; his face was fresh and clear, full of gravity and sweetness; he kept his eyes almost constantly fixed upon the

ground. Moving painfully, and limping, he advanced towards them, and with humble courtesy asked if they could tell him of an hospital in the neighbourhood where he could be lodged. Inés, as she looked at him, was touched with a feeling of compassion and respect. They were going, she said, to Manresa, where was the nearest hospital,[1] and if he would accompany them, she would provide for his necessities as long as he should remain. Ignatius thankfully accepted the proffered kindness; as he was so lame they begged him to mount an ass they had with them, but he refused. The party therefore slackened their pace in order to enable him to keep up with them.

The surmises which Doña Inés had entertained as to the rank of their companion were not long in receiving a striking confirmation. For they had not proceeded more than three miles from Montserrat, when they were overtaken by an official of the monastery, who inquired of Ignatius whether he was the person who the day before, as alleged, had presented a beggar with a rich suit of clothes; adding that the story being disbelieved, the man had been put in prison until further information could be taken. Ignatius was affected to tears by this recital, and reproached himself bitterly for the distress he had occasioned an innocent person; saying within himself, "Ah, sinner that thou art; thou couldst not even do thy neighbour a service without causing him an injury." Charity obliged him to acknowledge that the beggar had spoken the simple truth, but on the officer further asking who he was, and whither he was going, Ignatius refused to give any account of himself, or of the motives which had led to this act of beneficence. When they drew near Manresa, Inés desired Ignatius to go on forward with a lady of her company, a widow like herself, named Geronima Cavera, who was superior of a hospital for the sick and infirm, called the Hospital of St. Lucy, from the chapel of that name which stood some forty paces outside the town, desiring her at the same time to furnish him with a chamber and bed, and promising to provide his meals from her own table.

But before entering the town, Iñigo found a pious pilgrimage gathered around the Chapel of *Our Lady of the Guide*, and he stayed to pray before her image. It was said that she then and there pointed out to him the cave on the opposite bank of the stream, and bade him go and accomplish his mission.

The following day he visited the *Seo*, the great church on the rock,

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[1] Manresa, she told him, was three leagues distant. Alvarez, in his MS. Hist. of the Jesuit Province of Aragon, says that this lady's reverence and love for St. Ignatius increased until her death. Lib. i. cap. 2.

which rises high above the town, and he stayed there in prayer kneeling on the steps of the high altar from ten in the morning for five long hours.[1] The room of the Saint in the hospital was adjoining the little chapel, which is still standing, as are the outer walls of the hospital. But within them a new and lofty chapel has been built.

Manresa, one of the most picturesque towns in Catalonia, is situated on the banks of the river Cardenero, which flows into the Llobregat, the ancient Rubricus. At the present day it is astir with the hum and clatter of 16,000 busy clothmakers, but at the time of the Saint's visit, thanks to wars and plagues and famine, it numbered scarcely a thousand inhabitants, although it was formerly a bishop's see.

Ignatius had intended to remain in the town only a few days, until his strength was sufficiently recruited to enable him to set out on his pilgrimage. He wished also to avail himself of an interval of repose to make some additions to the book he carried with him, and which he cherished with so much care. What it was that induced him to prolong his stay we are not expressly informed. He abode at the hospital five days, and then removed for a while to a lodging which Doña Inés procured for him, and where he hoped he might enjoy a more perfect seclusion. But, in spite of his desire to remain unknown and unnoticed, his appearance in that place caused a great sensation. It was not long before his doings at Montserrat were noised abroad, and the most extravagant reports as to his former wealth and position in the world were in circulation. But all this he turned into an occasion of greater humiliation, endeavouring by his poverty and austerities to render himself despicable, and to bring himself into perfect subjection. Every day he devoutly heard mass, during which he used to read the Story of the Passion; and he attended vespers and compline. Seven hours he gave to private prayer, and always on his knees. He slept only for a few hours in the night, with no other bed but the bare floor, and a stone or log of wood for his pillow.

The food sent him by Inés on his arrival, a pullet and a bowl of broth, which had been prepared for herself, he gave away to the sick and poor. He eat but once a day, and then only of hard black bread, which he received in alms, together with one glass of water. In fact, during the week he kept a continual and rigorous fast. But on Sundays, after solacing himself with the Bread of Angels, he added to what he called his dinner a glass of wine—

[1] This beautiful church, with its rich reredos and statue of *Our Lady of the Dawn* (see p. 65), is fully described in Street's *Architecture in Spain*.

if it were offered to him—and some herbs; yet lest even these should prove too great an indulgence to his palate, he mingled earth and ashes with them, as he himself told Lainez. He always went bareheaded and barefooted, and wore next to his skin, under his sackcloth dress, a rough hair-shirt; but not being able even thus to satisfy his thirst for suffering, he afterwards fastened round his waist a heavy iron chain; for which, when he visited the church of Our Lady at Villadordis, distant a mile and a half from Manresa, he would sometimes substitute a girdle, which he had woven for himself of the leaves of the prickly gladiole, still reverently preserved in the family of him to whom Ignatius gave it on leaving.

CHURCH OF VILLADORDIS, NEAR MANRESA.

But his interior mortifications were of a kind still more painful. He sought in all things to contradict his natural tastes, and to kill in himself that pride and ambition, and that love of admiration and of display, which had hitherto been dominant in his character. He became the associate of the lowest of the people, adopted their uncouth manners and ways of speaking, and as he had hitherto taken a pride in his delicate hands, his well-trimmed beard, and clustering locks, so now his hair was neither cut nor combed, his beard remained unshorn, and the nails of his hands and feet were allowed to grow to deformity. To such an excess did he carry his ill-usage of himself, that the very beggars looked down on him with disdain, and treated him as one who might be insulted with impunity. The children in the streets called after him, "Look there at Father Sack!" and pursued him with hootings and laughter.

The time not given to prayer was devoted by him to the sick in the hospital, especially to those whose disorders or whose tempers made them most offensive and unbearable. He waited on them, washed them, and performed for them the meanest offices.

And all this he did for the love of God. Not only did he suffer patiently the contempt and ill-usage which he courted, but such also as came to him against his will, and accompanied with just those provocations which a temper like his must have found it most difficult to brook. There was a man of the place notorious for his libertine life, who from the first had denounced Ignatius as a hypocrite. This man made it his daily practice to follow him about with mockings and grimaces, ridiculing his gait and

THE "SEO" OR PRINCIPAL CHURCH. THE CARMELITES.

GENERAL VIEW OF MANRESA.

gestures, and at last closing the pantomime with a torrent of the coarsest abuse; and he against whom all these insults were directed was the gallant gentleman, the fiery and intrepid soldier, so haughty in spirit, and so keenly sensitive, that at a word or a look that seemed to touch him on the point of honour, he would instantly lay his hand upon his sword. There was one moment, as he afterwards avowed, when the tempter had nearly gained an advantage over him. While attending on the sick, he was suddenly seized with an intense feeling of repugnance at the disgusting maladies and habits of those whom he was serving—the rudeness and squalor of all about him; but resolving, as Bartoli expresses it, to conquer at one blow both the tempter who assailed and the nature that betrayed him, he hurried amongst the poor creatures, embraced them, assisted them, and remained tending them until he had wholly vanquished his aversion.

He thus passed some four months at St. Lucy's, and then began to look about for some hidden retreat, where he might commune alone with God, and practise his austerities far removed from the eyes of men.

At the distance of about two hundred paces from Manresa, at the foot of those rocky heights which enclose the delicious valley called by the peasants the Vale of Paradise, and on the same side of the Cardoner as the Hospital of Sta. Lucia, was a cavern known but to few, and visited by none. Beyond this cave, and between it and the highroad leading to Manresa, stood a stone cross, called of Tort, one of many around the town, before which Ignatius frequently performed his pious stations. It is beyond the cave and much above it. In shape and aspect the cave is not unlike an ancient sepulchre, being about nine feet long and four wide; its elevation at the highest point six feet, but in its furthest depths much less.[1] On the side which looks towards Montserrat, a little opening in the rock admitted a distant view of the Sanctuary of Our Lady; the entrance was overgrown with briars and bushes, through which Ignatius had to make his way. Here it was, about the time when Luther, at the Diet of Worms, declared before Charles V. his persistence in his hostility to the Church, that his great antagonist—the man raised up by God to stem the tide of heresy and unbelief, took up his abode in darkness and in silence;—here he redoubled his prayers and penances, striking his breast with a flint stone,

[1] It belonged to Fernando Roviralta, a great friend of our Saint, who lived to a hundred years, and left a careful description of the spot as it was in St. Ignatius' time. It was given to the Society in 1602. In 1666 the elaborate façade, in which it is enclosed, was completed, and the following year the interior of the cave was decorated as it at present exists (see p. 53). It is connected with a Church and a House of *Third Probation* of the Society which is on the top of the bluff.

like another St. Jerome, fasting three or four days continuously, and kneeling or lying all through the night on the earth, with no other covering than his sackcloth dress. Here it was, that, guided by God, learning by hard experience, taught by Our Lady, as the Saint himself declared, he composed the "Spiritual Exercises." Not only were they to be to others, as to himself, the great instrument of sanctification; but in them was the germ of his future Society, its spirit and the very principles of its rule. The ledge is still shown on which he wrote, and the cross he traced on the rock.[1]

The "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius, though contained in a very small volume,[2] are strictly Exercises, not simply meditations or prayers. They require an effort of application and will on the part of him who makes them; and a great measure of discernment and prudence, with a high degree of what the world calls talent, as well as pious fervour, in him who conducts them.

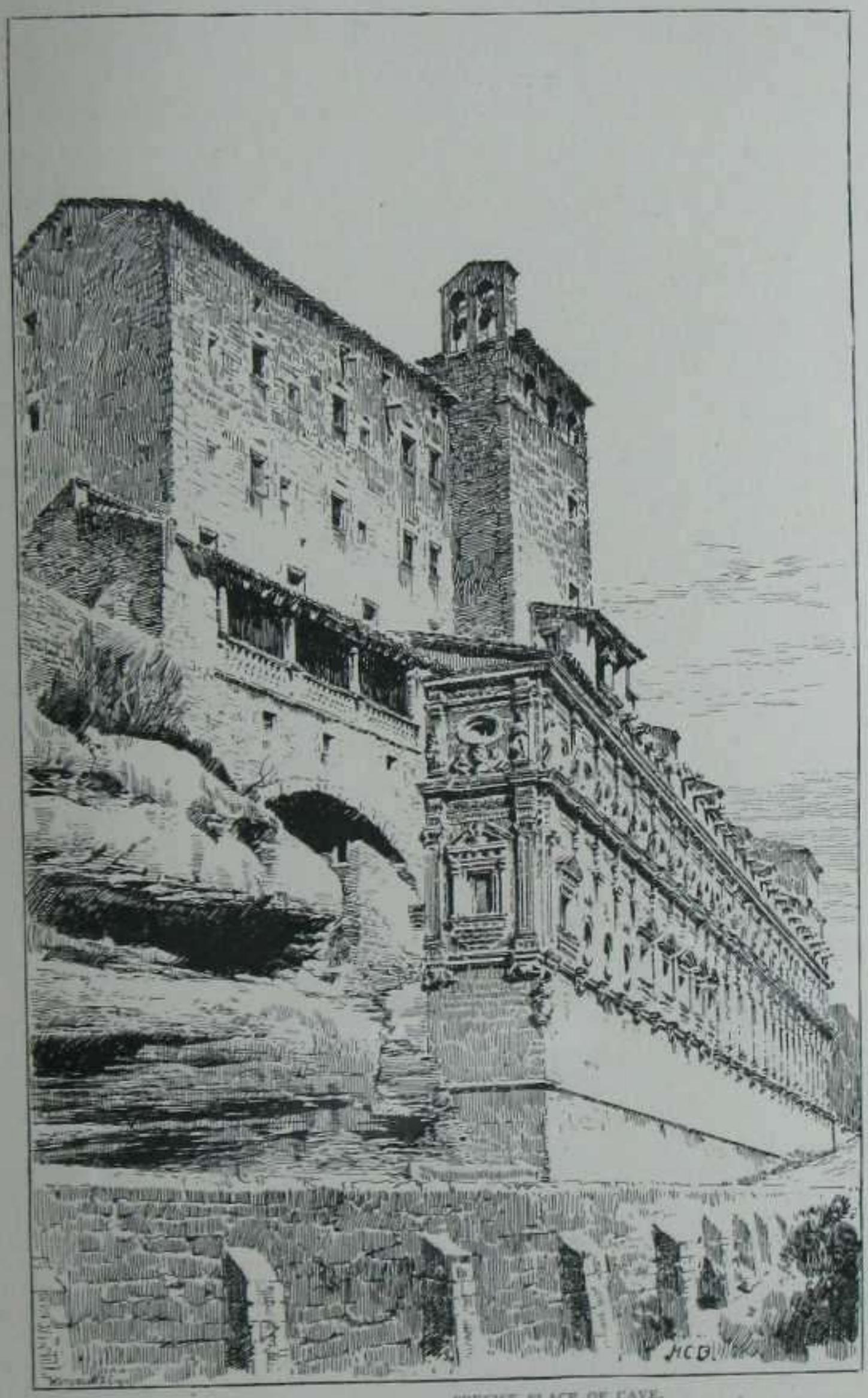
They were not completed at once; Ignatius himself said that he wrote them in fragments, as his own experience suggested what was useful for others. He had in this way written the Method of Examination of Conscience; and in the Manner of Election he recalled what had been the contest of the good and evil spirits within himself, while he was lying on his bed at Loyola.

Whoever would understand these "Exercises" must go through them with a full and docile desire to appropriate them on his own behalf. He will then learn, by God's grace, the wonderful power which they contain under the extremest simplicity of language.

They are not to be made in a cut and dried manner; they need a certain adaptation to each one's character or circumstances, and good judgment accompanied with zeal on the part of the director. Besides these qualities, some particular gift seems necessary; for St. Ignatius found only B. Favre, out of all his associates, completely possessed of it. Next to him he estimated Salmeron; then Villanueva and Domenech; and for the first part, which is designed to inspire repentance in the soul and a horror of sin, he greatly esteemed the eloquence and fervour of Francisco Strada.

The "Exercises" extended at first over more than four weeks; they are often now condensed into the space of eight days. At the commencement

[1] He would seem to have completed the book before July 22, 1522.
[2] So small that St. Francis of Sales said it had converted more souls than it contained letters.



PRECISE PLACE OF CAVE.

EXTERIOR OF THE CAVE, "SACRA CUEVA," MANRESA.

Ignatius has placed the few lines which he meant to be the foundation and the summary of the whole:—

Man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God, and thus to save his own soul. All other things are created for the sake of man, and to aid him in the attainment of his end; therefore he should use them only with this object, and withdraw himself from them when they would lead him from it. We must then make ourselves indifferent to all created things, where a choice is left us; so that we should not desire health more than sickness, riches more than poverty, honour more than contempt, a long life more than a short one, and so of all the rest; desiring and choosing only what will conduce most surely to the end for which we were made.

When this great primary truth has been grasped, that the one only use of all earthly creatures is to help man on his way to God, we are invited to consider the extreme folly of using them for any other purpose. The nature and dreadful consequences of sin are set before us in the fall of the angels, and of our first parents, and of any single soul overtaken by the just judgment of God, and then we are told to examine and judge our own past lives in the light of this revelation. Contrition, with its included firm resolve to serve our Creator more faithfully, is the fruit of the first week of the Exercises. The second week starts from this point of efficacious good desires. It also has a fundamental principle. We are not left to find out for ourselves the way of virtue. A perfect model is placed before our eyes. In the opening contemplation of the Kingdom of Christ, the soldier-saint bids us follow our great Captain to the battlefield, and he is careful to let us know from the outset that for generous souls there is within reach and at their choice a higher service and more complete devotion,—the way of the Counsels. The Divine condescension is brought vividly to mind as we dwell upon the great mysteries of the Incarnation and Nativity and Infancy of our Lord; and then in the very famous contemplation of Two Standards, which is said to have peopled monasteries, we are shown on the one hand the clever schemes of Satan for the ruin of souls, and on the other the well-ordered process by which grace works out their sanctification. The whole life of Christ is then passed in review, and definite instruction is derived from His example and words for the most momentous decision, the central point of the Exercises, the choice of a state of life for those who are free to choose, the choice of a more perfect fulfilment of existing duties for those whose sphere of activity is already fixed beyond their power to change it. The practical bent of the mind of St. Ignatius is shown by many little details of advice, but perhaps most of all by the two very remarkable considerations which are meant to test the fulness of sincerity and the degree of generosity with which we mean

to give ourselves to the service of our God,—the Three Classes of Men and the Three Degrees of Humility. The third week leads us to the foot of the cross, and in the contemplation of that greatest act of love confirms the resolutions we have made. The fourth week animates us with the prospect of the reward exceeding great as shown in the risen life of Christ.

INTERIOR OF THE CAVE "SACRA CUEVA," MANRESA.—*See p. 50.*

The truly sublime Contemplation for obtaining Spiritual Love may be said to gather together and to crown the whole series of the Exercises. It brings us back to the principle from which all started, but it sheds upon it a brighter light from Heaven than our eyes could have endured without the preparation of those intervening weeks. It seemed to us at first that creatures, even if we made a right use of them, could at best only move onward

with us, helping instead of hindering; but now we see that they of themselves have the power to bring us into closest communion with God, who lives and moves and is in them and us. The following prayer is the Saint's petition for the love of God:—

> Take and receive, O Lord, all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my will. All that I am, and have, Thou hast given me. O Lord, I give it back to Thee: dispose of all according to Thy good pleasure. Give me only Thy love and Thy grace, for this is sufficient for me.

Ignatius, in his rules for the spiritual life, drew largely from the sayings of the Fathers of the Desert, especially of Abbot Serapion. The work of Cisneros, who had been Abbot of Montserrat, was probably known to him, but there is no similarity to give any ground for the accusation of plagiarism. The "Exercises" originated in Manresa, and were perfected by the experience of Ignatius when he began to teach. Whoever uses them must own that only Divine inspiration could have shown Ignatius such secrets of the human heart—such remedies, such stimulants, and such aids.

At the end of some editions of the "Spiritual Exercises" are placed some general admonitions, translated by Father des Freux into Latin verse. We give them here in prose:—

> Resist no one, however much your inferior; it is better to be the vanquished than the victor. Try to obey blindly in all things, and willingly submit your own judgment to any one.
>
> Do not remark the faults of others, and hide them when they are seen; accuse yourself of your own, and desire them to be known. Whatever you do, say, or think, consider in the first place whether it be for your neighbour's good, and pleasing in the sight of God.
>
> Preserve always your liberty of soul; neither allow any person or cause to oppress it. Do not lightly bind yourself in friendship with any man; let faith and reason prove what is best.
>
> Diligently exercise the mind and body in good actions. Be a fool in the opinion of man, and so you will be wise before God. Turn over these things in your mind in the morning and at evening; and when you go to rest, fail not in prayer.

Hitherto he had enjoyed great peace of mind and conscience, together with a sense of buoyant exultation which had carried him over all obstacles. All at once, without any transition or perceptible cause, Ignatius was assailed by terrible trials and temptations. One day when, in a state of more than ordinary debility, he was entering the church in which it was his custom to hear mass, a voice seemed to say to him, "How will you be able to support this for forty years or more?" For the moment a horrible dread came over

him; then recognising the source from which the insidious question had proceeded, he replied, "Can you promise me, O wicked one, another single hour of life? And what are forty years of suffering compared with the ages of eternity?" For the time the enemy fled, but only to renew his assault with greater malignity. Henceforth the Saint was subject to continual and sudden alternations of joy and sadness; sometimes his soul was left in utter gloom and desolation, and then again it was in a glow of happiness and content. So sudden, yet so complete, were the vicissitudes through which he passed, that, to use his own expression, it was like putting off one garment and putting on another; and, astonished at his own experiences, he said to himself, "What is this new phase of existence into which I have entered?"

The severities practised by him so exhausted his strength, that his life seemed to be prolonged only by a miracle. His youthful comeliness was succeeded by a deathlike pallor; his fasts caused him excruciating pains; frequently he lay senseless; and, on more than one occasion, he was found apparently dying. Once, especially, after praying in the church of Villadordis, he fell into a swoon, in which he remained for several days; and, on coming to himself, his weakness was so great that, even after he had been revived with food, provided for him by some pious women, he was obliged to be carried to the convent of the Dominicans. After this the tempter took occasion to change the mode of his assaults; he sought to work his ruin by thoughts of pride and self-sufficiency.

Believing himself to be in danger of death, Ignatius commenced a strict examination of his conscience. Satan, hereupon, suggested to him that he might and ought to die with a perfect assurance of his acceptance with God, inasmuch as by his extraordinary austerities he had deserved eternal happiness. Ignatius quickly turned his thoughts upon his sins, and dwelt with compunction on the most humbling recollections of his former life. Still the tempter returned, and continually increased his attacks; and there were times when the agony of his soul far surpassed in intensity all his bodily sufferings and the dread of approaching death. On the fever abating, he was filled with horror at seeing the precipice down which he had been, as he thought, so nearly falling. The good family of Andrès Amigant, who, out of charity, had taken him into their house, had assisted him in his illness, and he entreated them, if ever they beheld him in like extremity, to keep repeating to him, "Remember, O sinner, all the evil thou hast committed in the sight of God." But it was not until after a struggle of two years' duration that he succeeded in freeing himself from these toils.

Another and worse trial now awaited him. During the last months of his sojourn at Manresa he was tormented by scruples of conscience which almost

drove him to despair. He began to be assailed with doubts as to the sufficiency of his general confession at Montserrat. In the hopes of recovering his peace of mind, he again examined his conscience rigorously, and made his general confession a second time; but only to entangle himself in a thicker labyrinth of uncertainties. He sought counsel of spiritual persons; and, amongst the number, of a learned priest who was preacher at the principal church. This good man prescribed a remedy which only aggravated the disease. He advised Ignatius to write down all the sins he could remember, and, having once confessed them, to banish them from his mind. But in this minute and anxious repetition his scruples did but find fresh material to feed upon; and Ignatius, deeply feeling, not the misery only, but the danger of his state, sometimes thought of begging his confessor to command him, in the name of God, never to refer to the past, and longed for him to do so; but, fearing lest he should be merely following his own suggestions, he refrained from saying a word. His confessor now, of his own accord, bade him accuse himself only of such things as he knew to be clearly and unquestionably wrong. But as Ignatius, in his scrupulosity, regarded even the most innocent actions to be sinful, he was incapable of the very discrimination which he was told to exercise.

In this state of mind he found no comfort in prayer or in penance, to which he devoted himself more assiduously than ever. Even Holy Communion, that perennial fountain of peace to pious souls, brought him no relief. On the contrary, it did but increase his mental torments, believing himself, as he did, the enemy of Christ; and more than once it happened that, as he was in the act of receiving, the dreadful thought would dart into his soul that he was communicating to his own destruction.

At length the crisis came. He was at the time again in the Dominican convent at Manresa,[1] the inmates of which had received him with great kindness when he was suffering from one of those paroxysms of illness to which he was subject at this time. One day, when he was more than usually overwhelmed with terrors, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he cried, "Come Thou to my aid, O my God, for I find no help in man or in any creature. Show me whither I shall turn for a remedy in my woe: even if Thou gavest me a dog to be my guide to quiet my soul, I would follow it." There came no answer to this burst of agony; and the tortures he endured increased in their intensity. In the floor of his cell there was a deep opening, close to the spot at which he knelt; and the tempter whispered to him to cast himself down through it, and so end all his miseries. But the next moment, struck

[1] It is now turned into a theatre.

with horror, "No, never!" he exclaimed—"never will I so offend Thee, Lord!" As he kept repeating these words to himself again and again, he bethought him of what he had read of a certain father of the desert, who, to obtain some favour from Heaven which he had long desired, abstained from food for several days until his prayer was heard. Ignatius resolved to do the

STATUE OF OUR LADY AND THE HOLY CHILD, DOMINICAN CHURCH, MANRESA, SAID TO HAVE SPOKEN TO THE SAINT.—*See p.* 64.

same; and neither to eat or drink until he had obtained relief, provided only that his life was not endangered. He began his fast on a Sunday, after his usual weekly Communion, and he continued it until the following Sunday, intermitting nothing of his accustomed devotions and austerities. Nor would he have desisted even then, had not his confessor, on learning from him what he had done, threatened to refuse him absolution unless he

promised immediately to break his fast. Ignatius humbly obeyed; and for the time he seemed delivered from his scruples. But on the third day afterwards they returned with a fresh accession of strength; and at the same time he was seized, while engaged in prayer, with a profound disgust for his present manner of life, and felt himself urged to abandon it, along with the great designs he had been contemplating. But it was the fiend's last effort; the season of trial was past; God had proved the constancy of His servant by the deepest afflictions which the heart of man can know. The temptations departed as suddenly as they had come; his novitiate was concluded; and he who was destined to become one of the most skilful physicians of souls, so gifted that no one afflicted with scruples of conscience ever had recourse to him without finding certain relief, had learned by his own experience the lessons which he was soon to teach to others. He had acquired the faculty of discerning spirits. He had himself passed through all the states and stages of the spiritual life. He had learned that the sole rule of our will must be the will of God; and then peace or trouble, light or darkness, fervour or desolation—all will be indifferent to us.

Long afterwards, Ignatius wrote to a nun of Barcelona:—

"God has two methods of instructing us; one He Himself employs, the other He permits. From Himself proceeds the inward consolation which dissipates our troubles and fills our hearts with His love. The intelligence which it brings with it enlightens the mind, and fortifies it by revealing to it wondrous secrets, and showing it the paths that should be followed or avoided in the spiritual life. The fervour it communicates to the soul converts the most painful labours into pleasures, and fatigues into repose; all burdens become light—all austerities attractive. But these consolations are not lasting; they have their times and their seasons, according as it pleases God to grant or to withdraw them; but always for our greater good.

"When the heavenly light vanishes, the demon introduces disquiet and desolation into our hearts, in order to detach us from the service of God. Frequently we are overwhelmed with melancholy; prayer becomes arid—meditation wearisome. Then come disheartening thoughts about ourselves. We see ourselves as it were repulsed and abandoned by God—separated from Him; and it seems to us that nothing we have hitherto done has pleased Him—that nothing we can do in future will profit us. Hence, discouragement, distrust, despair, which represent all our sins as mortal, all our vileness irremediable. But neither is this sad condition lasting; and we ought to use the one to enable us to support the other. So in time of consolation we must humble ourselves, and, when despair overwhelms us,

recollect that at the first rays of divine light all that darkness will vanish, and our peace will be restored."

Thus the trials of his own soul taught Ignatius how to prescribe for others. He possessed in the highest degree the art of healing scruples; and for the help of persons so tormented, he wrote down the following rules:—

"1. Many persons think that a scruple is a free act of the will and judgment, by which a thing is considered to be sinful which is not so; as, for instance, when one has walked upon a cross accidentally formed by two straws that lay in his path he considers that he has sinned. This is not so much a scruple as a false judgment.[1]

2. A true scruple, which the devil causes, would consist in this. After one had walked upon these straws or had thought, said, or done anything, a thought external to himself comes to him that he has committed a sin, and yet, on the other hand, it seems to him that he has not sinned, and he remains in a state of disquiet and perplexity.

3. Of these two sorts of scruples, we should always hold the first in abhorrence, as an entire error. The second may, during a certain time, redound greatly to the profit of one making the Spiritual Exercises; it may greatly tend to render a soul pure, by withdrawing it thoroughly from everything which has in it even the shadow of sin; according to those words of St. Gregory—*Bonarum mentium est, ibi culpam agnoscere, ubi culpa non est* (Good people are apt to think themselves in fault where there is no fault).

4. The enemy carefully studies the nature of the conscience he attacks, examining whether it is delicate or obtuse. The first he endeavours to make still more delicate, until he shall have reduced it to a state of such intolerable anxiety, that it ends by abandoning all effort for spiritual progress. Thus, when he observes that far from consenting to the slightest fault, it flies even from the shadow of one, he will make it believe that sin exists where really there is no sin; as, for example, in some word or insignificant thought. With the obtuse conscience the enemy tries to make it still more obtuse, and by familiarising it gradually with slight faults, finishes by blinding it to the most grievous sins.

5. He who wishes to advance in the spiritual life, ought to follow the path which is exactly contrary to that towards which the enemy endeavours to attract him. If his conscience be naturally too obtuse, he must try to

[1] At that time the Moriscoes used to place straws on the roads, in the form of a cross, that the Christians might tread on the cross without perceiving it.

make it more delicate; if, on the contrary, the enemy tries to make it too delicate, so as to drive it to extremes, he must labour firmly to fix it in a happy mean, so as to live in thorough peace.

6. If we contemplate doing or saying anything which is contrary neither to the usages of the Church nor to the mind of our superiors, and which may contribute to the glory of God, and yet which is suspicious in our eyes as being tainted with vanity or any other evil, we must raise our hearts to God our Creator; and if in His sight we judge the action to be conducive, or at least not contrary, to His glory, we ought to go right against that temptation, saying, with St. Bernard—*Nec propter te cœpi, nec propter te finiam* (It was not for your sake that I began, and you shall not make me leave off)."

Ignatius had come to Manresa with a fervent desire of subduing the flesh and mortifying the pride of his natural heart, but (as already stated) with small knowledge as yet of spiritual things. He did not so much as know how to make mental prayer or meditation, nor even what it was. At first, therefore, his seven hours of devotion were passed in vocal prayer; and we incidentally learn, from what he told Gonçalez, that his way of assisting at mass was by reading the history of the Passion, as given in the Gospels. When he spoke of this time in after days, he said God had treated him as a skilful teacher treats a child, not giving him too much to learn at once, nor allowing him to pass on to a second subject until he has well mastered the first. So great was his inexperience, that when a devout woman, with whom he often conversed on religious subjects, said to him, "Oh, that Christ our Lord would appear to you some day," he understood her literally, and replied in his perplexity, "How could our Lord think of appearing to me?" And these words were actually fulfilled to him. Certain it is that Ignatius made rapid progress in divine knowledge, and became deeply versed in the profoundest mysteries, without the intervention of human aid.

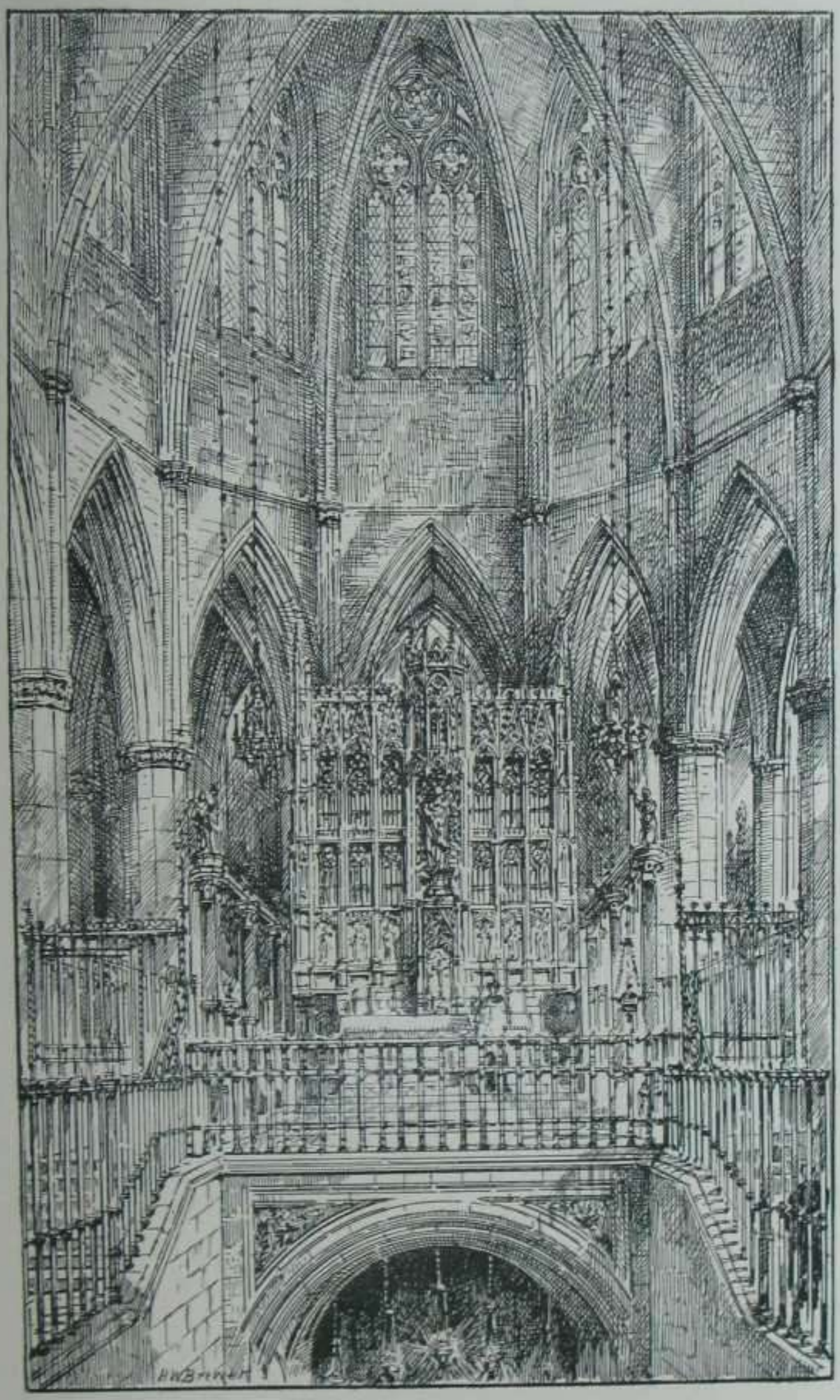
Like the great Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Ignatius frequently was favoured with ecstasies and visions; being as it were carried out of himself, and hearing secret and unutterable words. One day, as he was sitting on the heights above the Cardoner, after having spent some time in prayer in the neighbouring church of St. Paul, he was rapt in spirit and filled with such supernatural light, that in a moment he understood a multitude of things relating to faith and even natural theology, of which before he had been perfectly ignorant; and this too with such clearness, that he afterwards said, if all the communications he had since received from God—and it was when he was upwards of sixty-two years of age—could be collected into one, they would not equal the illumination that was granted him in that short rapture.

From this moment, as he told Gonçalez, he felt that he was in intelligence another man. On coming to himself, he ran and threw himself at the foot of the cross of Tort mentioned above, to pour out his heart in thankfulness to God, when suddenly there appeared above it a spectacle which he had frequently beheld before while living in the hospice. It was a sort of luminous spiral trail, resembling the figure of a serpent spotted with numerous eyes of fire—which yet were not eyes—whence a vivid glare proceeded. Hitherto this vision had always excited while it lasted a certain sensible pleasure in him, because of its brilliancy and beauty, though when it vanished it always left him depressed and sad; but now, seen above the cross, it inspired him only with abhorrence; and, enlightened by the lessons he had received, he knew that it was an illusion of the devil. This phantom showed itself to him on many subsequent occasions, both during his stay at Manresa and on his journeys to Rome and Paris, but always hideous and deformed, and he had only to make a gesture of disdain with his staff to drive it from his sight.

The revelations which Ignatius now received were of the most transcendent character. The sublimest mysteries of faith were communicated to him immediately from God, either by means of a pure spiritual radiance cast upon his soul, or under images of things presented to his mind. Frequently and for long together he was visited in the night by divine consolations and interior lights, so penetrating and engrossing that sleep fled from his eyes. Now, too, he conceived a great and special devotion to the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. But a still more wondrous grace was accorded to him. One day, when he was reciting the Little Office of Our Lady on the steps of the Dominican Church,[1] while waiting for a procession, he was enabled in an instant, as by a supernatural illustration of the intellect, clearly to penetrate and contemplate the profound Mystery itself. When the vision had passed, his soul remained inundated with such an exuberance of joy, that all the time of the procession he was unable to restrain his tears; nor could he cease to speak of this during the whole day; illustrating and expounding this cardinal verity of the faith, so that all who heard him were filled with admiration and awe.

From this time forth Ignatius was admitted—in such degree as it is possible for a creature to be admitted—into close and intimate communion with the Three Divine Persons; and he recorded in a book the lights he had

[1] A statue of Our Lady is still preserved in this Church which is said to have spoken to the Saint. It was broken to pieces by the Revolutionists in 1867, but has been restored. See p. 60.



INTERIOR OF THE "SEO," PRINCIPAL CHURCH OF MANRESA, WHERE ST. IGNATIUS PRAYED ON HIS ARRIVAL IN THAT TOWN.—*See pp.* 46, 47.

received on this high subject, so far as they were capable of being expressed in human language; but of these only a few fragments remain, which escaped by some accident the destruction to which he destined all that he had ever written.

On another occasion, as he was standing in that same church, he saw with a most perfect distinctness the whole plan and order observed by God in the creation of the universe; but in a manner and under figures which he was unable afterwards to explain or describe. Again, while hearing mass there, he beheld the infant Jesus at the moment of the elevation of the Host, and discovered how the Divine Body of Christ dwells under the consecrated species. But the vision with which he was most often favoured was that of the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, which showed itself to him under a luminous form; yet, as he told Gonçalez, always by an interior perception, and without sensible distinction of the corporeal members: adding that he should speak within bounds if he said that he beheld this vision from twenty to forty times while he was at Manresa. Sometimes also he saw the Blessed Virgin in the same manner.

At the Hospital of St. Lucy he had in his chamber a grated window which looked into the chapel. He was assisting at compline one Saturday evening, when he fell into a trance, which lasted till the same day and hour in the following week. During the whole of that time he had all the appearance of a dead man; and it was only by the faintest palpitation of his heart that he was known to be still alive. On returning to himself, he opened his eyes like one awakening from a placid sleep, and murmured, "O Jesus, Jesus!" He then relapsed into silence; nor was he ever known afterwards to utter a word as to what had been revealed to him during those eight days.

But the first members of the Society, who had lived with him and had heard him speak of the time, have always believed that it was then that God revealed to Ignatius what he was destined to do in the service of the Church, and traced for him the plan of the Religious Order he was to found.

The Saint himself told Everard Mercurian, afterwards General of the Order, that the first sketch of the Society was impressed upon his mind when he began to meditate on the kingdom of Christ; and when he was asked why he had made this or that regulation in his Constitutions, his usual answer was, "I saw it thus at Manresa." He told Lainez that he had there learned more during one hour's mental prayer than all the doctors in the world could teach him; and he declared that if the Holy Scriptures were no more, and if the Catholic religion were destitute of all other testimony, he

should be ready to lay down his life for the faith of the Church, on the sole evidence of what he had then seen and learnt.

Notwithstanding these extraordinary favours, Ignatius lost none of his childlike docility, regarding himself as a novice in the spiritual life. He often visited his first friend, the holy monk Chanones, revering him as the father of his soul, and laying bare his inmost heart before him. The aged Benedictine, on his part, while faithfully fulfilling the office of a teacher and director, secretly entertained the greatest veneration for his penitent; and would often say to the other monks, that Ignatius Loyola was destined to become a champion of the Church.

By this time also many pious persons had discerned in him the marks of a true sanctity. Thus, it is related by Maffei, that he was seen by one who for some time had watched him narrowly, raised up from the ground, his face shining like that of Moses, by reason of his familiar intercourse with God.

The rigid austerities he practised, and which, in his ignorance and the natural ardour of his character, he carried to an excess which in after years he would not have allowed to others, at last seriously affected his health. After that violent attack of which we have spoken, when he was carried senseless to the Dominicans, his emaciation was so great that, in July 1522, Andrés Amigant[1] had caused the charitable to have compassion on him, and to convey him to his own house. After this act of charity, the excellent family made it a practice to nurse two patients from the hospital continually in their house. And they thus served Jesus Christ in the person of His poor. A second illness seized him in the winter; and this time the magistrate took charge of him, and confided him to the care of one Ferrer, directing that his needs should be supplied at the public expense. Here some of the highest ladies in the place watched by his bedside, taking their turn to wait upon him. This illness left him with a great weakness of digestion, which lasted all his life. Warned by experience Ignatius began to moderate the rigour of his penances towards the end of his sojourn at Manresa; but he resolutely refrained from eating meat, though on more than one occasion he was seized with an almost uncontrollable desire to yield to the temptation.

All this time, it was not possible in the nature of things that the populace

[1] The house of Amigant is now turned into a chapel, and has a large painting representing the Saint being served by the various members of the family. Over the bed the painter has left the inscription "S. Ignatius de Loyola, Languens," and at the foot "Hæc omnia evenerunt 12 Julii anno 1522." On one of the walls is a cross which was drawn by the sick Saint. The chapel is opposite to the old church of the Carmelites. See p. 49.

generally should fail to be moved by the sight of a man so young, and evidently bred to a far different station, leading so hard and so solitary a life. His very look was enough to rivet attention and excite respect; and thus it came to pass that when he went to pray at the foot of some cross outside the town, the people would follow and observe him at a distance. After awhile they began to assemble around the hospital door, and then the Saint was constrained to speak to them; and his words were those of another John the Baptist preaching penance in the wilderness. A cross still stands in front of the old hospice of St. Lucy, where, in his coarse sackcloth gown with its hempen girdle, his hair dishevelled, his head and feet bare, his face pale and haggard, but inflamed with divine love, he spoke, like one inspired, of the things of God. But his look, his very presence, preached even more powerfully than his words. He used to sit on a stone, which is still preserved, at the door of Santa Lucia, teaching Catechism to the poor of the hospice, and to the children of the neighbourhood. Many of the most noble ladies in the town surrounded him when he preached in the open air, and so treasured up his instructions and profited, that they went regularly to confession and communion on every Sunday; a thing so extraordinary, that people called them "las Iñigistas." His slightest actions had a virtue and a charm in them which few could resist: when he received alms, he ever accompanied his thanks with some charitable prayer for the spiritual welfare of the giver;—men were moved to contrition, they scarcely knew why; they were roused from their state of indifference, and animated by a desire to lead a more strict and holy life. Thus, by degrees, Ignatius gathered about him a circle of disciples, to whom he communicated, in a measure, the impulses which he had himself derived from his prayers and meditations, as also from his spiritual readings, especially of the Holy Scriptures. They felt drawn to him as to a man who walked with God and was the friend of God; and many, it is said, followed his example, abandoned the world and entered religious life.

But among them all Ignatius found none who were capable of co-operating with him in the great project he had conceived; for it is clear that he had already formed the design of drawing to him associates who, modelled after the ideas which he afterwards embodied in the "Spiritual Exercises," should accompany him to Palestine, and unite with him in spreading the kingdom of God among the Mahometans. He said afterwards that he found no one, either at Manresa or at Barcelona, who could aid him to advance in the spiritual life, or who seemed to have a knowledge of divine mysteries, with the sole exception of the aged matron who had prayed that our Lord might be made visible to him. Her name we are not told, but it is recorded that

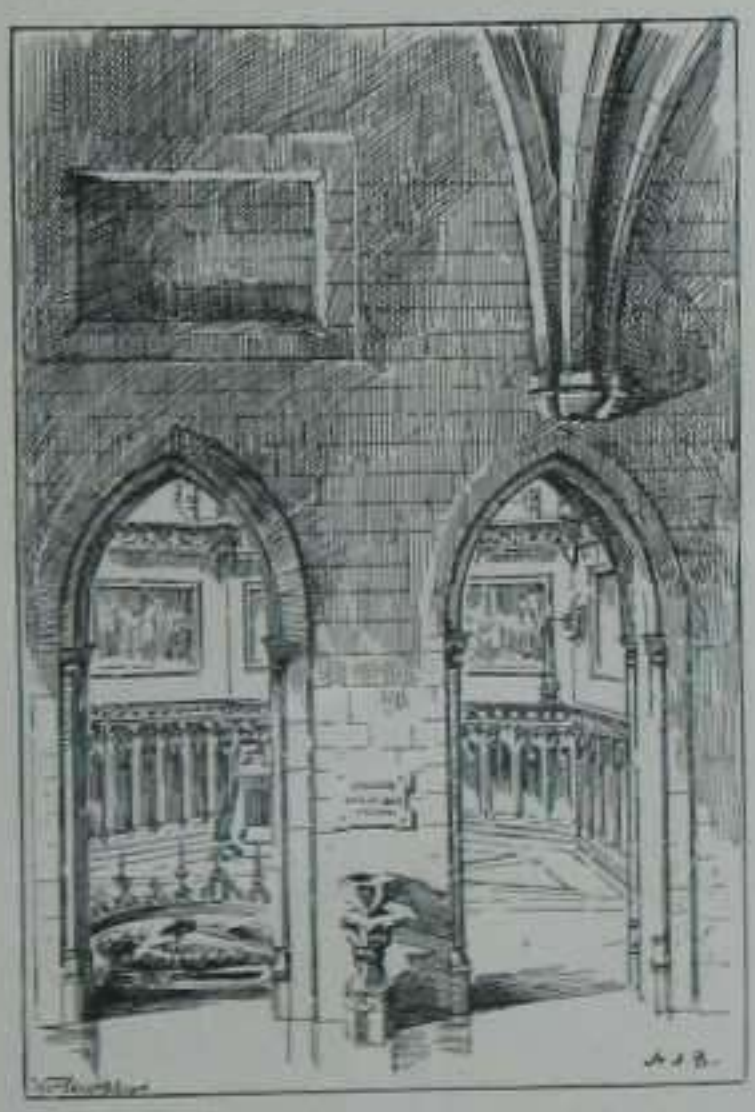
her reputation for sanctity and wisdom was so great, that King Ferdinand had been wont to consult her in affairs of conscience.

But though he had produced a striking change for the better among the people of Manresa, his adversaries were all the more enraged against him. From reviling, they passed to defaming him; and those who favoured and assisted him met with no better treatment at their hands. When Amigant received him into his house, these people called him Simon the Leper, and his wife Martha, in derision, because they tended God's servant in his sickness. But none met with greater molestation than Inés Pascual, who had brought him to the town, and had always shown him much devotedness. All these things caused Ignatius especial pain. On the one hand, his humility suffered from the veneration paid to him; and, on the other, the reputation of his friends was compromised by the calumnies that were spread abroad. For their sake, therefore, if not for his own, he was desirous of leaving the place. For some time his departure was delayed by the plague at Barcelona, whence he intended to embark for the Holy Land; but as soon as he learnt that the port was again open, he resolved to commence his journey.

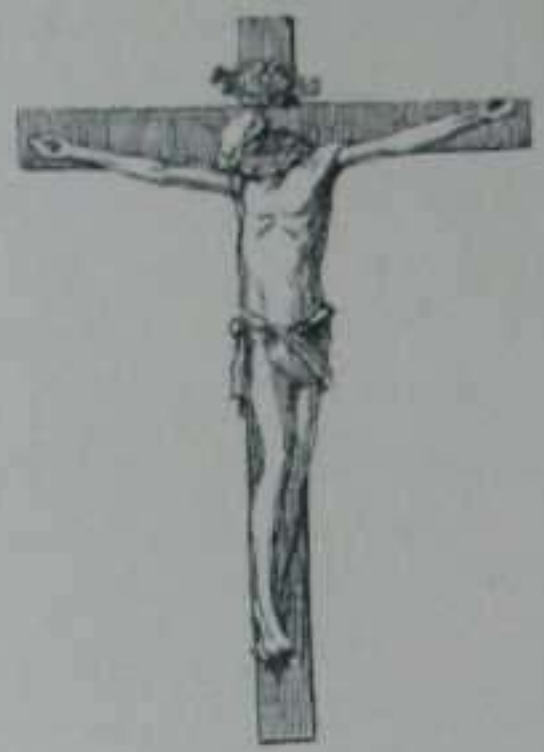
One of the friends from whom Ignatius parted with grateful affection was Cavalla, a good priest who had nursed him tenderly during one of his many illnesses. To him he gave, by way of remembrance, the book of the Little Office of Our Lady, which he had constantly used, and which was almost the only property he possessed.

Before Ignatius left Manresa, the news came that Villiers de l'Isle Adam, abandoned by the Christian potentates, to their eternal disgrace, had been compelled to surrender Rhodes to the Sultan Suleÿmán; and for many years after, till the battle of Lepanto broke the maritime power of the infidel, the Turks continued to be "lords of the Mediterranean, and foes to all who sailed upon its waters." This event was a bad augury for the project of Loyola, and one that was soon realised. Did the old martial ardour revive for a moment in his once fiery breast, and did his hand instinctively seek the hilt of that sword which he had left suspended by Our Lady's altar at Montserrat? Or rather did he not press the cross more closely to his heart, and renew again his vow to Him Who hung thereon, to do His will bravely in His own sweet and gentle way? Ignatius had in him the very spirit of the true Crusader; the high courage, the enduring hardihood, the generous devotion, the daring zeal, the burning personal love of the Redeemer; but in him all was made sublime by an interior Crucifixion—a deadness alike to the world's glory and the world's contempt; the warfare to which he was summoned was to be waged only with spiritual weapons, and solely for spiritual ends.

The Church, unlike the world, knows and honours its greatest men. In later times Cardona, Bishop of Vich, raised a pillar with an inscription, in front of the Hospital of St. Lucy, to commemorate the Saint's sojourn there; and the building itself he gave to the Society of Jesus, having transferred the sick elsewhere. The chamber where Ignatius remained in his seven days' trance is now enclosed in a chapel called *del Rapto*—the old brick floor on which he lay is covered with plate glass to preserve it, and there is a touching recumbent statue of the Saint, in his sackcloth girded with a cord. The Chapel of St. Lucia still has the old holy water stoup used by the Saint.



CHAPELS OF SANTA LUCIA AND OF THE TRANCE (RAPTO), MANRESA.



CRUCIFIX OF ST. IGNATIUS, NOW AT MANRESA.

## CHAPTER V.

BARCELONA—ROME—JERUSALEM—1523.

IGNATIUS quitted Manresa in January 1523, after a residence of nearly ten months. He had already, as we have stated, abated something of his rigorous austerities, both for his health's sake—the winter being particularly severe—and because he had learned by experience that excessive mortifications are an impediment in the service of God, no less than of our neighbour. He desired also to avoid the appearance of singularity; and, to this end, had for some time ceased to exhibit that neglect of his person to which he had hitherto submitted from penitential motives. He no longer allowed his hair to grow in disorder; he wore shoes, and exchanged his sackcloth gown and cord for a garb more resembling that of some poor scholar; two short coats of coarse grey cloth, with a cap of the same colour, and a large rosary round his neck. All these he received from some charitable hands, but he would accept no money. His friends would gladly have persuaded him to take some companion with him on his travels, if it were only because he could speak neither Latin nor Italian; but he replied, with the energy characteristic of him, that if the Duke of Cardona's own son were to propose to accompany him he would decline the offer;

that he was content to have no other society but that of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity; that if he had a companion, he should be ever looking to him in need; and he desired to have no help, or hope, or confidence, save in God alone.

We learn from Juan Pascual, that Iñigo left amidst the tears of the majority and the better sort of the townsfolk, who all regretted his departure as that of a saint or angelic visitor. He was accompanied by Canon Antonio Pujol, brother to Inés, a priest who was Master of Ceremonies and Confessor to the Archbishop of Tarragona, who was to conduct Ignatius to Barcelona, and procure lodging for him. On arriving, they found that some days must elapse before he could embark. But the Saint did not concern himself about the preparation for his voyage, and occupied all the time that remained to him, after his seven hours of prayer, in visiting the prisoners and the sick. He begged in the streets, and relieved the poor with the alms which he collected. He had a great desire to meet with persons who were experimentally acquainted with the mysteries of the spiritual life, and for this purpose visited several hermitages in the neighbourhood; but nowhere could he find the help for which he looked. In what way he should be able to defray the expenses of his voyage he knew not; but God did not forsake His servant. At Barcelona he made the acquaintance of several pious people, whose friendship he long retained. The most remarkable in its beginning, as also the most lasting, and yet the most disappointing in its conclusion, was that which he contracted with a noble lady of the city, named Isabel Roser. She had wholly retired from the world, and lived only for God and for her husband, who was blind and demanded all her care. It was now the season of Lent, and Ignatius was one day in the Santa Maria del Mar,[1] seated on the steps of the altar amongst a group of children, listening to a sermon, when Isabel, happening to glance towards him, beheld his head surrounded with a circle of light, and at the same moment heard an inward voice bidding her call him to her. His modesty and gravity inspired her with a deep respect, and she felt herself moved to do as the voice admonished her, but hesitated from the fear of being the victim of some illusion. On returning home, she disclosed to her husband what she had seen and heard, and with his approval she sought out Ignatius and brought him to the house; where, under the pretext of performing a simple act of hospitality to a chance wayfarer, they detained him to share their repast.

[1] Cartas de S. Ign., t. i. p. 16, n. 2.

With such a guest the conversation naturally turned to spiritual subjects; and Ignatius, who was ignorant of the motives which had led to his reception, spoke with so much power and with such a knowledge of divine things, that his hearers were filled with admiration, and convinced that the stranger before them was a man of gentle birth and possessed of no ordinary endowments.

Learning that he was bound for Italy, and had already secured a passage in a brigantine that was about to sail, Isabel, having done all in her power to detain him, conjured him at least not to risk his life in a vessel so slightly built, but to wait for a ship in which the Bishop of Barcelona, who was a kinsman of her husband's, was intending to embark. This last circumstance probably it was which induced him to defer his departure; nor was it without a special dispensation of Divine Providence that he did so, for scarcely had the brigantine left the harbour, when it was caught in a violent storm and went down with all on board.

The captain of the ship in which Ignatius was to sail agreed to give him a passage for the love of God; but on condition that he brought with him the necessary provisions for the voyage. Here, however, a doubt presented itself, whether by taking such precaution he should not be infringing the resolution he had formed of living solely on alms from day to day, trusting only to the good providence of God. In his perplexity he consulted the priest his confessor, who bade him procure what he needed from private charity, and then depart with a quiet conscience. But even thus he would accept nothing from Doña Isabel, who offered to supply him, but went through the streets of Barcelona begging of the passers-by, until he collected what was sufficient for his immediate wants.

While thus engaged, he was asked by a certain Señora Cepilla Rocaberti[1] whither he was going. For some moments he stood hesitating what to reply; because a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in those days was a service of danger; and so redounded to the credit of those who performed it. He answered therefore, as was true, that he was going to Italy and Rome. To which she rejoined, supposing him to be a mere ordinary pilgrim, "To Rome! they who go to Rome are apt to return no better for their journey;" meaning that few made the pilgrimage from the motive of true devotion. This dread of vainglory it was which most tormented him at this time; and, to prevent his being surprised into this sin, he studiously concealed his noble birth, and the motives which impelled him to make the pilgrimage. It so happened

[1] A Doña Ana de Rocaberti was the wife of Don Juan de Requesens (v. Cartas de S. Ign., vol. i. p. 17, n. 8).

PORT.

BARCELONA, AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

that the son of this lady had left his home, and taken to a vagrant life. Perceiving by his countenance that Ignatius was not what his dress and habits seemed to indicate, she supposed him to be another idle spendthrift of the same description, and loaded him with reproaches. The Saint accepted the humiliation with joy, and assured her that there was not in the whole world a man more worthless than himself. And this he did with such an air of genuine sincerity, that the lady at once perceived her error—her anger was turned into admiration, and begging his forgiveness, she bestowed upon him an abundant alms. Doña Cepilla could never afterwards recount the circumstances of this singular meeting without deep emotion; and, when the Saint returned to Barcelona, she placed herself under his spiritual direction, and became one of his most devoted followers.

More than three weeks elapsed before Ignatius left Barcelona. On his way to the ship, finding that he had four or five *pesetas* (small silver coins) in his possession, which he was resolved not to keep for his own use, and there being no poor person in sight on whom he could bestow them, he left them on a stone bench near the harbour, that God might dispose of them in such a manner as He pleased. The vessel made a rapid passage, though not without danger, being driven by a strong west wind to Gaeta within five days. The fervour of the poor pilgrim who spent so much of the day and night in prayer, his calm in the midst of the storm, his words of fire when he spoke to them of God, all gained him the respect of the crew, and a Knight Commander of St. John invited him to share his meals during the voyage.

From Gaeta he pursued his journey to Rome on foot, in company with three other persons, mendicants or pilgrims like himself—a youth and two women, mother and daughter; this last for greater safety wearing male attire. One night, on arriving at a village, they found a number of people assembled round a large fire, who received them civilly and set food before them. Ignatius was then lodged with the youth in a stable, while the women were conducted to a chamber overhead. In the middle of the night a loud noise was heard, and women's voices calling for help. Ignatius, hastening upstairs, found the mother and daughter with whom he had travelled exceedingly terrified, calling out that they had been attacked in the night by some ruffian. The household collected round, and Ignatius, lifting up his voice, spoke with such indignation, that, though his language was unknown to them, the listeners were abashed, and fell back to let him pass with the women, in company of whom he immediately started on his journey. But the young man was missing.

The three made their way in the darkness to a small town near. But they found the gates closed; so that they were obliged to pass the remainder of the night in a church, the walls of which were streaming with damp. Neither when morning dawned were they permitted to enter the place; for the plague was still raging in many parts of Italy, and the roads were narrowly watched; add to which, the Saint, worn as he was by his great austerities, had the look of one already stricken with the pestilence. They were compelled, therefore, to go on to a neighbouring village, where the pilgrims rested; Ignatius being unable from feebleness to proceed any further, while the two women made the best of their way to Rome. It so happened that, on the same day, the lady to whom the neighbouring lands belonged was on her way to the town from which Ignatius had been excluded; and, the inhabitants going out to meet her, he went with them, and begged permission to pass through the place, assuring her that he was not suffering from disease, but from exhaustion. She readily granted his petition, and having rested there two days, living meanwhile on the alms he received, he was able to continue his journey.

Ignatius reached Rome on Palm Sunday. There he met with some fellow-countrymen, through whose intervention he procured a pilgrim's license from the reigning pontiff, the stern and saintly Adrian VI.; and after visiting the several churches of the stations, and other holy places, and receiving the Papal benediction, he set out on the ninth day, still on foot, for Venice. His friends, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from prosecuting his design, representing to him the danger and hardships he must encounter, constrained him at the moment of his departure to accept seven or eight gold crowns, that he might at least possess the means of paying for his passage. But three days had not elapsed before he bitterly reproached himself for his cowardice in distrusting the good providence of God. His first impulse was to throw the money on the roadside, but on reflection he considered that he would be doing better in distributing it among the first poor persons he should meet; and this accordingly he did.

On this journey he was exposed to even greater privations than on the former, owing to the increasing ravages of the plague. People were afraid to receive him into their houses, or to give him so much as a night's lodging; and, on one occasion in particular, Gonçalez relates that, as he was leaving the portico of a house under which he had found shelter for the night, a man, scared by his pale and ghastly appearance, turned and fled from him in terror. The very hand of charity feared to open to so pitiable an object. There were times, however, when travellers like himself allowed him to join them on the way, but even then would often pass on in haste,

as the evening began to close, lest they also should be forced to sleep in the open air. On reaching Chioggia, the Saint and his chance companions were informed that they would not be allowed to enter Venice without a certificate of health. They resolved therefore to go to Padua, in order to obtain this necessary document; but Ignatius, unable to keep up with the rest, found himself left at nightfall in an open plain, without shelter and without a guide. But the Saint was not abandoned by Him for Whose

POPE ADRIAN VI.
*(From Engraving in Hope Collection, Oxford.)*

sweet sake he was suffering all these things. He calmly set himself to pray; and, as he prayed, the Lord Jesus appeared to him, in that same form in which He had often visited him, and, filling his heart with joy, promised to protect him with a special care. This promise was marvellously fulfilled; for on the morrow he entered Padua, and left it without question or challenge, to the astonishment of his companions, who had rejoined him, and knew that he had obtained no bill of health. But their astonishment was still greater when, on reaching the lagune of Venice, the quarantine officers

strictly examined the passports of every other person in the boat, but passed Ignatius by, as though he had been invisible.

It was dusk already when he set foot in Venice, and as he was ignorant of the language, and acquainted with no one of whom he could ask the way to some hospice where strangers were lodged, he disposed himself to pass the night under the arcade of the Procuratie Vecchie, in the Piazza of St. Mark. There was at that time in Venice a senator named Marc Antonio Trevisani, who was not only a learned magistrate, but a most holy man. He led the austere life of a monk; his house was like a public hospital, from the number of poor whom he received and tended with his own hands; indeed, but for his nephews, who charged themselves with the management of his worldly affairs, he would have despoiled himself of everything he possessed in works of charity. Twenty years later his acknowledged virtues, and the eminent services he had rendered the Republic, procured his election to the supreme office of Doge—a dignity he would fain have avoided; but he sacrificed his own preference to the public weal. He lived to a great age, and his death was a fitting termination of such a life. While assisting one day at the Holy Sacrifice, he became motionless, and was found to have calmly expired. On the night of Ignatius' arrival, this good man was awakened by a voice, which said to him: "What! dost thou sleep comfortably in thy bed, when My poor servant and dear pilgrim lies so near thee stretched on the bare stones?" Rising instantly, full of wonder as to who this special friend of God might be, he went out with servants bearing torches, and found Ignatius, as it had been told him, lying on the pavement; and conducting him to his house, Marc Antonio entertained him with a respectful charity.

But the next morning, whether with a view to stricter retirement, or because he deemed it unsuitable that a pilgrim should be lodged in a palace, Ignatius left the senator's hospitable roof, preferring to be dependent on such chance aid as God might send him. In like manner, he was not solicitous as to the means by which he might procure a passage to Palestine, although the pilgrims' ship had sailed some days before; nor would he present himself to the Imperial Ambassadors; he had no longer any interest, he said, at courts; friends would come when they were wanted. And so it happened. As he was begging in the streets, he was recognised by a rich Biscayan merchant, who asked him whither he was bound, and invited him home to dine. It seems to have been a habit with Ignatius not to refuse hospitality when thus offered; and ever since he left Manresa it had been his custom, as he said himself, to keep silence at table, except when spoken to, and observing what others said, to take the opportunity when the repast was

THE PROCURATIE VECCHIE, WITH PIAZZA AND CHURCH OF S. MARCO, VENICE.

over to direct the conversation to some spiritual subject. The merchant, with his whole family, conceived such an affection for him, that he would have persuaded him to remain with them. But, failing in this, he offered him clothes and money, which the Saint refused. But at his request he procured him an audience of the Doge, Andrea Gritti, that he might solicit a free passage on board the Admiral's ship, which was about to take the Lieutenant-Governor to Cyprus. This the Doge readily granted, and Ignatius remained at the merchant's house until it was time to sail.

The pilgrims to Jerusalem this year were very few in number, owing both to the prevalence of the plague, and to the swarms of Turkish cruisers which, after the capture of Rhodes, infested the seas. The pilgrims' ship had sailed with only thirteen on board. All these things were represented to Ignatius, with the hope of deterring him from his purpose; but he simply answered, "God is my sole support; I would not hesitate to set sail upon a plank." Shortly before his departure he was seized with a violent fever; and on the very day he was to go on board his illness had reached such a height, that to some who inquired whether he could sail in such a state, the physician replied, "Yes, if he wishes to die on the passage." No sooner, however, did Ignatius hear the gun give the signal for weighing anchor, than he hastened down to the harbour with the rest, quitting Venice on the 14th of July 1523.

After a few days' sea sickness he revived, and the fever left him. But the evil ways and libertine discourse of many among the passengers, and especially of the crew, filled his soul with sadness; and in his zeal for the Divine Majesty he never ceased reproving them with a freedom and a severity which excited their implacable resentment. Some Spaniards who were on board warned him of his danger, and urged him to be cautious, as a plot was being formed to steer the ship to shore, and leave him on a small uninhabited island which they were about to pass. But Ignatius knew no fear, and cared not for consequences. And the event justified his confidence; for as they were on the point of making the island, a boisterous wind arose, which baffled all the efforts of the sailors, and drove them on with rapidity towards Cyprus. There he learned that the pilgrims' vessel, which had left Venice so many days before, was still lying in the harbour of Famagosta, ten leagues distant. Thither accordingly Ignatius proceeded, across the island, together with the other pilgrims, eight in number; having with him no other subsistence than, as he himself expressed it, that hope which he ever placed in God. But all this time the Saint had aids which no man knew. Often when, retired in some corner of the ship, he was weeping over the outrages offered to God, Jesus would Himself appear to him, bringing him strength

and consolation. At Famagosta, he and his companions embarked on board the other ship, and on the 31st of August, after a voyage in all of forty-eight days, they reached the coast of Syria.

From Jaffa, where they landed, they made the journey to Jerusalem riding on asses; and, when they were within two miles of its walls, they were met by a Spanish gentleman, Diego Nuñez, who devoutly admonished them that, as they were approaching the spot from which they would first obtain a sight of the Holy City, they should set their conscience in order and proceed in silence. This proposal pleased them all well; and, shortly afterwards, perceiving the Franciscan fathers advancing to meet them, preceded by the cross, they dismounted and made the rest of the way on foot; and thus, on the 4th of September, about noonday, in solemn procession, they entered within the gates of that city whose streets had heard the voice of the Eternal Word, and had been trodden by His sacred feet.

Ignatius had now attained what had been the chief object of his desires ever since his conversion. From the moment when his eyes first rested from afar on the walls of Jerusalem, he experienced a sensation of unutterable joy; and this fervour of devotion lasted undiminished all the time he dwelt in the Holy City. The several spots made sacred by the presence of Jesus Christ he visited again and again, sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with others; not from a mere sentimental desire of beholding places rendered famous by the stupendous events of gospel story, but from a deep, adoring, personal love of Him who was the actor and sufferer therein—Jesus, the Son of Mary and the Son of God. This it was that made every emotion he experienced a pious aspiration, and every step he took an act of worship. And so we read that when he beheld the place of his Redeemer's agony, and the spots where He was crucified and was buried, all his soul was melted with a sweet sorrow, and he could not cease from pressing tender kisses on the blessed ground, and pouring out his heart in devout thanksgiving.

To Inés Pascual he sent an exact and most minute description of all the sanctuaries, and of all that had befallen him on the way; and every word was like a spark of celestial fire. This document was long preserved by the Pascual family, and finally left by them as a precious legacy to the Society of Jesus, a legacy now, alas! lost for ever.

However, he had come not merely to visit the Holy Places but to abide in Jerusalem, near the sepulchre of his Lord, and thence to spread the life-giving gospel of His truth. Though it had been revealed to him at Manresa, that he was to found a Society destined to win multitudes of souls to the true faith, nothing had been told him as to the place where its members

should assemble, and what should be the particular field of their labours. Jerusalem had been his first thought as he lay wounded at Loyola, and Jerusalem was the spot which in his own mind he had fixed upon as the centre from which his spiritual children should go forth to achieve a nobler conquest than that for which the champions of the Cross, the Crusaders, with all their enthusiasm and all their valour, had combated in vain—the conquest of souls to the obedience of Jesus Christ. The idea even enters as an element into his "Spiritual Exercises." This, it is clear, was the Saint's design; but it was not according to the will of God. Not the Holy Land, but all lands, were to be given him as his battlefield; and the sphere of his labours was to extend to the very boundaries of the earth. Ignatius, however, made frequent endeavours to return to Palestine; and, to the last days of his life, he had a fixed intention of founding a house of the Society at Jerusalem.

In order to further his object, he had brought with him letters commendatory to the Franciscan fathers, which he delivered at once to the Father Guardian of the convent—without, however, disclosing to him any other motive for wishing to remain than that of satisfying his personal devotion; of his ulterior intentions he said nothing. The Father at first demurred, representing to him the extreme poverty of the convent, which subsisted solely on alms; that in fact on this very account they had resolved on sending some of their brethren back to Europe in company of the pilgrims. Ignatius in return assured him that he would ask nothing of them except that they should hear his confession and give him communion. On these conditions the Father Guardian admitted that leave might be given him to remain, but the matter was to be left for the determination of the Father Provincial, who was absent at Bethlehem. Ignatius on this considered the question as already decided in his favour, and in the joy of his heart wrote letters to this effect to his friends at Barcelona.

The very day before that on which the pilgrims were to take their departure, he was sent for by the Provincial, who had returned, and was informed in the presence of the Father Guardian that he must leave Jerusalem with the rest. A zeal like his, it was believed, so ardent, and fearless of consequences, would never submit to the restrictions imposed by the Moslem authorities; his presence, as they rightly argued, would be a constant source of embarrassment and danger; and so they told him, with the utmost kindness, that his design was a good and pious one, but that, after full consideration, they could not, in prudence, allow him to carry it into execution; that his remaining amongst them would be perilous to himself and detrimental to the interests of the community, upon whom

devolved the burthen of ransoming out of their scanty means all pilgrims who fell into the hands of the Turks; and that many through their rashness in passing beyond the limits assigned to the Christians, had been reduced to slavery, and even put to death. To this Ignatius replied that he feared neither slavery nor death; and that if it were his lot to be taken captive, he did not wish to be ransomed, modestly adding, that he was firmly resolved to abide by his intention if he could do so without offending God. "But you would indeed offend God," answered the Father Provincial, "if you persisted in remaining contrary to my will, who have authority from the Holy See to determine who shall be allowed to remain and who not, and even to excommunicate those who refuse to comply." At the same time he produced the Papal Bull, at which, however, Ignatius would not look, meekly bowing his head and assuring the Provincial that he believed his word and was ready to obey; that to him the will of his superior was the will of God.

Before he left the Holy City, Ignatius was to give what the good Franciscans might regard as certain proof that their apprehensions were not groundless. On the Mount of Olives is visible, to this time, what tradition avers to be a footmark imprinted by our Divine Lord upon the rock, at the moment He left the earth to ascend into heaven. The holy pilgrim longed once more to venerate this sacred sign; and he wished to do this in secret and alone. To venture beyond the city walls without the protection of the Turkish escort was a work of danger; but Ignatius knew no fear. Withdrawing silently, he succeeded in reaching the summit of the hill unperceived; and, when stopped by the guards who kept the mosque which is built over the spot, he obtained their leave to enter by giving them his penknife. After satisfying his devotion, he crossed over to the neighbouring sanctuary of Bethphage, when it came into his mind that he had not sufficiently observed towards what quarter of the heavens the sacred feet were pointed when last they touched the earth. Returning, therefore, to the spot, he again procured admission by presenting the soldiers with a pair of scissors, probably his only remaining possession, with the exception of the clothes he wore.

Meanwhile his absence had been discovered by the monks; and, as he was descending from the Mount, he was met by one of their Armenian servants, who, angered doubtless by what he deemed an act of ill-timed temerity, loaded him with reproaches, and even threatened him with a stick; then, seizing him roughly by the arm, never released hold until he was safe within the convent walls. But the Saint bore all patiently—even joyfully; for at the moment that the man laid hand upon him, lifting

up his eyes, he beheld the Lord Jesus in the form in which He usually appeared to him, moving on before him in the air, as the disciples might have seen Him when He ascended to His glory.

Ignatius had now spent six weeks in Jerusalem. On the morrow he bade farewell to the land of his predilection, consoling himself with the hope of one day returning.

MOSQUE OF THE ASCENSION, MOUNT OLIVET, JERUSALEM,
BUILT OVER THE TRADITIONAL SITE.

# CHAPTER VI.

## RETURN TO SPAIN—STUDIES AT BARCELONA—1524-6.

ON reaching Cyprus, Ignatius and his companions found three vessels ready to sail; one Turkish, the other two Venetian. Of the latter, one was large and well equipped; the other was small, old, and damaged. As the winter was approaching, the greater part of the pilgrims preferred the larger vessel, and prayed the captain to give Ignatius a free passage out of compassion for his poverty, assuring him that in so doing he would have a saint on board; to which the man replied with a sneer, that if he were a saint he might walk on the water, as other saints had done. The master of the smaller craft willingly received him for the love of God. At early dawn all three vessels sailed out together, with a favourable wind; but at sunset a violent storm arose, and they parted company. The Turkish vessel foundered "with man and mouse" in the high sea, and the large and strong-built Venetian struck upon the coast of Cyprus, the passengers and crew barely escaping with their lives; but the ship which conveyed Ignatius, after long struggling with the tempest, safely made the Apulian coast; and, having executed all necessary repairs and taken in provisions, continued its course to Venice.

It was now the middle of January, 1524, the voyage having lasted two months and a half. Ignatius had gone to sea miserably provided; his only clothing being a short thin coat and an open vest of black cloth, very ragged at the shoulders, with breeches of some coarse material, that reached no lower than the knees, leaving his legs quite bare. His sufferings had been great, for the cold was extreme, and there were frequent falls of snow. At Venice he was again kindly received, probably by the merchant who had entertained him the previous summer; but he had no intention of remaining longer than was requisite to recruit himself for a journey, having resolved on returning to Spain. He had become convinced that it was not the will

of God that he should take up his abode at Jerusalem, at least for the present; and during his voyage it had been made equally clear to him that, if he would labour successfully for the good of souls, he must prepare himself by the use of ordinary means. He was reading the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where our Lord, during His journey to Jerusalem, foretells to His Apostles His passion and resurrection, and, on coming to the words *Et ipsi nihil horum intellexerunt*—"And they understood none of these things"—it was strongly impressed upon his mind that if he also would understand, he must be educated. Hitherto he had entered on his holy enterprise like some valiant cavalier, attempting impracticable feats of daring; now setting himself as resolutely to learn the first rudiments of that knowledge which afterwards he might communicate to others, Iñigo de Loyola would go to school again. The plan was one which seemed to remove him to an indefinite distance from the great object of his aspirations; but what mattered so that the will of God were done? Accordingly, after a few days of necessary repose, Ignatius set out again upon his journey, and, as before, on foot; accepting nothing from his friendly host save a piece of cloth to double over his body, because of the excessive weakness of his stomach, and some fifteen or sixteen giulii[1] for his necessities on the way.

The whole of Northern Italy was now the theatre of war between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France; and Ignatius, thus scantily clothed and provided, was to make his way to Genoa, across the Apennines, which were covered with the snows of winter, and through a country overrun by bands of soldiers. Of this perilous journey the few incidents recorded are highly characteristic of the man. His first stage was Ferrara, probably because he could go so far by boat. While praying in the cathedral, a beggar asked an alms of him, and he gave him a small coin; another came, and to him he gave a larger coin; and then another, to whom he presented one of his silver pieces. Seeing this and telling one another, a whole crowd of beggars gathered round him, and Ignatius being as ready to give as they to receive was soon left penniless. Then, as more continued to press about him, he begged them to excuse his refusing, since he had nothing more either for them or for himself. Such munificence in one whose poverty seemed greater than their own, struck them with astonishment, and observing also his deep piety, they assembled at the doors and followed him as he left the church, crying, "A Saint! A Saint!"

[1] A giulio was worth about sixpence.

On the way to Genoa Ignatius was advised by some Spanish soldiers, who gave him a kindly welcome, to leave the main road and take another, by which he might avoid the danger of passing through the hostile camp; but, full of confidence in the Divine protection, he pursued his course undaunted. He had not gone far before he was stopped by a Spanish outpost which held the road under the walls of a fortified town. His having traversed alone the enemy's lines made them suspect that he was a spy, and he was conducted to a hut near at hand. Here, after questioning him closely, they stripped him of his clothes, and even of his shoes, to see if he had letters or other papers about him; but finding nothing, they dragged him, almost naked, to the commandant of the town. As they led him through the place, the Saint pictured to himself how Jesus, his dear Lord, was ignominiously dragged through the streets of Jerusalem amidst mockery and insult; and his feeling was that of joy at being permitted to bear a part in the sufferings of his Saviour. But then a great fear came over him—what if he should be put to the torture and then hanged as a spy! In order to be taken for a low-bred clown, as well as from a desire to imitate the simplicity of Christ and His Apostles, Ignatius had been wont (as before observed) to use a certain plainness, and even rudeness, of speech; for instance, employing the familiar pronoun in addressing great people. But now, he thought, he would adopt the usual courtesies, and resume for this once the language and manners of a Spanish gentleman. Then, recognising the flatteries of self-love, and inspired with a holy indignation at his own cowardly weakness, he said to himself, "No, I will not call him lord; nor will I bend the knee before him; nor so much as lift my cap from off my head." Once more the old native pride was quelled within him, and, as he was led into the presence of the commandant, that officer's scrutinising glance detected nothing in the pallid features of the wretched object before him that told of the noble, ardent nature glowing beneath.

Ignatius thought of One Who was dumb, as a lamb before its shearer, and opened not His mouth; Who was clad in a fool's coat, and was mocked and set at nought by Herod and his men-at-arms. In this also he would follow his Divine Master; and so, when he was interrogated concerning his name and habitation, he, with downcast eyes, kept silence, or answered briefly and warily; except that on being asked whether he was a spy, he replied promptly, "I am not:" because, by acting otherwise, he would have given just cause for being treated with the utmost rigour. His behaviour, which seemed calculated only to provoke ill-usage, became the occasion of his escaping with his life: for the commandant, looking on him as a simpleton, turned angrily to his soldiers, and said, "Cannot you tell a fool from a spy?

HERMITAGE OF LA TRINIDAD, MONTSERRAT.

take him and set him free." Whereupon the men, irritated by their captain's taunts, made themselves amends by beating their prisoner and by other brutalities; in all which the Saint found only a more perfect realisation of the sufferings of his Lord. At length his tormentors let him go; when a subaltern passing by, and seeing him in such sad plight, had compassion on him, and taking him to his lodging, gave him wherewith to break his fast, and what was more, shelter for the night.

The following day Ignatius pursued his journey without hindrance, until, towards evening, he was descried from a watch-tower by two French soldiers, who took him and brought him before their captain. But here the Saint's thirst for fresh humiliations was to be left unsatisfied; for, on replying to the question whence he came, that he was a Spaniard and a native of Guipuzcoa, to his surprise the officer welcomed him as though he had been a fellow-countryman, saying that he himself came from near those parts, and bade his men treat him as his own guest and take good care of him. Bayard was at this time with the French army, and his generous temper may have imparted a congenial liberality to those among whom Ignatius had now fallen; he experienced greater kindness from foes and strangers than from his own compatriots and friends.

At last he succeeded in reaching Genoa, where he was recognised by Don Rodrigo Portundo, a native of Biscay, with whom he had been acquainted at the court of King Ferdinand. Rodrigo was in command of the Spanish galleys, and by his means Ignatius obtained a passage to Spain. Here, all around, were the signs and equipments of war, which in former days would have stirred his spirit to its inmost depths, but which he now regarded with indifference. To the last, risks and perils seemed to be his portion, for the flotilla was chased and closely pressed by the famous Andrea Doria, who at this time was in the service of the French; and it was not without difficulty that the vessel which bore Ignatius got safely into the harbour of Barcelona, at the end of February or the beginning of March.

Misfortunes at this time appeared accumulating on Christendom. Clement VII., who was now Pope, was thought likely to act with greater energy than the unworldly and timid Adrian; but the Turks were triumphant all along the coasts of the Mediterranean; the quarrels of Francis and Charles became daily more and more complicated, and it seemed likely that all Europe would soon be involved in their irreconcilable dissensions.

On landing at Barcelona, Ignatius proceeded at once to the house of his pious benefactress, Doña Isabel Roser, to whom he communicated the new plans he had formed. She warmly approved his resolution, and engaged to provide him with everything he needed, while a worthy schoolmaster,

named Geronimo Ardebalo, offered to give him instruction gratuitously in the rudiments of grammar and of the Latin tongue. But at Manresa Ignatius had profited much by the counsels of a holy Cistercian, and to him he had determined to have recourse both for spiritual guidance and all necessary teaching. In his ignorance, too, of the time and attention which would thus be absorbed, he thought he should be able to continue the work of evangelisation which he had commenced with such notable success during his former sojourn at the place. He would not therefore accept the offers of his friends, except conditionally. But to his surprise he learnt that the monk was dead, and so he commenced his studies without further delay. Inés Pascual gave him a chamber in her house, dwelling and cotton-factory in one, and her brother, Canon Antonio Pujol, offered him the use of his library, which was in the residence.

Ignatius was now past thirty years of age, a man not only unaccustomed but disinclined to study, of a disposition naturally ardent, almost to excess, and impatient of repose; and yet such was his love of souls, and his zeal for God's honour, that he was content not merely in profession, but in plain matter of fact reality, to go to school and be taught the elements of such knowledge as is commonly acquired in early youth; and, more than this, to learn his tasks, to say his lessons—literally to decline his nouns and conjugate his verbs—sitting among a number of boys who surpassed him both in aptitude for learning and retentiveness of memory, and who, in fact, under his eyes made faster progress than himself.

The better to apply himself to letters, he had renounced in great measure the delights of Divine contemplation; but he had not long resigned himself to his new and uncongenial occupation, before he was subjected to a species of trial peculiar, one would presume, to such as have attained to a very high degree of spiritual perfection. No sooner did he enter the school and begin to commit his lessons to memory, than his mind was filled with lofty conceptions of heavenly things, and his soul inundated with Divine consolations, such as he had not yet experienced. The time that ought to have been given to his books was passed in acts of love to God; and, as his biographers quaintly say, he was for ever practising the *amo, amas*, which he was incapable of conjugating, being unable, with all his endeavours, to restrain or master the current of his thoughts; so that after many days of schooling he had not advanced a single step. Had his soul been less proof against the illusions of self-love, he might have concluded he was called to an exclusive life of contemplation; but Ignatius was not to be deceived. "How is it," he asked himself, "that when I compose myself to prayer, when I assist at mass, even when I partake of the Bread of Life, I am not visited by these

new and abounding lights—these sweet and rapturous emotions; but that no sooner do I set about a common irksome duty than I am carried out of myself and rapt in God! Assuredly, all this is not a favour of Heaven, but a snare of the Evil One: Satan is transformed into an angel of light." He had detected the nature of the hindrance, and its source; and he resolved to free himself, as saints have always done, by a decisive act of self-humiliation. Accordingly, after giving himself to prayer, he requested Ardebalo to accompany him to the neighbouring Church of Santa Maria del Mar—Our Lady of the Sea, and there, seating himself by his side, he confided to him the distractions from which he had suffered, and to which, as he alleged, he had culpably yielded, humbly beseeching his master's forgiveness for his negligence, and promising to spend two full years with him in study, if only he could get bread to eat and water to drink; then, casting himself at his feet, he begged him, if ever he should find him guilty of similar inattention, to chastise him as he would any other of his scholars, in the presence of the rest. After this the enemy of his soul, confounded by his great humility, molested him no more.

The experience thus gained furnished him with those practical rules which he afterwards prescribed to his followers, relative to prayer and study. In a letter, which he wrote when General of the Society, he thus expresses himself:—

"We must not be surprised if our students do not always feel that sensible devotion they would desire; for He to Whom it belongs to accord this grace, grants it when and to whom it is fitting; and during our studies, we must consider that, whereas they commonly very much try the soul, the Divine Wisdom is pleased to suspend such sensible consolations; because, even though these afford great joy to the soul, they weary out and exhaust the body. And though the employment of the mind on scholastic questions is apt to produce some dryness in the sentiments of piety; nevertheless, when it is pursued for the sole end of serving God, study is itself excellent devotion. Provided only that the foundations of virtue sustain no damage, and we devote the time prescribed by the Constitutions to prayer, the loss of sensible consolations must not distress us greatly, but we must receive with contentment from God's hand whatever He is pleased to send us, looking only to that which is the principal matter, viz., patience, humility, obedience, and love."[1]

It was at Barcelona that Ignatius was advised to read Erasmus' book, "De Milite Christiano," for the sake of its pure Latinity, and the religious

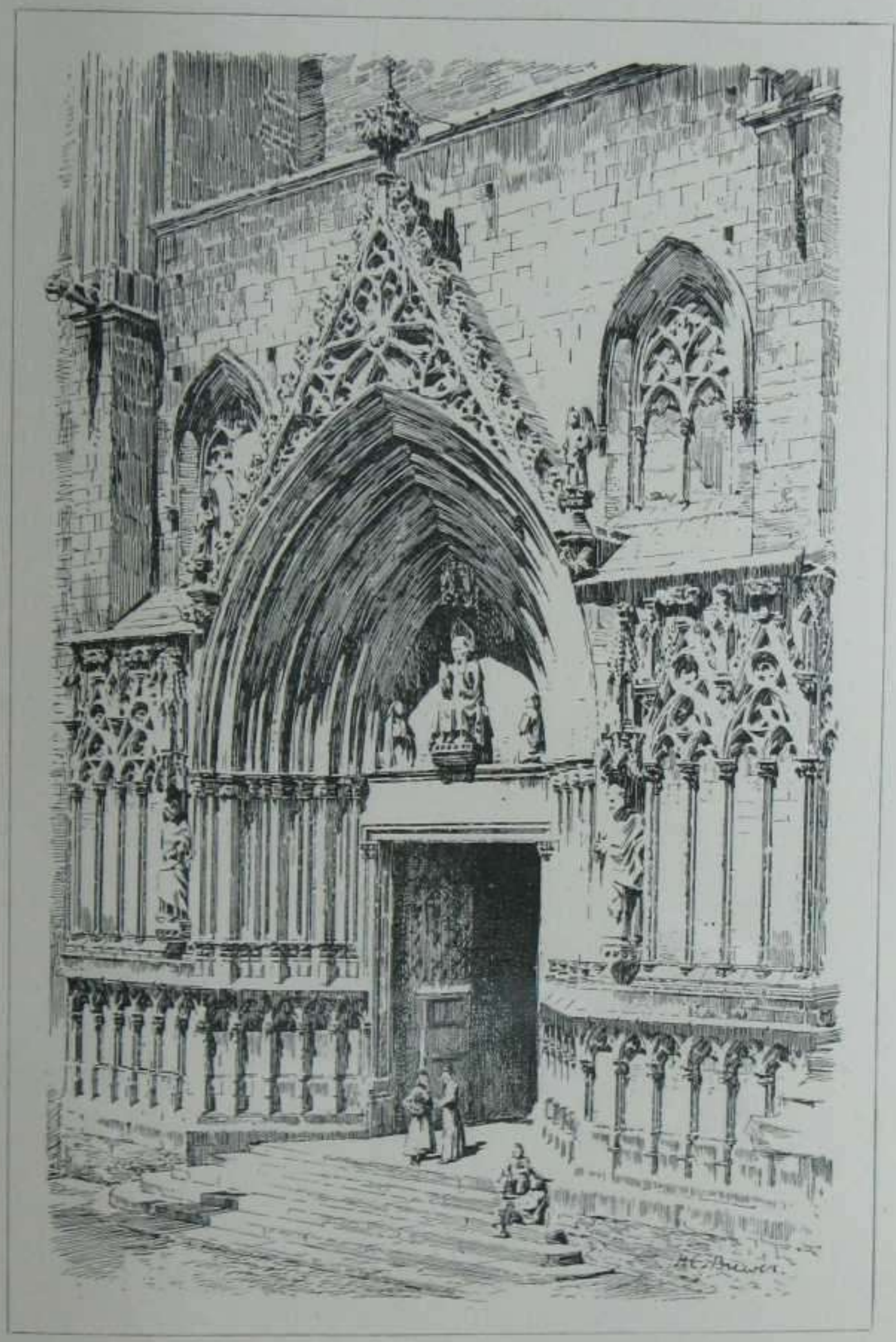
[1] Cartas de S. Ignacio, t. iv. p. 218.

maxims it contained. As his confessor also approved of his doing so, he complied; but finding that, as often as he began to read, the fire of devotion was quenched within him, he first sought counsel of God, and then threw the book aside. Nor would he ever permit the works of that author to be read by any of the Society, except by the older and more learned fathers; not that he deemed all the writings of Erasmus to be tainted with heresy, but he feared lest the sarcastic pleasantries with which they abound should induce an unhealthy tone of mind, and so tend to injure piety and chill devotion.

On the other hand, the "Following of Christ" of Thomas à Kempis was his constant companion; it was the book he always strongly recommended to others; and such was the fidelity with which he formed himself upon its model, that he seemed, says Ribadeneira, to be the living exemplification of its golden rules. It had only lately been translated into Spanish.

From this time Ignatius made rapid progress in his studies, without, however, abating anything of his devotions and penitential practices. Since his return to Spain that weakness of stomach from which he had suffered so much had left him, and he was able to resume many of his former austerities. Yielding to the suggestions of Doña Inés, he was now neatly clad, putting on a black dress which had something of a clerical look about it; but under it he wore a rough hair-shirt. He did not discard his shoes, but cut away the soles, by which contrivance he was able to walk barefoot without attracting notice. Until positively ordered by his confessor, he refused to share the table of his kind hostess, and begged his daily bread on his way to and from the school. When he returned home from his quest, he brought back bits of bread of different sorts, white and brown, and he always eat the worst, and gave the rest to the men engaged in the cotton factory. Among these was one Michael Canielles, an orphan boy, son of a former factory hand of the Pascuals, whom she had kindly bidden Juan to take into their house. He tells us that the men used to say, "O Father Ignatius, have you had bread enough yourself?" And he would say, "Come here, Michael, take and eat this." And the children, too, would take and eat what he gave. "O you *tacays*—naughty boys—why do you accept it? Leave him alone, let him eat," said Mother Pascual. And Ignatius would rejoin, "O Mother, allow them to eat; it makes me quite happy and delighted."[1] On her once affectionately remonstrating with him for this he replied, "Ah! Señora, suppose our Lord asked an alms of you, would you have the heart to keep the best for yourself?" He scourged himself several times a day, and slept

[1] Process of Beatification cited by P. Clair, p. 106.



SANTA MARIA DEL MAR, BARCELONA.—*See p. 95.*

always on the bare ground, or a wooden bed without mattress or bolster; a great part of the time due to sleep he passed in prayer. Juan Pascual secretly watched him through a chink in the door. Ignatius, he tells us, after gazing for a while fixedly towards heaven, would then begin his prayers, sometimes prostrate on the ground in an attitude of the most profound adoration, sometimes with his arms extended in the form of a cross. More than once, as Juan afterwards deposed on oath, the chamber was filled with a dazzling splendour which seemed to radiate from the Saint, who, as he prayed, was lifted up more than two feet into the air; when in a broken voice he would murmur, "O Lord, if men did but know Thee!" or again, "Ah, my God, how infinitely good Thou art to bear with a miserable sinner such as I am!" So impressed was Pascual with all he saw and heard, that as long as he lived he could not speak of it without emotion. During these ecstasies, he said, Ignatius remained insensible to all external impressions; and it was only by his breathing that he gave token of being alive.[1]

Ignatius visited all the churches of the town, but most of all that of Santa Maria del Mar, where he usually heard mass and communicated. He said the Rosary every day. He attended vespers and compline at the cathedral in the chapel of St. Eulalia,—a large crypt under the high altar, approached by broad stairs and where stands her shrine,—out of special devotion to this Martyr Saint, the patroness of Barcelona. The church of San Geronimo is rendered famous by an ecstasy which befell him there, and which the nuns of the adjoining convent witnessed. After praying two or three hours before an altar of St. Matthew, motionless as a marble statue, they saw him raised from the ground, his knees still bent, and his face shining like one of the blessed. Ignatius appears to have had some relations with these religious, for to Antonia Strada, who was one of them, he afterwards sent, probably from Paris, a reliquary containing a little earth and small pebble which he had brought from the Holy Land. On it was written in the Saint's own hand, "For a keepsake." In the year 1800, this reliquary was still preserved on the high altar of the church.

As at Manresa, so at Barcelona, Ignatius had many friends. The love of God which burned in his heart showed itself not only in his charity to the poor, but in the deep personal interest he took in the spiritual welfare of all with whom he came in contact. Many remarkable conversions were effected by him, and the fame of his sanctity became so great that many of

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[1] The house where Ignatius lived with the Pascuals, in Barcelona, was in the Cotoners' (Cotton-spinners) Street, now called *Calle S. Ignacio*, the last on the left hand, at the corner, on the side towards the sea. He had a little room at the top of the staircase, in the middle of that floor.

the principal people of the place sought him out, both to render him such assistance as he would accept, and to profit by his advice and conversation. Among these are mentioned the names of Ana de Requesens, Isabel de Bojadors, Guiomar de Gralla,[1] and Isabel de Josa, all of whom were members of distinguished families of Catalonia. But for himself he affected most the society of those who were constantly with him—his hostess, Inés Pascual, and her son Juan, now eighteen years old. With them it was his practice to converse every night on the things of God.[2] Juan has himself gratefully recorded with what simple earnestness the Saint on these occasions counselled him to be diligent in frequenting the Sacraments, to fear and love God's holy law, and obey his mother. "Ah! if you had known"—he would often say to his children in after days—"if you had known that guest of ours, so holy and so gentle, you would never tire of kissing the ground which his feet have touched and the walls that sheltered him;" and then, weeping and striking his breast, he would bitterly lament that he had profited so little by the conversation of so great a saint.

On the other hand, as at Manresa, the piety of Ignatius provoked the scorn and hatred of the ill-disposed. Certain persons, having discovered that he was of gentle birth, began to ridicule and insult him as he passed, saying that no doubt he was some hypocritical knave who had disgraced himself and his family; and, little knowing the nature of the man, they thought to intimidate him by threats of violence. The Saint stopped, listened in silence to their abuse, then with a placid countenance thanked them as sincerely as if they had done him a real favour—which, indeed, they had; for surely meekness will better inherit the promised blessing if one be reviled and wrongfully accused.

Among the Saint's foes were some young men who worked in the house. Inés, in her indignation, would have at once dismissed the offenders, but for the entreaties of Ignatius, who protested that they could not say worse things of him, whatever they might say, than he deserved; adding that, anyhow, they did but afford him an occasion of practising Christian patience. This forbearance and tenderness so touched their hearts, that they soon ceased their railleries, and he had the happiness ere long of winning many of them to God.

Outside the walls of the town, between the Puerta Nueva and the Puerta

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[1] Ignatius had probably known the Grallas in the Court of Ferdinand. The head of the family was a high official in the Royal Exchequer.

[2] Juan was apt to be somewhat stubborn and disobedient to his mother, after the fashion of boys of eighteen, and this was a frequent subject of Ignatius' exhortations at those times.

San Daniel, was a Dominican nunnery, called the Convent of the Angels, but which at that time had well-nigh lost claim to so fair a title. Young men of bad repute frequented the house; and this caused grave scandal, and, in cases of some of the community, great laxity.[1] All this was a matter of notoriety at Barcelona, and Ignatius resolved, happen what would, to effect a reformation. He set about the work as only saints know how. He went daily to their church, and spent whole hours before the tabernacle praying to God for their conversion. After a while the nuns began to notice him; one told another, and they stood in a group together behind the lattice unperceived, watching him. The length of his prayers, the fervour that glowed in his countenance, the tears which he shed, excited their curiosity; they began to feel a strange interest about him. Who was this extraordinary person? and why did he come there day after day? They were told that he was accounted in the city as a saint. Such visitors were rare at the Convent of the Angels; they wished to see him and converse with him: such an event would be a novelty and an amusement, if nothing more. But, vain and worldly as they were, they had still a conscience and Catholic instincts; and when Ignatius stood before them, there was that in his eyes which told them that his soul was the living temple of the Spirit of God. Then the Saint broke silence—not in terms of railing, but in accents which bespoke the anguish that wrung his heart. He set before them the duties and the excellency of their religious profession, the punishment they were bringing on themselves by the life some of them were leading, the scandal such conduct was giving, and the vengeance which would surely come upon them from the outraged majesty of God. Then he expounded to them the great truths of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the End of Man—especially of such as, like themselves, had renounced the world—the end of creatures, the awful nature of sin, and the Life and Sufferings of their Lord. These exhortations he renewed from time to time, until they not only returned to the strict observance of their conventual rule, but were confirmed in the true religious spirit of their Order.

Meanwhile the men who had been the occasion of these disorders were irritated to fury at finding themselves excluded from the convent, and twice they attacked Ignatius on the road; but, seeing that neither threats nor blows could turn him from his purpose, and that the nuns, supported by his counsels, persisted in their good resolves, they determined to have recourse

[1] Navigero, in his *Viaggio fatto in Spagna*, 1563, p. 3, says there was in Barcelona a convent where the nuns carried red swords like knights and could marry. Evidently a house of honorary religious, like the Canonesses of our day in Austria. Perhaps this may have been the Convent of the Angels.

to a more effectual method. One day that he was returning from the convent, in company with the good priest Antonio Pujol, who had assisted him all through his pious labours, he was waylaid by two Moorish slaves. These ruffians fell upon the two defenceless men with such ferocity, that Pujol died shortly after, and Ignatius was left senseless on the ground. As he lay thus, a miller happening to pass by, took pity on him, and, setting him on his mule, carried him to the Puerta San Daniel, and then very slowly to Inés Pascual's house. For thirty days Ignatius lay between life and death, his body one mass of wounds and bruises, so that he could only be moved in bed by lifting the sheet under him, and even this occasioned him the acutest suffering. Notwithstanding which, he would not allow his hair-shirt to be taken off him, until his confessor, Father Diego de Alcantara, a Franciscan friar, bade him, in virtue of holy obedience, to submit.[1] While he remained in this precarious state, he received constant visits from persons of the highest rank in Barcelona, to whose condolences he replied that great indeed would be his happiness if it were permitted him to die for the sake of Christ. Nor would he furnish any information by which his assailants might be identified and punished, praying God to pardon them and bring them to repentance. But there were other and dearer friends, whose anxiety and affliction knew no bounds; his beloved poor, who came in crowds to see him, gathering even about his bed, and on their knees beseeching Heaven to spare the life of one who had been to them as a father. Their prayers were heard. On the thirtieth day, there being no longer any hope of his recovery, Ignatius received the Last Sacraments; but from that time he began to mend. Three weeks later he was declared to be out of danger, and soon afterwards he left his bed.

As soon as he could walk, he expressed his intention of going again to the Convent of the Angels. Inés, who felt for him all the affection of a mother, conjured him, even with tears, not to venture where certain death awaited him; but all to no purpose, for Ignatius replied that he desired nothing so much as to give his life for God and the good of souls. No harm, however, befell him; on the contrary, his self-devotion was rewarded by a signal triumph of grace. For one day, as he left the convent, he was met by a merchant named Ribera, who, kneeling before him, confessed himself the principal author of the outrage, and entreated his forgiveness, at the same time solemnly promising to amend his life, a promise which he is said to have faithfully kept. He declared that he had been touched less by horror

[1] On this occasion, Ignatius gave to Juan Pascual the crucifix he had worn since his conversion. It is now preserved at the Jesuit College, Manresa (see p. 71).

PUERTA NUEVA, BARCELONA, NOW DESTROYED.—*See p.* 100.

of his crime than by his sense of the patience and charitable forbearance which the Saint had shown; assuring him, however, that he had never intended to take his life, but merely to deter him from continuing his efforts for the reformation of the nuns.

It was about this time that an event occurred which, though it may not have been strictly speaking miraculous, was considered sufficiently remarkable to form subsequently the subject of a judicial inquiry. Ignatius was returning from the Convent of the Angels, and was passing through the square called Plaz de Lull, near the street named Belloc, when his attention was attracted by loud cries proceeding from one of the houses in that street,[1] about which a crowd of people had gathered. Hastening to the spot, he found that a certain Lisan had hanged himself from a beam, in a fit of vexation and despair at having lost a lawsuit which he had long carried on against his brother. The wretched man had been cut down, and lay stretched on a bed, without any signs of life. The persons present applied vinegar and restoratives to his temples, when St. Ignatius, seeing that their efforts were useless, knelt down at a little distance, and made earnest supplication to God for the salvation of his soul. Others also did the same; then, rising, he pronounced over him the name of Jesus; when, on a sudden, to the surprise of all, Lisan returned to consciousness, gave some signs of sorrow for the crime he had committed, and after a short time expired. It was the common opinion at the time, confirmed by a formal process many years afterwards, that at the prayers of His servant God was pleased to allow the unhappy man to return to life, that he might have time to make an act of contrition for his sin ere he went to judgment. But it is certain, that the bishop, having learned all the circumstances of the case, gave permission to have him buried in consecrated ground.

By this time the character of Ignatius had come to be well known in Barcelona, and his sanctity recognised. He had begun to have not only friends, but disciples, among the young men of the place, who looked up to him as their spiritual guide. Even while at Manresa, he had sought some to whom he could communicate his ideas, and who would bear a part in the great work to which he had dedicated his life, but had found none. Many now offered themselves as his companions, from whom he chose three, and even these did not persevere. Their names were—Calixto Saà, from Segovia, Juan de Arteaga y Avendaño, from Estépa, and Diego Caceres, a Segovian gentleman who was attached to the court of the Viceroy of Catalonia. Calixto had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by Ignatius' advice. He is

[1] Boll. p. 433, n. 125.

mentioned in a letter to Inés Pascual, then absent from Barcelona—the earliest of Ignatius' correspondence that remains:—

"*To my sister in Christ our Lord, Pascual.*

I have thought it my duty to write to you, on account of the desire I know you have to serve our Lord; also as I believe you to be cast down by the absence of that holy maiden whom it has pleased the Lord to take away, and on account of the many enemies and troubles which in the Lord's service you are subject to here, as well as of that enemy of mankind who never ceases his temptations. For the love of God our Lord be ever striving to press forward, flying all hindrances; for, if you fly them carefully, temptation will not be able to have any force against you; which you must always do, preferring before all things the glory of the Lord; and so much the more that the Lord does not ask of you things which, from their laboriousness, could be hurtful to you, but rather that you should find joy in Him, and give the body that which it needs. Let your talking, thinking, and company be with Him; and as to the things of the body, in order to the same end, always prefer the commandments of God above all things: for this is what He wills and desires of us. Whoever considers the thing well, will find that there is more trouble and pain in this life . . ." (here four or five words are illegible).

"There is in this place a pilgrim called Calixto, with whom I much wish to confer about your affairs; for, in truth, it may be that you will find in him more than appears.

And also, for the love of our Lord, let us take courage in Him, seeing we owe Him so much, and that we are more quickly satisfied in receiving His gifts than He is in bestowing them on us.

May it please our Lady to intercede for us sinners with her Son, our Lord, and obtain for us grace from Him that He may change our weak and troubled souls and make them strong and joyful to toil and labour for His glory.

BARCELONA, *Feast of St. Nicholas*" (*Dec. 6th*).

We may here introduce a simple story, which is referred by the narrator to the time when Ignatius was residing at Barcelona. He and his companions were returning home, probably from some pilgrimage they had been making, when they were overtaken by a stout peasant, with whom, as usual, they entered into conversation. Observing their wan faces and bare feet, and especially the halting gait of Ignatius, the man offered to carry their bags for them. They refused for some time, but at last acceded. On coming to a resting-place at night, he observed how they each sought out a corner where they could kneel down and pray; upon which he put himself upon his knees as they did. They afterwards asked him what prayers he said. "Only this," he answered: "Lord, these are good and holy men, and I am but their baggage-mule; what they do, I desire to do also. And this," he added, "is all I can offer to God." The Carthusian, who has related this in

a treatise on Spiritual Communion, remarks that the peasant profited so much by the lights thus obtained, that he afterwards reached a high degree of spirituality, and of perfection in mental prayer.

In the choice of his three associates, Ignatius seems to have been left to the exercise of a merely human judgment; but in respect to one of those whom he would not receive, there is proof that he was supernaturally enlightened. This was a young Catalan, a native of Gerona, named Miguel Rodis, who, moved by the Saint's exhortations and example, ardently desired to be one of his companions. But Ignatius answered him in these words—"You will not follow me; but one day a son of yours will enter the religious order which, by God's grace, I shall found." This prediction was uttered very soon after the Saint's return from Jerusalem, and therefore sixteen or seventeen years before the foundation of the Society; and it was exactly fulfilled. Miguel Rodis became an eminent lawyer, and married; and his youngest son, Miguel, was afterwards a Jesuit. On his communicating to his father his desire to enter the Society, he was for the first time informed of the Saint's prediction; and both rejoiced at its near fulfilment. But the Provincial delaying to answer the request for admission longer than suited the youth, he changed his mind, and resolved to become a Carthusian monk. Twice the day was fixed for his entrance, and twice an unforeseen accident prevented it. Upon this he returned to his first intention, became a member of the Society, and persevered in it to old age, distinguished for his religious virtues, his zeal for souls, and his great austerity of life.

The other whom Ignatius would not receive, was that same Juan Pascual of whom frequent mention has been made. He had wished to follow Ignatius even before he went to the Holy Land, but the Saint told him that it was God's will he should remain in the world, and, at the same time (as Juan afterwards deposed), disclosed to him the future course of his life, and all that he would have to undergo. "You will marry," he said, "a woman of great virtue, and will have many sons and daughters; and on their account will have many sorrows and misfortunes, which will be sent you by God out of love for you, and for remission of your sins." He added that Juan would be reduced to great poverty. All which actually fell out as the Saint had foretold. Juan's eldest son was born deaf and dumb; the second at the age of twenty-two became insane; the third led a dissolute life, and one day fell down dead before his father's eyes. Of his four daughters, three who were willing to marry were without dowers. Towards the end of his life he was loaded with debts, and reduced almost to beggary. But the Saint had provided him with a balm for all these distresses, by assuring him that, by the grace of God, they would be for his spiritual advancement; and,

as long as he lived, he did not fail to console his poor friend by his affectionate letters.

And now Ignatius had spent two years at Barcelona: in the opinion of Ardebalo and others he had made such progress as to be fit to pass on to higher studies. But willing neither to trust his own competency, nor to dispute the judgment of others, he preferred being formally examined by an able and learned theologian. With his approval he resolved to remove to the University of Alcalá, lately founded by Cardinal Ximenes, where he would attend the lectures of the most eminent professors, and avail himself of the admirable system of instruction there pursued. Another motive probably was his poverty, the Cardinal having provided liberally for the education of poor scholars. Such numbers, indeed, availed themselves of this munificence, so worthy of a prince of the Church, that, on Francis I. spending three days at Alcalá, when still a prisoner in the hands of Charles V., 7000 students went out to meet him. On which the royal captive observed, "Only a line of kings could have done in France what has been accomplished here by a single Spanish friar."

So lasting was the impression left by the Saint in Barcelona, that when, fifteen years afterwards, his nephew, Antonio Araoz, then but a recent novice of the Society, was sent to the place, his arrival was no sooner known, than the house in which he lodged was besieged by persons desirous of hearing tidings of Ignatius. Many wished to join the new foundation, and many more offered money for establishing a house at Barcelona; nor were they satisfied until Araoz, though not in orders, and quite unpractised, had preached to them. This he did with such fire and fruit that they received his words as if they had come from the mouth of the Saint himself.

# CHAPTER VII.

## HIGHER STUDIES AT ALCALÁ—1526–7.

IGNATIUS arrived at Alcalá at the beginning of August, but finding that the schools would not be opened till after St. Luke's day, October 18, he passed the interval in devotion and works of charity. As before, he lived solely on alms; and the first person he accosted was Martin de Olave, then a student of the University, but who, twenty-six years afterwards, when he was attending the Council of Trent, as a learned doctor of theology, was called to exchange the pursuit of ecclesiastical honours for that of evangelical perfection in the Society of Jesus. Ignatius, instead of occupying a room in college, like other students, lodged at first in the old hospital of the city; there, while attending on the sick, he was able to render essential service to a young Frenchman, a page of Don Martin de Cordova, the Viceroy of Navarre. Jean, as this young man was called, wounded in a fray, had been left behind in the hospital until he should be sufficiently recovered to rejoin his patron. But the Saint's charity, his holy conversation, and, still more, the silent and unconscious influence of his personal character, so wrought upon Jean, that he resolved to quit the world, and he became the Saint's fourth companion.

Ignatius had not been more than twelve days at Alcalá before he had to encounter, as usual, the contempt and ill-usage of those who did not comprehend the motives of his conduct, but regarded him simply as an ingenious beggar, who, by a show of piety, added to a specious air of refinement, sought to impose on the credulity of the benevolent. One day that he was going out of the hospital in quest of alms, a set of people came about him and began to insult and make sport of him, having at their head an unworthy priest with senses so blunted that he could not discern the living image of his Lord. Ignatius bore all with a most courageous meekness;

but Lope Deza,[1] the Warden of the Hospital of Antezana, who chanced to be a witness of the scene, struck with admiration at the Saint's patience, and indignant at the way in which he was treated, took him to his own residence. Here, either because the Warden left the matter to others, or because he wished to test the sanctity of his guest, Ignatius was given a room[2] which had long had the reputation of being haunted. On the first night he was disturbed by a most fearful noise, which, as he had received no warning, filled him with alarm; but, presently taking courage, he made an offering of himself to God, to suffer whatever He might be pleased to permit the malice of Satan to inflict upon him; and from that moment the noises ceased, nor were they ever heard again.

Two of the Saint's companions, Juan and Calixto, when they joined him, were lodged out of charity by Hernando de Para, and the other two by Andrès de Arce. There were at the time two brothers, and of a good Navarrese family, Esteban and Diego d'Eguia,[3] studying at Alcalá. They were first cousins of Francis Xavier,[4] whose name will often appear in these pages. They gave largely to Ignatius, to enable him to do the works of charity which they saw were so dear to him. One day Diego opened the chest in which he kept his money and belongings, and bade the Saint help himself freely to whatever he pleased for the benefit of the poor. Both Diego and Esteban in after years entered the Order which Ignatius was to found. Our Saint left the hospital, and went to stay with a kind person, who offered him a lodging.

All the members of this little society were dependent entirely on private bounty, they were poor, and the servants of the poor. They all wore the same dress—a loose tunic of coarse grey serge, reaching down to their feet, with a cap of the same colour. The people called them "Los ensacados," or the men in sackcloth. Some double meaning may here be intended, for Gonçalez afterwards says that Ignatius was warned that he and his companions would be denounced to the Inquisition as "*sagati*," bewitched.

They all went barefoot. Whatever he received over and above his own

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[1] His son, Alonso Deza, in after years became a Jesuit, and was the first of his Order to lecture in Alcalá, where he gained a great reputation.

[2] The room occupied by the Saint is now turned into a chapel, and was in 1672 made part of the Church. In the hospital is the bath where the Saint washed the pauper patients.

[3] The Latin version of the Bollandists, p. 646, A, makes Gonçalez say that one of them was a printer, and that the Saint lodged in his house. There must be some mistake in the Latin translation.

[4] Their mother, Catharine Xavier, married, as second husband, Nicola d'Eguia, and these were the sons by that marriage.

necessities, Ignatius expended in relieving those who were in want, especially such as had seen better days, and, from bashfulness or infirmity, were prevented asking alms for themselves. But, though he willingly exposed himself to the shame of begging in the public streets, he desired, as much as possible, to do good in secret, as the following instance shows. Martin Saez, a rich merchant of Azpeitia, who had come to Alcalá on business, had a great desire to see Ignatius, whom he had known in times past at Loyola, and now heard everywhere spoken of for his great piety and charity. Accordingly, he watched for him as he came out of the schools, and, following him unobserved, saw him go into a cottage, and, after a while, come out again. Curious to know the object of his visit, Saez went in himself, and found a poor woman lying sick in bed. He asked her who the student was that had just gone out. She replied she did not know; only he seemed to be a saint, for he came there every day to see and relieve her, and comforted her with pious words. "Well," said he, "when he comes to-morrow, tell him you know some one who, if he wants anything for himself or any other, will gladly supply it." The woman did as she was told; but Ignatius, finding that he had been recognised—a thing he took all pains to avoid—said to her, "My sister, hitherto I have taken care of you, but for the future God will provide for you in some other way, and to Him I heartily commend you." With these words he left her and never returned.

As yet we have said nothing of his progress in the schools, but the story is soon told. With a view of shortening his course, he went through everything at one and the same time: the logic of Soto, the physics of Albert the Great, the theology of Peter Lombard, and all the several commentaries thereon, as given in the lecture-rooms. The consequence was, that what with the multiplicity of subjects, and his want of order and method, together with his impatience to finish, he made very little progress. Besides, his zeal was occupying itself in other and more congenial ways —not in corporal works of mercy only, but in spiritual works also; and that to a far greater extent. He applied himself, with all his characteristic energy, to the instruction, conversion, and sanctification of souls, not only in private but in public: he taught Catechism in the streets to children and the poor, or, rather, to all who chose to listen; he held spiritual conferences after the manner indicated in the "Exercises," and afterwards developed with such marvellous effects by himself and by his followers; and this he did both in the hospitals and in the schools. He conversed familiarly with the students, especially with those who were leading a careless or a dissolute life, or who, through their superior abilities or address, had most influence with the rest; adapting himself to their several char-

acters and dispositions, and striving to win their confidence, that so he might reclaim them from their evil ways, and lead them gently on to the higher works of Christian excellence. Few particulars have been recorded, but the general fact is certain that extraordinary results followed, not from any force of natural eloquence, which, if Ignatius possessed, he had not cultivated, but from the deep conviction with which he spoke; from his zeal for God, and his tender love of souls—of each and every individual soul—which softened while it warmed the hearts of those who heard him. In all which he began to manifest that twofold characteristic which so eminently distinguished him, the talent for teaching and organising. For while, on the one hand, he disdained all human considerations, and abandoned himself entirely to the operations of Divine grace, on the other, he availed himself of all human means to procure an access for that grace into the minds of men, and bring them to the obedience of the truth. This spiritual sagacity grew and deepened in him the more he advanced in perfection; and he bequeathed it as a heritage to the Institute he founded, which in its conduct, as in its teaching, has ever known how to unite, as it were, the forces of earth and heaven; and, while giving free course to the inspirations of grace, ever exercises and utilises all the energies of the human intellect.

Ignatius was become a meek man and a humble one: he bore the grossest personal insults with an heroic patience; no provocations seemed to ruffle even his external serenity. But there was one thing he would not brook—scandalous sin; and one thing he deeply resented—an affront to God. Where the honour of his Lord was concerned, he was bold even to audacity—albeit an audacity tempered with a holy modesty. An instance of this is recorded of him while at Alcalá. By a lamentable abuse, frequent at the time, but condemned afterwards by the Council of Trent, young men of family were allowed to hold ecclesiastical benefices, although they were not in holy orders and performed no official duties. Such a personage there was now at Alcalá, titularly a prebendary of one of the cathedrals, but in fact a gay young libertine, or, in modern phrase, a "fast man" of the University, but a gentleman to boot, whose position, extravagance, and popular manners, made him the head of his set and the very pest of the place.

It is easy to conceive how Ignatius's righteous soul was vexed by this twofold scandal to religion and to morals. After imploring God's light and grace, he resolved to attempt this youth's conversion. Going, therefore, to his lodging, he asked an audience. The young man had heard enough of Ignatius to be aware that he would be a troublesome acquaintance. But the next moment, bethinking himself that he must have come merely for the

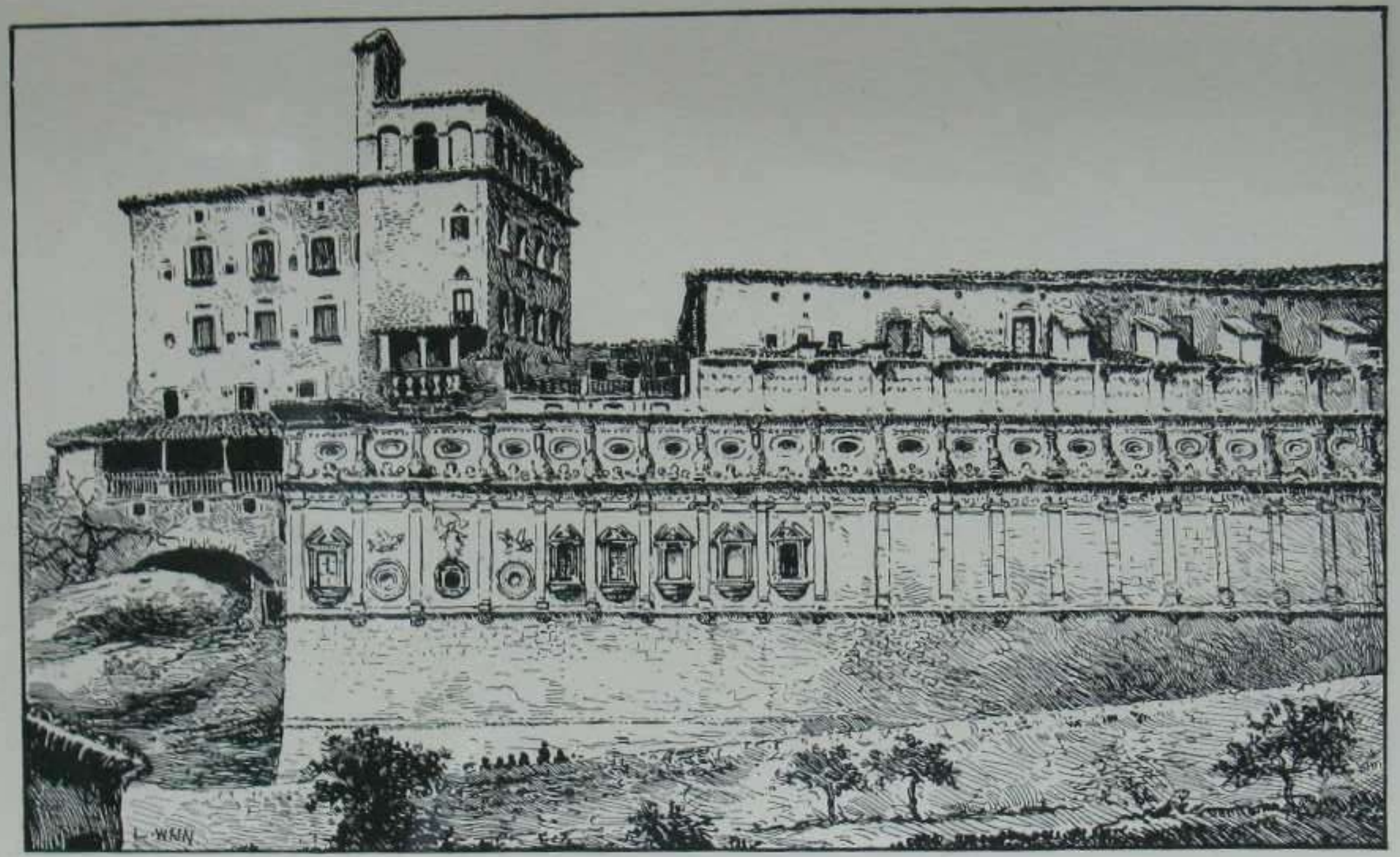
purpose of soliciting alms, he desired him to be admitted, and received him with a haughty politeness, which, while it barely veiled the contempt he made no endeavour to conceal, left no opening, as he thought, for any infringement of the ordinary rules of social etiquette which his strange visitor might be meditating. Ignatius, nothing disconcerted, begged leave to speak to him in private on a business of importance, and the young man, with an air of surprise, ordered his attendants to withdraw. And now, left alone with the young offender, Ignatius went straight to the point; he told him what was everywhere said of him, and of what his flatterers had kept him in ignorance, the injury he was doing his reputation, his profession, the souls of others, and his own. For a moment the young ecclesiastic was silenced by the suddenness of the reproof, and then he burst out into a very tempest of fury; with language contemptuous and violent, he bade his monitor hold his peace and be gone: threatening that if he spoke another word he would have him thrown out of the window. Ignatius listened to his ravings, and dealt with him as a kind and experienced physician might deal with a maniac. There was in him a total abandonment of self, and a loving tenderness, infinitely more soothing, more subduing, than any merely natural compassion or affection, for it had its well-spring deep in the heart of God.

The young man felt moved: he had never been so addressed before; it was a new experience. The incidents of the contest we shall never know till the Great Day of Revelation; but when the servants, who had gathered round the door upon hearing their master's voice raised loud in tones of anger, were summoned to his presence, they could scarcely credit the evidence of their senses. They found the proud young noble addressing the lowly student with every manifestation of unfeigned respect; then, turning to them, he bade them set a cover for his visitor, who would honour the house with his company at dinner that day. Ignatius consented, in order that he might the more effectually finish the work he had begun; but two things he would not do: he would not mount the mule that stood ready caparisoned for him when it was time to take his leave; and he would not let himself be escorted home by servants bearing lighted torches before him, as was the custom with great persons in that day. The young man ever after loved and revered him as a father; and was able, by means of his high position, to be a powerful protector of the Saint and of his Order; and the Saint, in his turn, ever regarded him with a peculiar affection.

Conquests like this brought others in their train. The lodgings of our Saint became a school of spiritual training, almost as numerously attended as that at which the Humanities were taught. Persons of every rank resorted to Ignatius for counsel and direction; students suddenly changed

their mode of life, and took to pious practices. All Alcalá was in commotion; strange rumours began to get abroad: Ignatius was a sorcerer, and deceived the people by his enchantments. This, it was believed, accounted for the extraordinary influence he exercised over men's minds and the interior conflicts which his so-called converts had commonly to sustain. Nor were these injurious suspicions confined to the vulgar only. One thing clearly was a novelty; that a mere unlettered layman, armed with no ecclesiastical authority, should gather about him a numerous body of disciples, shutting themselves up with him for days together in secret conferences. Then there was the singular and uniform garb worn by Ignatius and his companions. In all this there was a mystery, and there might be mischief. Moreover, they frequented the Sacraments more constantly than was usual at that time, even with good Christian people; for they communicated on all Sundays and holidays of the Church. To such a length did prejudice carry even conscientious and well-meaning men, that Doctor Alonso Sanchez, a canon of the collegiate Church of San Justo, acting on the mistaken opinion that frequent participation led to an irreverent familiarity with sacred things, publicly refused Communion to one of the Saint's followers, because he wished to receive it on the octave of a feast, as well as on the feast itself, and he allowed it to St. Ignatius himself only reluctantly and with difficulty. However, shortly afterwards, God made him sensible of his error; for, one day as he was dispensing to Loyola the Bread of Life, he experienced at the moment so sweet a feeling of devotion that he could scarcely restrain his tears. The same day he took Ignatius home with him, and so charmed was he with the manner in which his guest, as was his custom, spoke of spiritual things, that he ever after entertained the greatest reverence for him.

But the whole matter soon assumed a more serious aspect. Exaggerated reports of what was passing at Alcalá reached the Inquisition at Toledo, together with secret intimations from persons in authority, whose representations could not be disregarded; and it was resolved to institute a formal inquiry into the teaching and practices of Ignatius and his companions. The circumstances of the time were such as to provoke suspicion and alarm. Not to speak of the doctrines which Luther was disseminating in Germany, and which were beginning to distract all Europe, only three years before (1523) there had been discovered in the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz a secret fanatical sect, the members of which called themselves "los Alumbrados," or "the Enlightened;" and who may be considered to have held some of the doctrinal errors of De Molinos and the Quietists of the succeeding century. They taught that prayer of complete interior



FRONT VIEW OF THE "SACRA CUEVA," MANRESA.—*See p.* 50.

silence was the one perfect fulfilment of the law of God; that by means of such prayer they could arrive at a state so sublime that neither good works nor Sacraments were necessary; and that in this exalted state they might abandon themselves to the foulest immoralities without sin. Such were the opinions which Ignatius was suspected of inculcating; and he and his companions were actually denounced to the tribunal of the Inquisition.

Accordingly, Don Alonso de Mexia was sent from Toledo to conduct the inquiry, in conjunction with Don Miguel Carrasco, a canon of San Justo. The judges commenced their sittings on the 19th of November, and proceeded, after the usual manner, to examine in private the persons with whom Ignatius and his companions lodged, as well as any others who had knowledge of their lives and doctrines. From the evidence given, Don Alonso was so far satisfied of the innocence of the accused, that he returned to Toledo, leaving Juan Rodriguez de Figueroa, Grand Vicar of the Archbishop of Toledo, in Alcalá, to complete the informations. After a few days, Figueroa sent for Ignatius and the rest, and apprised them of the inquiry that had been instituted; and that as nothing had been found reprehensible in their lives or erroneous in their teaching, they were at liberty to pursue their pious practices as before. But since they belonged to no Religious Order, it was not fitting they should wear what bore the appearance of a religious habit; and that for the future they should at least vary the colour of their dress: that of Ignatius and Arteaga, for instance, should be black; and that of Calixto and Caceres brown; while Juan might retain the colour he then wore: to all which they readily agreed. Accordingly, they had their habits dyed, and on Christmas Day appeared in the colours prescribed to them. About three weeks later, came an order that they should wear shoes, which also they immediately did.

But his adversaries were too pertinacious to part with Ignatius on such easy terms. Absolved from the charge of heresy, he had prosecuted his apostolic labours with increased success, when, on the 6th March, a new inquiry was set on foot respecting his proceedings. Many persons of piety were accustomed, as before at Barcelona, to consult him on matters connected with the spiritual life; and it so happened that a married lady of rank was in the habit of going to the hospital early in the morning, with her face enveloped in her mantilla, as usual in Spain, which she removed when conversing with the Saint. This circumstance was made the occasion of a fresh accusation, which, however, only turned to his greater credit. The charge on investigation proved to be so perfectly groundless, that he was not even summoned before the judge, nor was he so much as informed at the time that he had been again denounced and acquitted.

For some few weeks he was left in peace, but then an incident occurred which had the effect of changing Figueroa's dispositions, and hastening his own departure from the University. Ignatius had gone to Segovia,[1] to visit his companion Calixto, who was lying dangerously ill. On his recovery, he returned to Alcalá, and had scarcely arrived, when an officer of justice entered his room—he had now left the hospital—and ordered him to follow him. Ignatius quietly obeyed, and was taken to the prison appointed for clerics, where he was told he must consider himself in custody; that he would not be kept in close confinement, but that he must make no attempt to leave the place till the authorities thought proper to liberate him. No further information was given, and he himself asked no questions.

As he was being led through the streets on his way to prison, he and his guard had to stand on one side to allow room to pass for a numerous train of nobles and official personages, in their robes of state, who were doing the honours of the town to a young cavalier, of whom the comely countenance once beheld could not be easily forgotten. This was Francis Borgia, the Marquis of Lombay, son of the Duke of Gandia, then a youth of seventeen, who, twenty years later, when himself in possession of the family title, and ex-Viceroy of Catalonia, was to cast himself humbly at that prisoner's feet, and beg him to receive him as his subject and his son.

In the young nobleman's childhood his father's castle of Gandia was taken and sacked, during the wars of the Commons; the family fled in terror, and Francis was carried to his uncle, the Archbishop of Saragossa, who kept and educated him, cultivating his precocious piety and providing him with the accomplishments required in the youthful nobility of those days. Two years later than this accidental meeting, he sent him, a devout scholar and a distinguished cavalier, to the Court of Charles V., where he won the prize he long coveted—the hand of Leonora de Castro. It is said that when his musical skill was in request at the Imperial Court, he sang only hymns; and that in the critical moment of the chase, when the dogs were about to seize upon the boar, or the falcon to swoop down upon the quarry, he would turn away his head, that he might never cease to practise self-denial, an act which we are told by sporting testimony is well nigh-impossible.

A fact that happened at this time has much interest and importance. Borgia seems to have studied the art of war along with the Emperor Charles V., then about his own age; and he distinguished himself later in the campaigns of Africa, Lombardy, and Provence.

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[1] The Saint was the guest of a gentleman of that city, Don Gonzalo de Caires, and, for many years after, the room he occupied was shown and venerated.—*Hist. MS. Coll. Segov. S. J.*

Charles sent him to carry news of the war to the Empress Isabel, who had ever been the kindest of friends to him and to Leonora. But when her Court—then removed to Toledo, where the States were assembled—was full of splendour and rejoicing, a sudden illness seized the Empress, and she died in a few days. It was the office of Don Francis, as nearest to the Imperial family, to accompany and verify the remains, mouldering after many days in the coffin, when they arrived at Granada. The sight of that fearful spectacle made him resolve, as soon as it should be permitted him, to withdraw from the world. Leonora would not have dissuaded him. When she was reproached for wearing a dress too plain for one of her rank, she said, "How can I care for rich garments when my husband wears a hair-shirt?"

But when the Emperor made Borgia Viceroy of Catalonia, he discharged the duties of that station with admirable zeal and judgment. He repaired the fortifications, introduced new reforms into the Church, the magistracy, the system of education. He was charitable, and often paid the debts of poor prisoners; when he was forced to sign a death-warrant, it was seldom without tears, and he always had Mass said for the condemned man. When he became Duke of Gandia, his hereditary lands rejoiced in the most active and munificent of landlords. His castle of Gandia would have been the happiest abode in Spain, if a shadow had not hung over it in the declining health of Leonora. When Blessed Favre arrived there in 1544 on his missionary journey through Spain, she was dead. Francis Borgia went through the "Exercises" with him, and from that time was in heart a Jesuit. The Regent Philip desired to give him the dignity in Flanders, in which the Duke of Alva afterwards made himself so terrible a name, and some might regret Borgia's choice. He himself was not of opinion that it was always well to leave the world for the cloister: for when the young Duke of Lerma, his son-in-law, was inclined to join the Carmelites, then recently reformed by St. Teresa, Borgia told him he ought to serve God in the way marked out for him, and remain in public life.

The occasion of Ignatius's incarceration at Alcalá, as afterwards appeared, was this. Among those who came constantly to hear his discourses, and who were of the number of his most devoted followers, were two noble ladies, mother and daughter, both widows. The name of the first was Maria del Vado; of the other, Luisa Velasquez, who was still young and remarkable for her beauty. In the excess of their zeal, these pious women formed a plan by which they should pass their lives in a sort of perpetual pilgrimage from one hospital to another, ministering to the sick. On communicating their design to Ignatius, he thoroughly disap-

proved of it, telling them that it was a suggestion of Satan, to withdraw them from the protection of their friends and bring scandal on religion; that if they wished to dedicate themselves to works of mercy, they might satisfy their devotion by visiting the hospitals of Alcalá, and accompanying the Blessed Sacrament when carried to the sick and dying. They allowed themselves to be dissuaded from their general design, but towards the end of Lent, when Ignatius was absent, without divulging their intention to any except a few intimate friends, they left the town on foot, in the guise of pilgrims, and attended only by a single female servant, set out to beg their way to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe and that of St. Veronica at Jaen. Their disappearance gave rise to so many injurious reports, that the friends who were in their confidence were compelled to declare the truth; and an outcry was at once raised against Ignatius as the supposed author of so dangerous a project. Don Pedro Ciruelos, their guardian, was especially incensed against him. "Was it to be endured," he said, "that an ignorant man like that, a very beggar in the streets, who had come no one knew whence, should disturb the peace of families, and under the pretence of piety, expose young and noble women not only to ridicule but to grievous reproach?" As Ignatius was a student of the University, the matter would in the regular course have come under the cognisance of the rector, Don Mateo Pascual, but because he was known to be favourable to the Saint, Ciruelos preferred addressing himself to Figueroa.

As Ciruelos was a person of much consideration, and had been placed in the head chair of theology by Ximenes himself, Figueroa acceded to his demands, and proceeded at once, as we have seen, to place Ignatius under arrest. He was comfortably lodged in the prison of the Inquisition at Alcalá. Like that of the Sant' Uffizi at Rome, it had nothing necessarily penal about it, for many of the persons who were detained there suffered only in the loss of liberty; but it was a terrible injustice that the arrest was often made without letting the accused know what he was suspected of. And the friends of Ignatius were allowed such free access to him, that he was able to continue his spiritual conferences almost without interruption. Among the numbers who listened to him with delight was Don Jorge Naveros, professor of Scriptural Exegesis, a man as eminent for his attainments as for his piety, and a confidential friend of Charles V. One day in particular, it is said, he was so charmed with the Saint's discourse, that he let his lecture-hour go by without noting the time; then recollecting himself and hastening to his pupils, who were waiting for him, he exclaimed, with the countenance of one transported out of himself, "I have seen Paul in fetters!"

Many persons of rank offered him their services. Two are especially mentioned by name, Doña Teresa Enriquez, mother of the Duke of Maqueda, of the great house of Cardeñas, and Doña Leonora Mascareñhas, lady of honour to the Empress, afterwards governess to the Infante Philip. But his reply was always the same: "He for love of Whom I came into this place will take me hence when it is His holy will."

Seventeen days had now elapsed, and Ignatius had neither been apprised of the nature of the charge against him, nor examined. Figueroa during all this time had been engaged in taking informations, which, as Bartoli observes, with his characteristic fervour, so far from tending to inculpate the accused, seemed better calculated to promote his Canonisation. For, though there was no lack of accusers, their allegations would not bear investigation, while the testimonies in favour of the innocence and holiness of his life and good deeds were numerous and irrefragable. At last the Grand Vicar visited him in the prison, accompanied by a public notary, and, among other questions, asked him "whether he and his companions kept the Sabbath," meaning to discover whether they were Jews; for some of these, pretending to be Christians, secretly practised Jewish rites, profaned the sacred mysteries, and were the most insidious enemies of the Christian faith. To this Ignatius replied, "I keep the Sabbath—the Saturday—in honour of the Blessed Virgin, but I know nothing of Jewish customs, for we have no Jews in my country." Then the Vicar asked him if he knew the two ladies in question, to which he answered that he did. But on his further inquiry whether he was aware of their intention before they set out, he replied, "On the oath by which I bound myself when you began your interrogation, I was not." Pleased with his earnestness, the Vicar, laying his hand upon his shoulder, said, smiling, "That is the sole cause of your detention here: yet I should have been better pleased had you been more careful to avoid all novelty in your discourses." Upon which Ignatius said gravely but modestly, "My lord, I should not have thought it was any novelty to speak of Christ to Christians." Then by the Vicar's desire he related what had passed between himself and the two ladies: all which having been reduced to writing, the inquisitor took his departure, saying that the only thing now remaining was to obtain from them, on their return, testimony in confirmation of his statement, when he would immediately obtain an order for his release.

But five weeks elapsed before the ladies returned, at the expiration of which time the notary came to read to Ignatius the sentence of the tribunal. He was told that he was free to leave the prison, as his life and doctrine were found to be without reproach; but that, for sound reasons, he and

his associates were at the end of ten days to lay aside the long habit, and adopt the ordinary dress of students; moreover, that they were to hold no public assemblies or private conferences, under pain of excommunication and banishment from the realm, for the space of four years, until they had finished their theological course, since they were at present but little versed in learning. The truth was, according to Gonçalez, that Ignatius, while really in advance of his companions, still was not thoroughly educated, as he himself used freely to acknowledge.

Thus, by a strange self-contradiction, the Vicar now prohibited what he had only just before permitted and approved. Ignatius was at once acquitted and condemned; declared blameless in life and doctrine, but, at the same time, silenced and discountenanced. He was an unlearned man, and yet the Vicar could not have been ignorant that God had often raised up men, and women too, who were not learned—as the world counts learning—to be both dispensers of His truth and promoters of His interests. But Ignatius was obnoxious to certain persons in authority; he was sure, these said, to be for ever giving trouble; moreover, he was eccentric, and he must be made to dress and comport himself like other people.

Throughout the whole affair Ignatius uttered no complaint. He received the sentence of the Inquisition with silent submission; only with regard to the prescribed change of dress he said, "When you bade us dye our clothes, we did as we were told; but what you now order we cannot do, because we have not the money wherewith to carry out the order." Upon which he was commended to the charity of a worthy priest named Juan Luzena, well known at Alcalá for his works of mercy, who offered to accompany him in quest of alms. And now God was pleased to vindicate the honour of His servant by one of those particular judgments by which He sometimes manifests Himself. As they went down the street which leads from the Plaza de San Justo to the Puerta del Vado, they came upon a number of young men who were playing at tennis, with a crowd of people looking on. A gentleman, Lope de Mendoza, was one of the players. Luzena approached and begged for an alms, when Lope, who bore Ignatius a grudge for having reproved him on account of his disorderly life, turned to Luzena and said aloud, so that all could hear, "Are you not ashamed to be going about begging for a wretched hypocrite like that? May I be burned if he does not deserve the stake!" The words occasioned no little indignation among the bystanders, to whom Ignatius was well known; but this feeling was changed into one of horror when, a few hours later, it became known in the city that the imprecation had been literally fulfilled. On that same day news arrived at Alcalá of the birth at Valladolid of a

prince, the future Philip II., and preparations were made for a great popular rejoicing. Lope was on a tower of his palace—he was one of the chief nobles of Alcalá—making arrangements for firing off guns to celebrate the event, when a spark from the match falling on a heap of gunpowder, it exploded, and enveloped him in the flames. In his agony the unhappy man rushed down from the tower to throw himself into a reservoir of water that was near, but he had no sooner reached the spot than he fell down and died. Ignatius in after days was more than justified for the wrongs he had suffered, for it was Alcalá that furnished three of the first and most illustrious members of his Order—Lainez, Salmeron, and Bobadilla, for whose vocation the Saint was preparing during his stay at that town. Sixteen years later, in 1543, Francisco de Villanueva was sent by him to found a college there; and, in course of time, Suarez and many other famous Jesuit doctors taught in the University: here also it was that St. Francis Borgia lectured on the Lamentations of Jeremias.

It was impossible for Ignatius to put himself, at the word of command, in the position of any ordinary student; and, seeing that he was forbidden to speak of Divine things, or to labour for the good of souls, he did not hesitate a moment as to the course he ought to pursue. He would at once leave Alcalá, and betake himself to Salamanca, where he hoped to be able to prosecute his studies without hindrance to his evangelical zeal; but, unwilling as ever to act on his own unaided judgment, he determined to lay the whole matter before the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Alonso de Fonseca. For this purpose he repaired to Valladolid, where that prelate then was, and told him that, though no longer under his jurisdiction, nor bound by the adverse sentence issued at Alcalá, he was ready to abide by his decision, whatever it might be. The Archbishop listened to him most kindly, and assured him that he would willingly obtain a revocation of the sentence, but that he was unable to move in the affair unless Ignatius lodged a formal appeal, and this he would not do. Learning that he was on his way to Salamanca, the Archbishop approved of the design, telling him that it was his own University, and that he had friends there to whom he would write on Loyola's behalf, at the same time promising him his services, and putting into his hands four golden crowns for the expenses of his journey.

In the midst of the festivities with which all Spain was celebrating the birth of an heir to the crown, came tidings of a dire and hideous event, which filled the hearts of men with horror. Rome had been taken by assault, and given up to pillage; and the Pope was even then besieged in

the Castle of Sant' Angelo by an army without discipline, a savage horde of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians. At once all sounds of rejoicing ceased, the people went in mournful processions through the streets, and thronged around the altars.

The mind turns away with horror from the dreadful particulars; but it is well to have looked for a moment with a steady eye on the calamities which follow from outbreaks encouraged on the pretence of emancipation, and the tyranny exercised by hypocritical partisans of religious freedom. Clement VII. was condemned to witness these scenes from the Castle of Sant' Angelo, without the power of arresting them, in the fearful uncertainty of what his own fate might be; and to men who had no faith in the promises of God, it might have seemed that now at least the rule of the Popes was at an end. Ignatius, however, would have another reason for being reconciled to labour in the Eternal, rather than in the Holy, City.

COLLEGE OF MONTAIGU, PARIS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS, IN WHICH THE SAINT MADE HIS CLASSICAL STUDIES.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## FRESH STUDIES AND FRESH TRIALS AT SALAMANCA, 1527.

THE University of Salamanca, the oldest in Spain, was also highest in favour among wealthy and noble families; and the "Bachelor of Salamanca" was the commonly received type of an aristocratic roysterer, with something dashing and military about him, as well as studious.[1] "From Salamanca alone," says one who wrote in the days of Philip II., "there have gone out more subjects for the king's service than from all the military regiments in the world." But although Salamanca was the chief resort of students from the higher and wealthier classes, the number of poor scholars was also very great. Cervantes, who was himself a member of the University, has given an amusing description of their poverty—their "lack of shirts, and no superabundance of shoes"—which reminds us of the hardships endured once by students at Cambridge—even when they were fortunate enough to be members of a college. Their dinner, we are told, consisted of "a penny piece of beef amongst four of them; a *potage* made of the broth of the same, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else." Their supper was not much better than their dinner; and, being without fire, "they were fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat into their feet," before they went to bed. At Salamanca, it seems to have been customary for young noblemen and gentlemen to be attended by their foster-brothers, or by the sons of old tenants and domestics, who became fellow-students with their young masters. The poverty of our Saint, therefore, had none of that grim and grotesque appearance, even at Salamanca, which it would have presented in after days.

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[1] The frequent disputes between "the town and the gown" were usually not decided without drawn swords. It is certain that this traditional hostility, which was till lately active in Oxford and Cambridge, originated in the jealousy with which the burgesses regarded several privileges accorded in the Middle Ages by sovereigns all over Europe to the students of their Universities, in order to induce young men from a distance to enter the schools.

Ignatius had stayed at Alcalá a little more than a year. On arriving at Salamanca, not knowing where to find his companions, who had preceded him some time, he went into a church to pray, when a pious woman, after looking at him attentively, and recognising him as by description, inquired his name, and offered to conduct him to the house where Calixto and the rest were lodged. The Saint at once resumed his studies, and with them those other labours of charity and piety which formed his principal occupation. His fame had gone before him, and crowds were attracted to his conferences. A strange and unheard-of thing it was that a layman should be a public teacher of religion, the author of a special system of spiritual training, and should number even priests among his followers. There was a general stir throughout the place; the authorities became alarmed, and deemed it their duty to search into the pretensions of this new teacher. It is from Ignatius himself that we learn the particulars of what took place; they were taken down by Gonçalez, from the Saint's own lips.

He had chosen as his confessor a Dominican father of the great convent of St. Stephen, and one day, before he had been a fortnight at Salamanca, his confessor told him that his Brethren wished to speak with him. Ignatius answered, "Be it so, in the name of the Lord." The confessor then said, "It would be well for you to come and dine here on Sunday; but I must warn you that you will be closely questioned." Accordingly, on Sunday Ignatius went to the convent, accompanied by Calixto; and, after they had dined, as the Prior was absent, the Sub-prior, together with the confessor and one of the brethren, led them into a chapel, and they all took their seats. Calixto had on a very short gown and a large flap-hat; he held a staff in his hand, and his boots reached only half up his legs; as he was a tall man, his appearance was very ungainly. The Sub-prior asked why he dressed in that strange fashion. Ignatius explained how they had been made to change their attire at Alcalá, and that Calixto had given away his student's clothes in the course of the summer to a poor priest, who required them more than he did. As they had been bestowed on him out of charity, so had he parted with them out of charity. The friar replied, in an undertone, as though he were not well pleased, "Charity begins at home." Then, addressing Ignatius in a voice of much kindness, he began by saying how much he had been gratified by the accounts he had heard of his manner of life; how he went about like one of the apostles teaching the people, and that it would be a pleasure to hear full particulars from himself. First, then, he would ask him what course of study he had followed. Ignatius replied that he had himself been more of a student than the rest, but freely declared that he had not studied much, and was but ill-grounded.

"How, then, is it that you preach?" asked the friar.

"We do not preach," said Ignatius; "we only converse with people in a familiar manner about Divine things—as, for instance, after dinner, with those who ask us to their houses."

"And about what Divine things? for this is what we want to hear."

"We speak of this or that virtue in such a way as to make people love and practise it, and of this or that vice in such a way as to make them hate and avoid it," was the reply.

Then said the friar, "You own you are not learned, and nevertheless, you hold public discourses about virtues and vices. These are subjects about which no one is able to speak unless he has been taught in the schools or by the Holy Spirit. You have not been taught in the schools; it therefore follows that you have been taught by the Holy Spirit. Now this is what we seek to know."

This mode of reasoning did not approve itself to Ignatius, and, after a moment's reflection, he answered, "It were better to speak no more of these matters."

"What," insisted the friar, "in these times, when the errors of Erasmus and so many others are being spread abroad and are deluding the people, do you refuse to declare what it is you are teaching?"

"Father," answered Ignatius, "I will say no more than what I have already said, except before my superiors, who have a right to interrogate me."

"Remain here, then," replied the Sub-prior; "we will soon make you tell everything." The friars thereupon rose and hurried away; and all the doors of the convent were ordered to be locked.

Ignatius and Calixto were thus kept prisoners in the convent, while the friars were taking measures for bringing the matter before the regular Courts. Both of them took their meals in the refectory, and so many of the brethren came to their cell that it was almost always full. The Saint discoursed to them on spiritual things, according to his custom, and all the more freely because, being versed in sacred knowledge, they were better able to understand and appreciate what he said. There was soon a division among his auditors. Many believed that the Spirit of God spoke by his lips, and testified great affection for him. Others declared that an unknown man and a layman ought not to be permitted to assume the office of a teacher, and that a strict examination ought to be made lest any dangerous errors should lie concealed under an appearance of zeal and holy doctrines. And here we may observe, that if the former showed the finer and truer instinct, the latter were equally to be commended for their caution and their

anxiety to prevent the introduction of false doctrine. Their principle was a right one; and Ignatius ever recognised and deferred to it; he willingly offered himself for examination, only he wished to be examined by lawful authorities.

Meanwhile the affair had been laid before the Grand Vicar Frias, a Bachelor of the University, who after three days sent a notary to conduct Ignatius and Calixto to prison; a proceeding which showed that their detention was no longer a mere precautionary measure, but a punishment. However, they were not placed in the dungeon with common malefactors, but in a chamber above it, which, nevertheless, was both comfortless and foul, having been long untenanted and dilapidated. No beds were provided for them, and they were both fastened by the foot to a pillar in the middle of the cell, by means of a chain some eight or nine yards long, in such a way that neither could move without dragging his companion with him. The first night they passed, like Paul and Silas, in praying and praising God. On the morrow, when the news of their imprisonment was rumoured in the city, numbers came to visit them, and, seeing that they had only the bare floor to lie upon, sent them not only bedding, but everything else they could require, and in abundance, despite all Ignatius could say to the contrary. As usual, he took occasion to converse on heavenly things with all who came.

The Grand Vicar now examined each of them apart, and Ignatius delivered to him all his papers, including the book of "Spiritual Exercises." Being asked what other associates he had, and where they were, he gave the Vicar their names, and informed him where they might be found. Caceres and Arteaga were accordingly apprehended and lodged in the common prison, in order that they might hold no communication with their companions in the cell above. But Jean, on account of his youth, was left free. As before at Alcalá, the Saint would employ no legal advocate, neither would he accept any offer of mediation on his own behalf, leaving his cause entirely in the hands of God. After a few days he was summoned into the presence of his judges, who were four in number, being three doctors of theology in addition to Frias, the Grand Vicar. They began by putting to him a number of questions, not only with respect to the book of "Exercises," which they had all examined with the strictest care, but also on many deep questions of theology—for instance, on the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Blessed Sacrament—that they might ascertain whether he held any opinions contrary to the faith. Ignatius, after making his usual protest that he was an unlearned person, and desired in all he said to submit himself to the judgment of the Church, answered with so much

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exactness and solidity that his judges could take no exception to his replies. Then the Vicar, who was disposed to press him more closely than the rest, proposed to him a difficult question of canon law. Ignatius first replied that he was ignorant as to what was the opinion of the doctors on the subject; but not being allowed to evade the question, he gave a fitting answer, which resolved the doubt.

Of one thing only the judges disapproved, that though he confessed himself to be an unlearned person, he had nevertheless ventured, at the beginning of his book of the "Exercises," to lay down rules for distinguishing between mortal and venial sins, a subject of much perplexity even to the most enlightened theologians. St. Ignatius replied, "Whether what I have said is true or not, it is for you to judge; if, therefore, it be not true, condemn the definition." This, however, they were careful not to do.

At last they bade him discourse to them after the manner he was accustomed to do in public, giving him as a subject the first commandment. Then the Saint began to speak on the theme of themes, the love of God; and as his heart kindled and glowed with the fire which lay ever burning within it, it was evident to all that it was no mere doctrine he was teaching, but that he spoke from the depth and fulness of his own experience. They sat and listened to him as to one inspired; then, when at length he ended, they rose and took their departure, with a few words of encouragement and grave respect. There was no longer any thought of asking him questions.

Although Ignatius had been virtually acquitted, he was still detained in prison, nor was he even released from his chain. Among those who came to converse with him was the Grand Vicar himself, accompanied by Francisco de Mendoza. Francisco afterwards became a Cardinal, bishop of Burgos, and archbishop of Valencia; and, in after times, proved himself a special friend of the Saint and of his Institute. Seeing him in irons, Mendoza was moved to compassion, and kindly asked him whether he did not find his confinement hard to bear. To which the Saint replied, "I will say to you what I said just now to a noble lady who pitied me because she saw me bound with this chain. It is a sign that you have but little love of Jesus Christ in your heart, or you would not deem it so grievous a thing to be in bonds for His sake; and I declare to you that all Salamanca does not contain as many fetters, manacles, and chains as I long to wear for the love of God." Some Religious in the town wrote to condole with him on his imprisonment, and to express their sense of the harshness with which he was treated. The Saint replied, "he was astonished that they of all people should be so ignorant of the immense treasures that are hidden in the mystery of the Cross of Christ." One night all the criminals in custody

succeeded in making their escape, and in the morning the doors were found open, and no one was left in prison except Ignatius and his three companions. When the fact became known in the city, it created a strong impression in their favour, and the magistrates had them removed to a commodious apartment in an adjoining building; but even then their fetters were not removed.

It was not till after three weeks and a day from the time of their arrest that Ignatius and his companions were brought before their judges to hear their sentence. Nothing having been found reprehensible in their life or doctrine, they were free, as before, to teach and to labour for their neighbour's good; with this restriction only, that inasmuch as they had not completed their four years' course of theology, they must abstain from defining the distinction between mortal and venial sins. After delivering their sentence, the judges testified their approbation in the warmest manner, evidently with the desire that Ignatius should take their decision in good part. But though more indulgent in its terms than the judgment passed at Alcalá, he felt that its effects were practically the same. He therefore made answer that he would comply with its tenor so long as he remained under their jurisdiction; but that he could not yield to it an interior acceptance, because while they had pronounced his doctrine to be free from error, they had at the same time effectually closed his lips by the prohibition with which they had accompanied the permission to teach. The Vicar Frias, with many expressions of esteem, begged him not to construe too rigidly the judgment they had passed, and endeavoured to dissuade him from leaving the town; but Ignatius persisted in the answer he had given. He saw clearly that to lay such a restriction on him was to silence him altogether; it was impossible for him to speak of sin without drawing a distinction between mortal and venial sin. And further, if he continued, as he would do, in the "Exercises," to condemn all offences against God, in thought, word, and deed, his opponents, who hated the holy strictness of his teaching, might allege that he was defining the character of the offence, and so had disobeyed the injunction he had received.

Many persons, and these of high consideration, strove to detain him at Salamanca; but he was not to be turned from his purpose. St. Ignatius told Gonçalez that while he was deliberating, at Barcelona, about giving himself up to study, and for how long, the thought which pre-occupied him was whether, when his education was completed, he should enter some Order, or continue to preach the world over just as he was. No sooner had he thought of being a religious, than at once the wish came before him to join some relaxed house, where he would have a wide field for good among his Brethren; and God filled him with confidence that he would be able

easily to bear the contumely and sufferings he would be sure to have to endure from them. During his stay at Salamanca, however, while his zeal for souls did not grow chill, he endeavoured rather, as has been seen, to gather together some spirits kindred to his own, and to keep them united for the same end. For the present, therefore, having commended the matter to God, and perceiving that the obstacles he had to encounter in Spain were not to be surmounted, he determined to proceed to Paris, where he could devote himself more entirely to study, and would have better opportunities of meeting with young men, from all parts of the world, capable of sharing his labours and realising his views. His four companions, it was arranged, should remain to study at Salamanca, still closely united to him in spirit, until he had taken measures for their being no longer dependent upon alms; and, within three weeks after his release, he left the town for Barcelona, driving before him an ass laden with his few books and scanty wardrobe.

At Barcelona his friends received him with delight, and would fain have deterred him from prosecuting his journey into France. Winter was setting in with great severity; war was raging more fiercely than ever between Charles and Francis; the frontiers were infested with brigands, and frightful stories were in circulation as to the cruelties they practised. He wished to travel alone and on foot, though acquainted neither with the roads nor with the language. Seeing, at last, that none of these representations were of any avail with him, all they could do was to offer him, through Doña Isabel Roser, a sum of money, partly in coin, partly in letters of exchange. This he accepted, and quitted Spain a few days before the close of the year 1527, or after the commencement of the year 1528.

It had become abundantly clear that it was not on Spanish ground that the Institute of which Ignatius meditated the foundation was to take substantial shape; the materials in part would be Spanish, but they would not either be found or formed in Spain. The reason of this in the order of Divine Providence it is not difficult to see. Isolated by its geographical position from the rest of Europe, and engrossed with its conquests in the New World and its own interests, Spain took but little part in the solution of the great religious and social questions which had begun to agitate and divide the Christian world. The swell of a movement, already so powerful elsewhere, had as yet scarcely reached its shores; all was quiescent even to stagnation; there was no fermentation of thought, no conflict of opinion. Authority was on the alert to detect and arrest any disturbing influence; and, as we have seen in the Saint's own case, "silence even from good things" was the enforced condition of repose.

But the elements of mischief were gathering strength every day, and

Ignatius had need of being equipped and trained for the coming strife. Spain afforded neither the fitting arena nor the needful discipline; in fact, it had refused to grant him room even for the first rude exercise of his powers. To Paris, therefore, he was providentially led; because among the members of its ancient University, both masters and students, as throughout French society in general, there was a stir, ferment, and restlessness—a collision, as it were, between the old times and the new, an appreciation of the past, and an earnest looking forward to the future—which placed him in presence at once of the era which was passing away, and of that which was not yet fully come. Here evidently it was that he could best be fashioned and prepared for the work which God had appointed him to do.

GATEWAY OF OLD STE. BARBE, NOW DESTROYED.—*See p.* 149.

SPANISH HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA, PARIS, RESTORED.
TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 139.

# CHAPTER IX.

## STUDIES AT PARIS, FROM FEBRUARY 2, 1528, TO 1532.

PARIS at this time may be described as consisting of three several towns, of which the University was one; comprising as many as fifty colleges and schools, in which resided the masters, professors, and such scholars as had obtained burses or exhibitions, or who acted as servants to the masters, and were supported by them; as were the sizars originally at Cambridge, and the servitors at Oxford. Here also were the lodgings, either within or without the walls of some college, of the great body of students, numbering at this period from 12,000 to 16,000. "The University," to quote the words of Cardinal Newman, "engrossed as its territory the whole south bank of the Seine, and occupied one half, and that the pleasanter half, of the city. The King had the island pretty well as his own; and the north of the river was given over to the nobles and citizens to do what they could with its marshes; but the eligible south, rising from the stream, which swept around its base, to the fair summit of St. Geneviève, with its broad meadows, its vineyards, and its gardens, and

with the sacred elevation of Montmartre confronting it, all this was the inheritance of the University. There were those pleasant meadows, the Prés, stretching along the river's bank, in which the students for centuries took their recreation, which Alcuin seems to mention in his farewell verses to Paris, and which has given a name to the great Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. For long years it was devoted to the purpose of innocent and healthy enjoyment; but evil times were coming on the University; disorder was to arise within its precincts, and the fair meadow to become the scene of party brawls; heresy was about to stalk through Europe, and Germany and England would no longer send their contingent of students to its halls. The time was not far distant when that ancient manor, whither the Muses were wont to wander for retirement and pleasure, would be let or sold to pay a heavy debt; buildings would rise upon it, and spread along the green sod; and the country would at length become town." But when Ignatius went there this catastrophe had not yet occurred; there was still the green meadow and the pleasant stream; there were even natural grottos and solitary places favourable alike to studious reflection and devout meditation; and Montmartre was yet a sacred eminence, standing peacefully and solemnly apart from the hurry and the strife of men.

The academic body was divided into four nations, called after that portion of Europe to which the students joining it principally belonged; and each nation had its head and representative, who was called its Procurator or Proctor. These nations were, first, the French, which included the centre and south of France, Spain, Italy, and Greece; secondly, the Picards, amongst whom the natives of Flanders and Brabant were numbered; thirdly, the Norman; and fourthly, that which anciently had borne the name of English, but which, in consequence of the wars of the fourteenth century, was now called German, and included Scandinavia.

The ancient schools of Christian Europe, adopting the order followed in the earlier ages of heathen philosophy, had professed the three sciences of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which made up what was called the *Trivium*, and the four branches of mathematics, viz., arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, which were comprised under the term *Quadrivium*. These seven sciences again were comprehended under the single designation of arts; and the faculty of arts constituted the staple of a University. The *Quadrivium* was also called philosophy. But in course of time, as the range of studies was extended and elevated, philosophy came to be recognised as "a science of sciences," which included, located, connected, and applied all kinds and modes of knowledge; the sphere and application of logic were enlarged; civil law, natural history, and medicine were added to the *curriculum*; and,

lastly, theology, which originally had been little more than comments on Scripture, was exalted to the dignity of Queen of all science. So that eventually the whole system of academical instruction was included under what were called the Four Faculties, each of which had its dean: theology, canon and civil law, philosophy, and medicine; in subordination to which were metaphysics, natural history, and the Semitic languages.

There were schools also for teaching the Humanities, in which term were comprised the rudiments of all that went under the name of the *Trivium*, especially of the classics, as distinguished from philosophy and science.

The professors were sufficiently numerous, though in general but inadequately remunerated; the majority of the students might with truth be called "poor scholars," and their instruction was gratuitous.

Francis I. founded, in 1531, the Collège Royal for the three learned languages, herein following the example of Ximenes, Leo X., and Jerome Busleiden of Louvain. Greek was but little cultivated at the University of Paris, that is, for the sake of the classical authors; though it had never ceased to be studied to a certain extent by theologians. But France possessed one who was universally allowed to be the most profound Greek scholar in Europe, Budé, who, in 1529, published his celebrated "Commentaries," which have been "the text-book and common storehouse of succeeding lexicographers." An impetus was thus given to philological learning, and especially to the study of Greek literature, in the University of Paris, which inspired an instinctive and, as the event proved, a well-grounded mistrust, however at times extravagantly displayed, lest a disproportionate attention paid to Hebrew and Greek should become the occasion of, or be made the pretext for, a depreciation of the Latin Vulgate and of theological science.

The innovations of which Germany had become the scene now began so to attract the attention and sympathy of many of the more ardent spirits among a population at once numerous and excitable, as to cause no small alarm in the guardians of the ancient faith. There seems, however, to have been little supervision of the morals or the conduct of the students on the part of the ruling powers, and a general prevalence of carelessness and indifference in regard to those of whom they had the charge. The state of learning was low; the school-books and methods used were antiquated in form, and inadequate to the requirements of the age; and the teachers were indolent and irregular. This we learn by implication from a letter addressed to the Parliament of Paris by Père Barnez, when defending the Jesuits of the College of Clermont. "They have not," he says, "repulsed the poor and invited the rich; their exercises have been regular, without intermission

or remissness. No courses have been begun and left unfinished; order has been kept in the classes; the regents rise early, prepare themselves before they meet their pupils, and enter the schools the moment the clock strikes, not loitering and idling in the court; neither do they conclude till the hour is over. They do not allow the students to attend only some of the lectures, or to fail in rendering an account of what they are taught, or to omit the compositions required of them." A "more vigorous emulation, and a more uniform scheme of discipline" was wanted, and, above all, a more earnest religiousness and a deeper spirituality. This was to be supplied, as in other Universities, so at a future time in that of Paris, by the followers of him who, though a perfect proficient in the science of the Saints, was as yet but a tyro in secular knowledge; and who was come to be a humble learner in the schools which his sons, despite the discouragements and opposition which they never ceased to encounter, were one day to enrich by their erudition and illustrate with their virtues.

Ignatius on first arriving at Paris lodged with some other Spanish students in the town, and being now fully sensible of the error he had committed in pursuing so many subjects at once, and not allowing himself time to be perfectly grounded in any, determined on commencing resolutely afresh from the beginning. For this object he attended the classes at the Collège Montaigu, which was, in truth, a large grammar school for boys; to whom, no doubt, the presence of so big a schoolfellow must have been a source of merriment. His intention was to devote himself sedulously to the studies of the place, and by availing himself of the pious offerings of friends, to save the time which heretofore he had lost in gathering alms. That his benefactors at Barcelona were not unmindful of his necessities appears from a letter which he wrote to Doña Inés Pascual soon after his arrival:—

*To my Sister in Christ our Lord, Pascual; Jesus.*

The true peace of Christ our Lord visit and keep our souls. Having regard to the goodwill and affection which you have always had for me in God our Lord, and which you have proved to me by your acts, I have thought it well to write to you and give you some account of my journey since I parted from you. With favourable weather, and in perfect health, by the grace and mercy of our Lord, I arrived in this city of Paris, the 2nd day of February, where I am studying until the Lord order otherwise concerning me. I have wished much that you had written to me as to whether Fonseca answered the letter which you wrote, and what he replied, if you have spoken to him. Commend me much to Juan, and tell him to be always obedient to his parents, keeping the feasts, as in so doing he will live long on earth, and also in Heaven. Commend me much to . . .

her presents have arrived here, and her affection and goodwill for the sake of God our Lord are always present to me; the Lord of the universe repay her, and may He, in His infinite goodness, abide in our souls, to the end that His will and pleasure be ever accomplished in us. From Paris, 3rd of March, 1528.

Poor in goodness, Yñigo.[1]

Ignatius was not destined long to enjoy the peace and leisure which he hoped he had secured. Soon after reaching Paris he had exchanged a Barcelona bill of twenty-five ducats, which he entrusted to one of his fellow-lodgers, who spent the money and was unable to repay it. The consequence was that, by the end of Lent, Ignatius found himself completely destitute, and was again compelled to beg his bread from door to door. What he found even more embarrassing, he was obliged to quit his lodgings and seek an asylum in the Spanish Hospital of St. Jacques de Compostella, very far from his college; nor was he allowed to go out before it was light, and was required to be within the gates before the evening Angelus. So that every day the Saint missed some portion of the lectures. The inconvenience and the restraint he would readily have borne, but the interruption to his studies was a serious disadvantage. He would have been glad to enter Montaigu as the servant of some professor, like other poor scholars; and to make this at the same time an act of devotion, he would look upon his master as representing Jesus Christ, and his fellow-students as the Apostles. But although his endeavours were seconded by several influential friends, one of whom was a Bachelor of the University, Juan de Castro by name, and another a Carthusian monk, no one was willing to engage him. He was now advised to go into Flanders every summer during the two months' vacation, and there collect among the Spanish merchants who traded at Antwerp and Bruges enough to maintain him as a boarder—*convictor*—in one of the colleges. This plan he adopted with success for two vacations; while during the third summer, he crossed over to England, which was still in communion with the Holy See.

For five years Ignatius had ceased to experience that weakness of stomach which had been caused by his excessive mortifications at Manresa. Accordingly he now began to multiply his fasts and penances, and, although, to gain more time for study, he was constrained to discontinue some of his devotional exercises, yet three things he was ever most careful to observe: he heard mass devoutly every day; he confessed and communicated every week; twice in each day he examined his conscience, and by

[1] De bondad pobre, Yñigo.

comparing one day with another, week with week, and month with month, he sought to ascertain with the utmost possible exactness what progress had been made or what relapses suffered in his spiritual course. All this time, too, he neglected no opportunity of benefiting souls, but it was not till after his first visit to Flanders that he recommenced his accustomed conferences; and being, as Mariani observes, one of those just men, who are said in the Book of Wisdom to be "like sparks among the reeds," setting willing hearts on fire, his labours were requited by many extraordinary conversions. His zeal displayed itself principally among his own countrymen, for he seems never to have acquired much knowledge of French, and perhaps it was from the remembrance of the disadvantages under which he had laboured at this time, that he made it a matter of obligation that the members of his Society should learn to speak the language of the country in which they lived.

Among the most remarkable of his first disciples were the bachelor De Castro of Toledo, of whom mention has been made—a man of great talent and a member of the Sorbonne; a student named Peralta; and a young Biscayan, called Amador, who resided at the College of Sainte Barbe. These three, after going through the "Spiritual Exercises," under the Saint's direction, resolved to renounce all the former objects of their ambition, and to consecrate themselves to God by a life of poverty and prayer. Accordingly, they sold all they had, even to their books, and, distributing the produce among the poor, retired into the Hospital of St. Jacques, which Ignatius had now quitted. It is easy to conceive the commotion that prevailed when it became known that three young men of so much promise, and two of them highly connected, had been guilty of so daring a breach of social and academical propriety. Their act was declared to be one of sheer fanaticism and folly, as discreditable to themselves as it was dishonouring to their country and their families; and for this Ignatius was held to be accountable. The Spaniards at Paris were furious against him; Dr. Ortiz, then *regent* at Montaigu, who was afterwards one of Charles V.'s agents in Rome to promote the cause of the unfortunate Queen Catharine, was especially indignant on account of De Castro and Peralta, both of whom were his companions and pupils; while Gouvea, a Portuguese professor of great repute, whose lectures Amador attended, and who was also Rector of his college Ste. Barbe, protested that Ignatius had driven the young man crazy by his extravagances, and deserved to be publicly disgraced.

One Juan Madera, who had known Ignatius in former times, taking scandal at the expeditions which he had made into Flanders, had accused him of doing what was derogatory, and consequently unjust, to the house of

"QUARTIER LATIN," STUDENTS' QUARTER OF PARIS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

*A*, Entrance to Ste. Barbe. *B*, Rue and Church of St. Symphorien. *C*, Collège Montaigu. *D*, Collège Cholets. *E*, St. Etienne des Prés. *F*, Rue St. Jacques. *G*, Porte St. Jacques. *H*, Dominican Church and Convent (Jacobins). *I*, Abbey of Ste. Geneviève. *K*, Rue St. Etienne des Prés. *L*, Church of St. Hilaire.

Loyola; as if his noble relatives were either unable or unwilling to support one of their own kinsmen. Failing to convince him by arguments, Ignatius had recourse to the expedient of seeking the judgment of authority, and referred the question, in the shape of a case of conscience, to certain learned doctors of the Sorbonne:—"May a nobleman, who has forsaken the world for the love of Christ, go from place to place soliciting alms, without bringing disgrace on his family?" The answers were unanimously to the effect that no suspicion of blame could attach to such a course; and Ignatius showed the replies to Madera, not so much for his own justification, as in vindication of that voluntary poverty which had been ennobled and sanctified by the example of Christ Himself.

Then as to the charge of fanaticism, doubtless Ignatius had encouraged his disciples to practise the evangelical counsels; he had inspired them with the desire of leading a life of Christian perfection; but he had not taught them that Christian perfection consisted in voluntary poverty; there was nothing in the "Spiritual Exercises" to countenance such a notion, albeit the practice of it was a most effectual means to that end, and, in certain individual cases, is even necessary to attain a high degree of sanctity. Besides, who shall limit the operations of the Most High, or prescribe the method or the measure of the attractions of His grace? But these were considerations which never entered the minds of the Saint's accusers: spiritual perfection, special vocations, were ideas foreign to their thoughts: all they knew was, that these young students had done what was foolish and extravagant in men's eyes, and destructive of their own worldly interests; and they were resolved that he whom they regarded as the author of the mischief should be held up to public obloquy. It chanced, however, that Ignatius was absent from Paris at the time the clamour was at its height; and the occasion of his absence serves to show the character of the man.

The young Spaniard who had appropriated the money entrusted to him by Ignatius had fallen ill at Rouen, on his way back to Spain, and, in his extreme distress and destitution, bethought him of applying for assistance to him whose confidence he had betrayed. Ignatius resolved at once to go himself, with the double object of relieving the youth's necessities and of inducing him to reform his life. To obtain this great grace, he conceived a desire of performing the whole journey barefoot, and without taking either meat or drink on the way. But while he was making his intention a subject of prayer, a great fear came over him lest he should be tempting God; nor was he relieved from his apprehensions until he had visited the Church of the Dominicans, and there renewed his resolution

before the tabernacle. The next morning, however, his fears returned; and he experienced so strong a repugnance to undertake the journey, that his limbs seemed unwilling to obey him, and he was scarcely able, he said, to put on his clothes. Nevertheless, he set out before daybreak, the conflict continuing until he had walked the first three leagues, as far as Argenteuil, famous for having in its church the seamless robe of our Lord. After leaving this place, as he was toiling up a hill, with much weariness both of mind and body, suddenly he felt within himself such an exhilaration and buoyancy of spirit, that in the gladness of his heart he lifted up his voice, as he journeyed through the fields, and began to speak aloud and converse with God. That day he accomplished full fourteen leagues without being sensible either of fatigue or hunger. The first night he slept in a hospital, sharing the bed of a poor mendicant; the second, in a little hut; on the third day he arrived at Rouen, without breaking his fast. After ministering to the wants of the sick youth as long as his illness lasted, he paid for his passage on board a vessel that was about to sail for Spain, provided all things necessary for his voyage, and gave him commendatory letters to the three disciples who had been left at Salamanca.

Scarcely had he taken leave of this young Spaniard, when, in the streets of Rouen, a messenger put into his hands a letter from a friend at Paris, informing him that his adversaries had taken occasion from his absence to spread the most calumnious reports respecting him, declaring that his true character had been detected, and he had been compelled to take flight; that he was a sorcerer and a magician, who by his diabolical arts blinded the understandings even of persons otherwise sensible; that he had been actually delated to the Inquisitors as a teacher of false doctrine and a corrupter of youth. Even at Paris, where the proceedings of these officials were characterised by great mildness and justice, such a denunciation was not to be lightly regarded; and it was rendered all the more serious by communications to the same effect which had been received from Spain. To show that he had not left the University with a view to escaping from the jurisdiction of the Papal delegates, Ignatius went immediately with the messenger to a notary, and there procured a certificate, attested by two witnesses, to the effect that he had started for Paris as soon as he had received the letter. By his desire, also, the notary and the witnesses accompanied him part of the way. On arriving, he proceeded at once to the Inquisitor's residence, without so much as calling at his own lodging on the way; and, presenting his certificate, declared his readiness to submit to whatever might be resolved respecting

him. He asked only one favour, that the inquiry might be prosecuted without delay, in order that he might commence his course of philosophy on the feast of St. Remigius, which was close at hand, free from all harassing distractions. Matteo Ori, a Dominican and a doctor of theology, now filled the office of Grand Inquisitor at Paris. He was pious, learned, and humane. He was afterwards entrusted by Henry II. with the difficult task of endeavouring to recover from Calvinism his aunt Renée, the accomplished Duchess of Ferrara. His intelligence and engaging manners, it was thought, might give him influence with her; but the attempt, unhappily, was made too late. Any prepossessions he may have entertained against Ignatius, from the exaggerated reports that had reached him, vanished at the first sight; he recognised at a glance the kind of seductive arts which the Saint was in the habit of practising, and replied, with a kindly courtesy, that informations had been laid against him, but for himself he was well satisfied of his innocence, and he might pursue his studies without fear of molestation. Meanwhile, all arguments and entreaties having failed to have any effect with the three young students,[1] a large party of their friends, well armed, proceeded to the hospital, and leading them, or rather dragging them, out by force, carried them back to their former abode. Here they were induced to come to an agreement, by which they engaged to proceed no further with their design until they had concluded their academical course.

At the end of the time, De Castro returned to Spain, and, after preaching for a while at Burgos, took the religious habit in the Carthusian monastery at Val de Cristo near Segorbe. Peralta undertook a pilgrimage on foot to Jerusalem, in regular pilgrim guise; but in Italy, happening to fall in the way of a relative who held a high military command in that country, he was by him seized and taken to Rome, where he was brought before the Pope, who commanded him to return to his own country. He afterwards became a canon of Toledo, and led an exemplary life. Thus, in these two cases, although the seeds that were sown did not issue in the precise fruit that was expected, they prospered nevertheless, and were abundantly productive. Of the young Biscayan nothing further is known.

Ignatius, as was said, spent his first vacations in Flanders. At Bruges he was kindly received by a Spanish merchant, named Gonsalvo d'Aguillera, a man of much influence in the place, and full of a noble zeal for God,

[1] De Castro, Peralta, and Amador.

which he had displayed in preserving the Church of the Augustinians from the fury of the Protestant iconoclasts. He had taken Ignatius into his house from a pure motive of charity, but was soon led to regard him with reverence and affection; so that when he was afterwards called by business to Paris, he chose to lodge for several months in the same rooms with the Saint. The house of the Pine-cone in the Spaniards' Street is still pointed out at Bruges, where Ignatius resided in 1528. It was in the same town that Ignatius made the acquaintance of another Spaniard, Luis Vives, the celebrated scholar, who had been chosen by our Henry VIII. as tutor to his daughter Mary. Luis had paid the penalty of imprisonment for his courageous fidelity to his pupil, and, on obtaining his freedom, settled in Bruges. He invited Ignatius to his table, as he might any other of his poor countrymen; but after hearing him speak of God in the marvellous manner in which he was accustomed, and with that profound knowledge of spiritual things which distinguished him, he was filled with astonishment; and, when his guest took his leave, he said to those who were present, "That man is a saint; and one day, I am convinced, he will be the founder of a Religious Order."

Of this Ignatius himself had a Divine foreknowledge, as appears from an incident which occurred during one of his visits to Flanders, and which was afterwards formally attested in the process of his canonisation. He was dining with some merchants at Antwerp, who vied with each other in entertaining so honoured a guest, when, fixing his eyes on a young man in the party whose name was Pedro Quadrado, from Medina del Campo, he drew him aside, and said that, seeing he was one day to be a great benefactor to his Company, it was fitting that they should be friends at once, and that he should know that he was under infinite obligations to God for having chosen him to be the founder in his own country of a college for the Society of Jesus. These words of the Saint, and the manner in which they were uttered, left a deep impression on the young man's mind; and at length the time came when the counsel was followed, the prediction fulfilled, and Pedro Quadrado, and his wife Francisca Manson, founded a college of the Society at Medina del Campo. The lady, it is said, never failed to repeat the story of the prophecy when in company with any member of the Order.

This incident probably occurred at the table of Juan de Cuellar, a great friend of the Saint, with whom he was used to take up his abode; and at no distant date a house might be seen at Antwerp, opposite to the collegiate church of St. James, which in former times belonged to that merchant, and which tradition affirmed to have been the very house in which Ignatius

lodged. At the angle of the wall, under an image of the Saint, was an inscription in commemoration of this fact.

St. Ignatius had now finished his elementary studies, and, thanks to the alms he had received, he was able to enter the well-known College Sainte Barbe[1] as a convictor, and begin there his philosophical studies on October 1, 1529. Gouvea, Rector and proprietor of the College, one of a Portuguese family of eminent scholars of the Paris University, had placed his establishment under the patronage of his sovereign Don Joam, who had endowed it with burses; and many Spaniards, as well as Portuguese, were to be found within its venerable walls. Ignatius was not long to be left in peace. The tempest was lulled for a season only to burst forth again with more than its former fury. The first trials which befell him were of the same kind as those from which he had suffered at Barcelona; for no sooner did he begin to give his mind to the subject of which the professor was treating, than it was invaded by such a throng of spiritual reflections that he was unable to attend. But his former experience taught him the nature of the illusion, and he expelled it by means of the remedies he had before applied. So also, when Peter Favre—one of his companions, who shared with him a room looking out on the Rue Saint Symphorien—was "coaching" him in his philosophy, he would wander off into spiritual discourse and be lost amidst the joys of Divine contemplation, to the great hindrance of his studies, until he made an agreement with Favre that such topics should never be mentioned between them when they were occupied with their books.

Another of his friends, Dr. Frago, seeing the repose he now enjoyed and the absence of all hostilities on the part of his adversaries, congratulated him upon the happy change; but the saint replied, "They leave me in peace because I do so little now for my neighbour's salvation; but wait till I set to work again, and then see what will happen." While they were still talking together a monk came up, who begged Dr. Frago to help him in finding another lodging, because several persons had died in the house where he was staying of what was apprehended to be the plague, which had just made its appearance in Paris. The doctor sent an experienced nurse to the place, who reported that it really was that terrible disease. Upon this Ignatius went to the house, and finding a

[1] The present College Sainte Barbe, though the lineal descendant of the ancient College, has not only changed its name and internal order many times with the many evanescent régimes of the last hundred years, but has greatly widened its borders. See Quicherat, *Collège Sainte Barbe*.

sick man lying there, he consoled and relieved him, dressing his sores. But soon after, feeling a violent pain in one of his hands, he supposed he had taken the infection, and so great a dread seized hold upon him that he seemed unable to shake it off. Then, with a strong effort of his will, he put his hand into his mouth, and kept it there awhile, saying, "If you have the plague in your hand, you shall have it in your mouth also." With this his fears entirely vanished, and his hand at the same time was freed from pain. When it became known in the College of Sainte Barbe, where he then resided, that he had been in an infected house, every one fled at his approach, and he was obliged to betake himself for some time to a lodging in the town. His return to the college was signalised by an event which marked a crisis in his fortunes.

On commencing his philosophical course, Ignatius had resolved, in order to have more time at his disposal, and also to avoid provoking opposition, to confine his attention to the spiritual advancement of such companions as he had already attached to himself, and not to endeavour to gain others until he had taken his degrees. But the desire which possessed him to win souls to God would not allow him to remain perfectly passive. He continued, as before, to speak to his fellow-students on subjects which concerned their eternal interests; and the consequence was that, when the classes were over, they would gather about him and take lessons in that celestial philosophy of which he was so gifted a teacher.

As they listened to his entrancing discourse, so logical and so persuasive, they felt themselves under the influence of a master-mind enlightened by the Spirit of God. They began to lose their zest for other pursuits; and the schools seemed flat and sterile, as compared with those Divine deductions which St. Ignatius drew in copious streams from out the very heart of the Gospel of truth.

This state of feeling soon made itself apparent to the authorities. It was a custom at the college for the students to hold public disputations on Sundays and holidays, by way of exercise, and in order to enable the masters to judge of their proficiency. But since Ignatius had introduced a deeper spirit of devotion, numbers of young men frequented the Sacraments on those days, and passed in the church the time which they had been accustomed to spend in the schools. Peña was highly provoked, and told Ignatius several times that he had better attend to his own business, and not interfere with the other students, unless he wished to have him for his enemy. But finding that his remonstrances were useless, he addressed himself to Gouvea, who, as will be remembered, was Rector of the college. Gouvea, who had conceived an aversion to Ignatius ever since the affair of

CATHEDRAL

✣ HOUSE OF CUELLAR AT WHICH THE SAINT STAYED. S. JACQUES.

ANTWERP, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

the young Biscayan, took up the matter warmly, and resolved to inflict a suitable castigation on one whom he regarded as the pest of the University.

It was a usage of the time that any student who made himself particularly obnoxious by his insolent or disorderly conduct should receive a public flagellation in the college hall after dinner. The masters and students assembled at the sound of a bell, and the masters, standing in double row, struck the culprit—stripped to the waist, with rods, in the presence of the undergraduates, who were obliged to attend. The punishment in itself might be more or less severe, but the infamy that attached to it was so great that any one who had undergone it was considered to be excluded from the pale of academical society. This was the degradation to which the Rector and Peña agreed to subject Ignatius, as the most effectual means of rendering him an object of contempt to his fellow-students, and compelling him to quit the University. Some of his friends informed him of what awaited him whenever he set foot again within the college bounds. For an instant his eyes flashed with indignation, and his spirit within him revolted at the thought of such ignominious treatment, but the next, reproaching himself with his want of courage, he mastered the rising passion. "Ass that thou art," he said to himself, "it is vain for thee to kick against the pricks! Forward, and get thee on, or I will drag thee to the spot!" He then directed his steps towards Sainte Barbe, and, as he entered, the gates were closed behind him, and the bell began to ring. He desired to speak to the Rector, who had not yet left his room. Ribadeneira says, "Nothing in the world would have been more pleasant to him than, as he had borne chains and imprisonment for Christ, that he should suffer stripes for Him. But he feared for the weakness of his little ones. He had to consider them and not himself." This he frankly told Gouvea, and as he spoke the Rector's eyes seemed opened, and for a moment tears were his only answer. Then, taking Ignatius by the hand, he led him into the hall where the masters and students were already gathered; and there, before them all, the good man threw himself on his knees at the Saint's feet, and entreated him to pardon the insult he had offered him, and to pray for him that God would forgive the offence he had committed against him in the person of His servant.

Thus, what was designed by his enemies for his confusion, served only to increase his credit and influence; in fact, it raised him at once to a position such as he had never before occupied, and eventually produced important consequences. For many years afterwards, when the Society had become a Religious Order, it was this same Gouvea who petitioned the

King of Portugal, Joam III., to employ the companions of Ignatius in the conversion of the Indies; and thus an occurrence which seemed at first to be fraught with disastrous consequences to the Saint's designs, was instrumental in sending St. Francis Xavier and his heroic followers to the Eastern world.

The opinion of a man so highly regarded as the Rector—an opinion expressed with such singular demonstrations of respect—could not fail to render Ignatius the object of general notice, and greatly to swell the numbers of his disciples. Masters, as well as scholars, now listened willingly to him. Peña himself, his former enemy, not only sought his friendship, but held him ever after in the highest reverence, as also did Moscoso and De Vallo, chief lecturers in the University, and in particular Martial, a doctor of divinity, the professor of theology. This last, in fact, amazed at the extraordinary insight into Divine things which his friend possessed, and feeling what fresh lights he was himself deriving every day from his intercourse with so profound a theologian, would have had him take his degree of Doctor in Theology even before he had completed his course of philosophy; but this, in his humility, Ignatius refused to do. The circumstance, however, is a significant commentary on the sentence passed at Alcalá, by which he was prohibited from teaching Christian doctrine because he had not sufficiently studied the science of theology.

In the summer of 1530, Ignatius came to London. That year was a fatal one to England. The question of the divorce was agitating not this country alone, but the whole Christian world. The most celebrated Universities were consulted on the subject, and by means of bribery and intrigue, not to say open violence, favourable answers, real or pretended, were obtained from Oxford and Cambridge, as well as from Bŏlogna, Padua, and Ferrara. In Germany, however, not a single public body, including even Protestant consistories, could be induced to espouse the cause of Henry—perhaps not to displease the Emperor Charles—and at Paris the different Faculties, despite the known wishes and expressed commands of Francis, remained decidedly hostile; until by dexterous management a plurality of voices was secured in a single instance, and an attested copy of the vote thus extracted was forwarded to England, and published by Henry as the free and formal decision of the whole University. To a menacing remonstrance dictated by Henry, but which purported to come from the English nation, Pope Clement replied that he was ready to show the King every indulgence compatible with justice, but that he would not violate the immutable commandments of God. Henry was embarrassed,

and even declared in private his intention of abandoning his purpose, when he was confirmed in his resolution by the unscrupulous counsels of one bold, bad man.

Thomas Cromwell, who had already enriched himself by the plunder of the lesser monasteries, and who ere long was to amass great wealth by wholesale sacrilege, sought the royal presence, determined, in his own words, "to make or to mar." "The King's difficulties," he said, "arose from the timidity of his advisers. The learned and the Universities had pronounced in favour of the divorce—was so great a sovereign to be thwarted in his rights by a Roman pontiff? Let him imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and, with the authority of Parliament, declare himself the head of the Church within his own realm. His supremacy once recognised, the prelates, sensible that their lives and fortunes were at his disposal, would become the obsequious ministers of his will." To this advice Henry lent a ready ear, and from that moment the severance of England from the communion of the Church may be said to have been already in intention consummated.

The reports of this apostasy must have been as gall and wormwood to the heart of St. Ignatius, filling it at once with a righteous indignation at the wickedness of Henry and his counsellors, and with a consuming pity for a noble people. And, peradventure, as he knelt in prayer before Our Lady's picture near the Tower, or traversed deep in meditation the long line of road that led to Tyburne, the veil of the future may have been lifted for a moment, and his prescient eye have foreseen the day, and his soul gloried in the thought, that his heroic sons, with others as brave and good, would encounter the ignominy and all the frightful horrors of a traitor's doom, rather than stoop to acknowledge, by word or sign, a supremacy as much opposed to the rightful liberties of a Christian man as to the inalienable prerogatives of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. No record has been bequeathed to us of what befell the Saint during the short sojourn he made in this island; we are left therefore to our own conjectures. That he would visit the famous and not yet desecrated shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, either on his way to London or on his return to France, we may regard as well-nigh certain; and as more certain still that he would go sometimes to pray at the tomb of St. Edward the Confessor in the abbey church of Westminster. It is probable, too, that he was hospitably received at the Charterhouse by the Carthusian monks, whose brethren in Paris were amongst his closest friends, and who ere long would, with one unhappy exception, choose death in its most revolting forms rather than admit Henry's impious claim. Some were hanged under

circumstances of peculiar atrocity; the rest were left to perish of disease and starvation in prison.[1] With all these devoted men Ignatius had probably held conference on the miseries and dangers of the time. His chief haunts would be the houses of the Spanish merchants, who at that time clustered together near the river, in the neighbourhood of Old Broad Street, where the Spanish ambassador occupied a portion of the religious

DOOR OF THE CHARTERHOUSE, LONDON.

house of the Austin Friars. One thing only we know from St. Ignatius' own lips, that in London the Saint met with more generous benefactors than he had found even in the Flemish towns.[2]

After the first three years, he was relieved from the necessity of taking

[1] The fact was thus communicated to Cromwell on June 14, 1537, by Bedyll, one of the Visitors:—"It shall please your lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here at London, which were committed to Newgate for their treacherous behaviour long time continued against the King's grace, be almost dispatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by this bill enclosed. Whereof, considering their behaviour, and the whole matter, I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's highness, and his worldly honour, were in like case." To the document is added, "There be departed, Brother William Greenwood, Dom John Davye, Brother Robert Salte, Brother William Pierson, Dom Thomas Greene. There be at the point of death, Brother Thomas Scriven, Brother Thomas Reding. There be sick, Dom Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horne. One is whole, Dom Beer"

[2] Gonçalez, c. vii. n. 76.

AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY. AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE. ALL HALLOWS ON THE WALL.

ST. BENET'S CHURCH. AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH. ST. PETER-LE-POOR. ST. ANTHONY'S HOSPITAL.

OLD BROAD STREET AND AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See Appendix.*

such long and troublesome journeys, by the charity of the Flemish merchants, who, having acquired a more intimate knowledge both of his needs and of his virtues, adopted measures by which their contributions were paid into his hands at Paris. By means of these resources and of monies which he occasionally received from his friends in Spain, not only were his own necessities supplied, but he was enabled to provide for several of his companions, as well as for a number of poor persons.

It may have occurred to the reader to inquire whether Ignatius had held any communication with his own family all this time, since the day on which he sent back his brother's servants from Navarrette, when on his way to Montserrat. From the following letter, bearing date, "Paris, 1532," we learn that he had written to Don Martin shortly before, and had received his reply:—

"The grace and love of Christ our Lord be ever with us.

On receipt of your letter, I was much rejoiced in the Divine Majesty at His service and love for your daughter, and at the news of your having made up your mind about your son. May it please the Supreme Goodness to keep and ever to increase your resolves, which are all ordained for His service and praise, whenever you are so determined. And if you have no better idea, I think it would be no harm to apply your son to theology, rather than to study law; for the former is of a nature more fitted and apt to gain everlasting riches, and to give you greater peace in your old age. To furtherance of this end, I believe that you will not find in all Christendom, such helps as there are in this University. As to his expenses, his tutor, and other requirements for study, I think fifty ducats a year will be enough if well expended. I feel that in a foreign country, different to one's own, and in so cold a climate, you would not wish your boy to suffer any want that would hinder his studies.

In my opinion, if you look at the cost, in this University you will be the gainer, for he will get greater good here in four years than he would in any other that I know in six, and were I to say even more, I think I should not be far from the truth.

If you think fit, as it seems to me to be a wise thing, to send him here, it would be well that he should come eight days before S. Remigius', which is the first of October, because the lectures on philosophy begin at that date, and if he has mastered his classical studies, he could on S. Remigius' begin his course of philosophy. For if he comes a little later, he would have to wait for the next year, on S. Remigius' day, when the philosophy begins again.

To help him to apply diligently to his studies, and to keep him from bad company, I will engage to do all that I possibly can. . . .

"You tell me," he continues, "that you are greatly rejoiced at my breaking silence at last; but you need not be surprised at the course I adopted. A deep

wound requires a different ointment at first, after a while, and when it is nearly healed. And so that which would have been injurious to me at one time, I was able to do without harm at another. To come to the subject, I would have written to you five or six years ago, but for two things that prevented me. The first was my studies and my numerous connections, and those not of a worldly kind. The second was, that I had no reason to suppose that my letters would promote the glory of God, or the good of my friends and relatives, according to the flesh, to the end that we might aid one another in the things which endure for ever. In very truth, I am only able to love a person in this life, in proportion as it helps to the praise and service of God our Lord, because he loves not God with his whole heart, who loves anything for itself and not for God. When two persons, one a relative and another not, serve God equally, God our Lord wishes us to be attached and to feel more affection to one who is our father, than to one who is not; to a benefactor and relative, rather than to one who is neither; to a friend and acquaintance, than to one who is neither one nor the other. For this reason we venerate, honour, and love those who were chosen Apostles more than the other inferior Saints, because they so much the more served and loved our Lord—for the charity, without which no one can attain life, is called love, by which we love God our Lord for Himself, and all things for Him, and we should love God also in His Saints, as says the Psalmist.[1] It is my great desire, and more than my great desire, if I may so express myself, that this true charity should become perfect in you, and in all my relatives and friends, and that you should consecrate all your powers to the service and praise of God our Lord, so that I may love you and serve you ever, more and more; for to serve the servants of my Master is my triumph and my glory. And it is this same love that constrains me to declare that I desire with all my heart to be admonished and corrected with sincerity, and not out of a vain mundane glory. For if a man expend all his care and solicitude in building and enlarging houses, increasing his revenues and his state, and leaving a great name behind him—it is not for me to condemn him; but neither do I commend him; since, as St. Paul says, we ought to use this world as if we used it not. If peradventure you have in time gone by, as in the present, realised this to any degree, I conjure you by the fear and love of God to strive to obtain glory in heaven and a good remembrance before the Lord, who will one day be our judge. For He has given you temporal goods in abundance, to the end that you might acquire heavenly goods, and give them to your children, your servants, and relatives, using with the one pious words; with another just punishment, but without any anger or violence: with one the interest your family possesses, with another money and goods, doing much good. You should not be close-handed with that in which God our Lord has been so generous to you. So much rest and so much good shall we have hereafter as we have procured for others here; and as you can do much in the country where you live, I conjure you again and again, by the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, to endeavour, not only to think of these things, but to will them and to do them."

[1] Ps. cl. 1.

Later in the same year, the Saint wrote to Doña Isabel Roser, to console her for the loss of one who was dear to her; and to fortify her under the many trials to which she was subjected on account of her devout life. The letter is not uninteresting :—

*To my Sister in Christ our Lord, Isabel Roser, at Barcelona.*

By Dr. Benet I received three letters from your hand, and twenty ducats. May God our Lord reckon them to you in the day of judgment, and repay you for me, as I hope in His Divine goodness He will do, in good and sterling coin, and may He preserve me from falling under the penalties of ingratitude. . . .

In your first letter you say that the will of God our Lord has been accomplished in the removal of La Canilla to another land by death, and her separation from you in this life. In truth I cannot feel sorry for her, but for ourselves, who remain behind in this place of endless toil, and trouble, and misery; for as in this life I knew her to be loved and cherished by her Creator and Lord, I readily believe she will be received and welcomed by Him, and will care little for the palaces, pomps, riches, and vanities of this world. You write me also the excuses of our sisters[1] in Christ our Lord; they owe me nothing, but I am their debtor for ever. . . .

In your second, you tell me of your late illness, and the great pain you still suffer. Truly, I cannot help feeling sorry for you from my heart, for I wish you all the good and prosperity imaginable, which can further in you the glory and service of God our Lord. Yet, when I consider that these illnesses and other temporal misfortunes are very often from the hand of God, in order that we may better understand, and better lose the love of created things, and more entirely feel how short this life of ours is, in order to prepare us for the other which lasts for ever, when I reflect that in these things He visits those whom He loves much, I cannot feel sorrow or pain; for I think that a servant of God rises from an illness half a Doctor of Theology, having passed his degree, so as to be able to direct and order his life to the glory of God our Lord. . . .

You ask me, too, and I think it is well, to write to our other sisters and benefactresses in Christ our Lord to help me hereafter. I should wish to be led by your opinion rather than by my own. But though La Cepilla offered in her letter and showed herself willing to assist me, for the present, I do not think I ought to write to them for aid in my studies, for we are not sure to stay here for a year. If we do, God our Lord will, I hope, give us understanding and judgment how to serve Him best, and will make us sure of His wish and will.

In your third letter you tell me with what snares, artifices, and falsehoods you have been environed on all sides. Nothing surprises me in this, not even if the trouble had been much greater; for from the hour you determined to seek with all your power the glory, honour, and service of God, you offered battle to all the

[1] The many ladies who were so kind to Ignatius when in Barcelona.

world, you raised your standard against it, you set yourself to tilt at all high things, embracing lowly ones, striving to accept equally the high and the low, honour and dishonour, riches and poverty, the agreeable and the disagreeable, the precious and the vile—in fine, the glory of the world and all its injuries. We cannot much regard the insults of the world when they do not go further than words, for these cannot hurt a hair of our heads; offensive, injurious, and violent words can no longer either cause pain or stop good, when they are desired. If we desire to be praised and honoured by our neighbours, we cannot be well rooted in God our Lord; nor is it possible to remain unwounded when affronts are offered us. If, therefore, I was glad that the world should reproach you, I was quite as sorry at the thought that you should be seeking for remedies by way of antidote to all your misfortunes, pains, and troubles.

May it please the Mother of God to obtain for you a perfect patience and constancy, considering the greater injuries and insults which Christ our Lord suffered for us; and that, without sin in others, still greater humiliations may befall you, that you may gain more and more merit. If we find not this patience within us, we have reason to complain of our own carnal state, and of not being as mortified and dead to earthly things as we ought to be; not of those who injure us: for they do but give us means of gaining greater treasures and riches than any man can heap together in this world.

From PARIS, *November* 10, 1532.

I see in Artenga,[1] and in many persons of Alcalá and Salamanca, a great constancy in the service of God our Lord, to Whom be infinite thanks therefor. I have written, as you bade me, to La Gralla,[2] about peace; and the letter goes in that to Pascual, as also to La Cepilla.[3]

On the 13th of March, St. Ignatius took his degree of licentiate, after passing the examination, which was called the "petra" or "rigorosum," because of its severity. The fee which was paid by every candidate was a golden crown, and there were also exactions in the shape of perquisites to different officials; all which made the charge so high that poor scholars were unable to defray the expense. Ignatius himself hesitated for some time whether he should try for the degree under such conditions, but left the matter at last to the judgment of Peña, who advised him to proceed. He alludes to the degree he had taken, and the heavy payments he had been obliged to

[1] Juan de Arriaga, a gentleman, who became a knight of Santiago, and was afterwards named first Bishop of Chiapa in New Spain, but he died on his way to his see, having taken poison by mistake. Cartas de S. I., T. I. p. 21, n. 28.

[2] Doña Guiomar, wife of Francisco Gralla, Chief Treasurer of Catalonia. Both she and her husband were fast friends of St. Ignatius.

[3] This was probably the Señora Rocaberti.

make, in a letter to Doña Inés Pascual, where also we find allusions to several of his Barcelona friends :—

Although I have answered your letter, I have thought to write you this as well, because I know you much wish me to do so; as also in order to pursue my studies better than I have hitherto been able; for this Lent I have become a Master, and have had to expend in unavoidable ways more than my position required, or I could afford; and having thus got much in debt, there is great need that God our Lord should assist us. To this end I wrote to La Cepilla, who, in a letter she sent me, offered in the handsomest manner (*en gran manera*) to assist me with all her power, begging me to tell her whatever I had need of. I wrote also to Isabel Roser, but not to ask her for anything; for she told me in a letter I must not wonder at her being no longer able to provide for me as she would wish, on account of her own great necessities. I do not doubt it; and I can safely say that she has done more for me than she was well able, and that I owe her accordingly more than I shall ever be able to repay. I think you ought not to let her know anything of the straits in which I am, in order not to distress her for not having been able to assist me when I left. The wife of Mosen Gralla made many offers to help me in my studies, and she has always done so. Doña Isabel de Tosa also offered, and Doña Aldonza de Córdoba, who has already helped me. To these three I do not write, in order not to appear importunate; I beg you to commend me much to them. As to La Gralla, I think that when she is made aware, she will wish to contribute to the alms which are sent me. In her case, and that of the others, you will do as appears best to you; for I shall always hold that to be best, and shall always be content; for I am still your debtor, and must ever remain your debtor. The bearer of this will inform you more fully of all things here; and you may trust him in everything as much as myself. Of Juan, your son, and in love my true brother in the Lord, Who is our everlasting Judge, I desire much that you would write to me how it fares with him; for you must know I cannot but rejoice at his good, and grieve at the contrary. May it please God our Lord to give him grace to have perfect knowledge of Himself, and feel the Divine Majesty within his soul, that made captive by His love and grace, he may be detached from all created things. I conclude by praying God, in His infinite goodness, that He would make you in this life like to that blessed mother and her son, St. Augustine. Commend me much to those in your neighbourhood who are known and loved in Christ our Lord.

From PARIS, *June* 13, 1533.

On the 14th of March 1534, Ignatius proceeded to the degree of Master, after passing with credit the regular examination before the Faculty of Arts. The diploma, which is still preserved in the archives of the Society of Jesus, is in the following terms :—

To all who shall peruse these Presents, the Rector and the University of Paris greeting, in Him Who is the Salvation of all men.

Seeing that all who profess the Catholic faith are bound, as well by natural justice as by the precept of the Divine law, to render faithful witness to the truth, much more does it behove that ecclesiastics, professors of divers sciences, who seek the truth in all things, and instruct and inform others therein, should neither for love nor favour, nor for any other motive whatsoever, deviate from the rectitude of truth and reason. Wherefore we, desiring herein to render witness to the truth, do, by the tenour of these presents, make known to all and every whom it concerns, that our well-beloved and discreet Dom Ignatius de Loyola, of the diocese of Pamplona, Master of Arts, hath laudably and honourably obtained the degree of Master in the illustrious Faculty of Arts at Paris, after rigorous examinations duly passed, according to the statute and customs of the aforesaid Faculty of Arts, and with the usual formalities, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty-four, after Easter. In witness whereof, we have ordered our great seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Paris, in our general congregation, solemnly held at St. Mathurin, in the said year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirty-four, on the fourteenth day of the month of March.

Few persons, it must be confessed, have pursued knowledge under greater difficulties than St. Ignatius Loyola. Indisposed by natural temperament, as well as by long habit, to studious application, he both mastered the rudiments of a liberal education and earned an honourable distinction in letters, not like others in the days of supple youth or hopeful early manhood, but in staid middle life; for at the time he took his degree in philosophy, he had probably entered into his forty-fourth year; an age when the mind is more capable of applying its powers and utilising its stores, than of adapting itself to new forms and acquiring new resources. Poor and dependent, he endured hardships and submitted to humiliations such as would have broken the spirit or exhausted the patience of ordinary men; and all this drudgery he went through for no earthly advantage, for none of those rewards which are reckoned among the objects of a laudable ambition. Had it been otherwise, had he laboured for the interests of science, or of literature, or of material progress—had he even but competed successfully for some of those rich prizes which the world has in its gift—the energy and industry of the man would have been the theme of universal panegyric. But Ignatius laboured only for God; and the world makes no account of that which is done only for Him Who created it. It has refused Ignatius, therefore, even that fair meed of praise which is due to a noble resolution and a courageous perseverance;

it has often denied or, if not, has generally disparaged his intellectual powers.

But such was not the estimation in which Ignatius was held at the University of Paris, or by his contemporaries generally; for, besides the supernatural virtues which he eminently displayed, he gave indisputable proofs of being possessed of great natural gifts, both intellectual and moral, and great force of character, together with a wonderful insight into the minds and dispositions of others. The influence he exercised was of no ordinary kind. With a tact which never seemed to fail him, he accommodated himself, so far as was allowable, to the capacities and inclinations of those with whom he conversed, condescending to their weaknesses and prejudices with an indulgent ingenuity, affecting not to observe any affronts that might be offered him, and conciliating his bitterest opponents by his modesty and frankness. Having thus gained their friendship and their confidence, he would lead them on almost insensibly to the practice of the highest virtues. By such arts as these (says Maffei), as well as by his saintly example, not only were numbers of young men brought from the road of perdition into the way of life, but a desire of evangelical perfection was kindled in many hearts; and not a few of those who were attracted to him, and knew him best, abandoned the world and entered the religious state upon his leaving Paris. In like manner he won over to the true faith many who had been led astray by the errors of the times; and, having instructed and prepared them with much care, he brought them to discreet confessors, by whom they were reconciled to the Church, without exciting needless observation.

It came to his knowledge that an unhappy man, probably a Spaniard, was engaged in an illicit amour with a married woman, and in constant danger of losing both life and soul together. Warnings and remonstrances having proved ineffectual, the Saint adopted another expedient. Ascertaining that, on his way to visit the object of his guilty passion, he had to cross a bridge over the lake of Gentilly, Ignatius repaired to the spot in the dusk of the evening, and, taking off his clothes, stationed himself in the water up to his neck, awaiting the moment when the infatuated man should pass over. It was winter, and the water icy cold; and the Saint passed the time praying God with tears to have mercy on this madman, who had no mercy on his own soul. Absorbed in the thought of his criminal purpose, the adulterer neared the bridge, when he was startled by a voice from the water, which was vehement in its earnestness. "Go," it said, "and enjoy your odious pleasures at the peril of your life and of your immortal soul. I, meanwhile, will do penance for your sin. Here

you will find me when you return; and here every evening until God, Whom I shall never cease imploring, shall bring your crimes, or my life, to an end." At these words, and still more at this sight, the man stood abashed and confounded; his heart relented; a strong feeling of compunction seized him; he abandoned his guilty purpose; went back; changed his whole course of life; and from that hour looked upon Ignatius as his preserver, who had delivered him from a double death.

The expedient he adopted to rescue one who was both a priest and a monk from a scandalous life was no less efficacious. After consulting God in prayer, as on all such occasions he never failed to do, he went one Sunday morning, and kneeling at the feet of this unworthy priest, confessed to him all the sins of his past life, with such humility and contrition, and with such expressions of self-detestation, as were well calculated to arouse similar feelings in the breast of his hearer. As Ignatius proceeded, the confessor was led to feel how much more heinous were the offences of which he, a priest and a religious, was habitually guilty, than were the sins, long since repented of, which this layman was detailing with such bitter self-reproach. The grief witnessed by him moved his own heart to sorrow, and filled it with remorse; and hardly was the confession ended, when he began to disclose to his penitent the miserable state of his own soul, and besought him that, as he had contributed to bring him to a sense of his wicked life, so he would show him how effectually to amend it. This was what Ignatius desired. He conducted his new convert through a course of the "Spiritual Exercises," and so completely finished the work he had begun, that he, who was lately a scandalous sinner, became the model of a true penitent.

A third instance shows how adroitly Ignatius availed himself of every means by which he could save a soul, and in what extraordinary ways his zeal was blessed by God. Going one day to the house of a French gentleman, a doctor of theology, he found him engaged in playing at billiards. He was courteously received, and either by way of compliment, or more probably out of mere jest, invited to play a game. Ignatius, who had never touched a cue in his life, at first excused himself, but as the other persisted in his request, the Saint, yielding as it seemed to an inward movement, replied, "I will consent, but a poor man like myself has nothing he can stake, and yet a stake there must be. Now I have nothing I can call my own except my own person. If, then, I lose, I will be your servant for a month to obey your orders. If I win, you shall do just one thing for me, and it shall be something to your advantage." "Agreed," said the master of the house, and the

game began. Ignatius struck the ball at random, but his hand seemed to be directed by a supernatural power. He gained every point, and his defeated antagonist asked in astonishment what he would have him to do. Ignatius required him to go through the "Exercises" for a month, and the result was such as the Saint, or rather God Himself, had designed, the sanctifying of a soul which had hitherto been steeped in sin.

AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON—PRESENT CONDITION.

*(From Sketch by H. W. Brewer.)*

HOUSE OF XAVIER, BIRTHPLACE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.—*See Appendix.*

## CHAPTER X.

### MONTMARTRE, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS— 1530–1535.

IN the year 1530 Ignatius shared his room with a scholar who has been already named, Peter Favre, then twenty-four years of age, who, doubtless, excelled in secular knowledge as Ignatius did in that of the inward life; for he had already taken his Doctor's degree, and was said to rival their teacher.

He was the son of good and pious peasants, living at Villaret, in the diocese of Geneva, from whom he learned the lessons of the Gospel; these fell on such good soil, that the boy soon became a missionary among his companions; and in Bartoli's days, a stone was still pointed out near Villaret, upon which he was accustomed, while yet a young child, to climb, and from which he used to preach to the country people on the mysteries of the Christian faith. His first years were spent in keeping his father's sheep; but by his earnest entreaties, he obtained permission to study, and was placed with an excellent man, one Peter Veillard, who devoted himself to teaching, rather for the sake of saving the young souls confided to him, than for any profit to himself. This teacher used such great caution in the instruction of the classics, lest the innocence of his pupils should be corrupted, that Favre afterwards said, "the poets and authors seemed to be gospel saints." When twelve years old, Favre made a vow of chastity. Having become accomplished in such of the

Humanities as were taught in that school, his father was unwilling that he should pursue these studies further. He neither liked a separation from a son he so loved, nor the expense of sending him to Paris. But a kinsman, Dom George Favre,[1] a former prior of the Charterhouse of Reposoir, had so enforced by his persuasions the wishes of Peter, that the father at last placed him at Sainte Barbe, under Juan de Peña, who conceived a strong affection for him, and would sometimes appeal to him in his lectures upon Aristotle in discussing some difficult passage. Favre received the degree of Licentiate of Arts on the same day as Francis Xavier; he was about to commence the study of theology at the time when Ignatius entered the College. The date given in the archives of Sainte Barbe is March 15, 1529; but counting the year from New Year's Day, this would be 1530, as we should now call it.

St. Ignatius, though he was only beginning his studies in philosophy, was confided by Peña, who had now become greatly interested in him, to the care of Favre, whose charge it was to explain to him privately the lessons they heard together in the classes. They thus became intimately acquainted, and Peter learnt to value so deeply his pupil that he bared his soul to him with an entire unreserve. Notwithstanding Favre's self-accusation, in his Memorial, where he judges so harshly the faults of his boyhood, and in spite of the scruples which worried him in Paris, he would seem to have kept his soul pure as the snow of his native Alps amidst the seductions of the gay city and the wild license of the *Quartier Latin*. But his delicate conscience was harassed with temptations to judge harshly of others, to vanity in his literary success, to craving for better fare, and with other temptations darker and more dangerous. In his trouble he even thought sometimes of giving up his university career, of becoming a priest without any degrees, or even of getting married.

A worldly counsellor might have suspected that Peter had mistaken his vocation, and wished him released from the childish vow he had made on the hillside of Villaret; but the sagacity of Ignatius saw the resources of energy and piety in Favre's mind, and already destined him for his companion; he soothed him, and led him on kindly through two years of indecision and combat; then guided him through the four weeks of the "Exercises;" and, after solemn examination of his own heart, and of the will of God respecting him, Favre was ready and desirous to be ordained priest.

Ignatius at this time disclosed to him some part of his own hopes and intentions; and when he spoke of going with a few faithful labourers to

[1] Dom George was dead some time before B. Peter Favre went to Paris.

the Holy Land to teach, and perhaps to suffer, where our Lord had taught, Favre threw his arms round his neck, and asked to share with him all his difficulties and toils. "I will follow you," said he, "through life and death." Loyola gladly accepted this first member of his Order, knowing doubtless, though the other did not, how reverenced the name of Favre would one day become.

The young man now thought it right to revisit his parents, and ask their blessing upon his new prospects; but when he arrived at home his mother was dead. He remained with his father eight months; not that he looked back after having put his hand to the plough, but because he could do much good there among those who had known and loved him in his childhood. His father at last gave him his blessing, and permission to follow wherever he believed that God's will led him. The good Peter refused to take with him anything else. He bade farewell to the kind old man, whom he was to see no more, and arrived in Paris entirely destitute; so that he continued his studies on the alms alone which his friend Ignatius begged for him.

One day St. Ignatius, walking with Favre near Paris, passed on the road a poor man, who seemed overwhelmed with grief; he was about, they thought, to destroy himself. The Saint agreed with his companion what they would do. Favre returned and accosted the man, as one suffering equally with himself. "I too," said he, "am assailed by enemies, and have to struggle against perpetual opposition and heavy burdens; like you, I think I shall have no rest in this life, and wish for death as a release." Then Ignatius came up, and, as if overhearing their discourse, said to Favre, "You seem unhappy." Upon this, a conversation commenced between them, by which, as they intended, the poor stranger profited. He turned back with them, and, doubtless, from this time his griefs were no longer intolerable.

Favre, in order to make the "Exercises," which have already been described, retired to a small house in the Rue St. Jacques, where he was quite alone; but St. Ignatius often visited him to direct and guide him. That winter was so severe that the Seine was frozen, and carts went over it; yet B. Peter would pass hours day and night praying, in a little court behind the house. He fasted once for six entire days; and all through the frost he never lit a fire. Some coals were placed in an outhouse for his use, but he only threw a mat over the heap, and then made it his bed. At last his pallid countenance warned Ignatius that his austerities had become

excessive; the watchful guardian bade Favre at once return to his usual food and kindle a fire. After this Favre's appetite sensibly diminished, and the ordinary fasts were easy to him. He received holy orders in 1534, the year when Henry VIII. separated England from Rome, and celebrated his first Mass on the 22nd of July, the feast of St. Mary Magdalen.

Favre has been quoted as the most remarkable instance of the power of the wonderful Society of Jesus over its members: it revealed to him the secret of his own latent energy and talents, and transformed the humble and timid peasant of the Alps into an apostle—his patience into courage—his diffidence into a docility that made him ready to attempt, at his master's bidding, the most difficult enterprises—his simple charity into a lofty and insatiable ambition to save souls. In Germany, Italy, and Spain, he entered the lists against the heresies which placed the Christian faith everywhere in danger, and combated the demoralisation of all classes, clergy as well as people. Under the inspiration of the strong minds that surrounded him, more daring and equally fervent, his zeal overcame all obstacles, aimed at the most difficult successes, and changed the humility and self-renunciation that would have kept him obscure and of narrow usefulness in Savoy, into a means of victory over the powers of darkness, of which the world has not ceased to feel the benefit, nor will, perhaps, to the end of time.

But another acquisition was at hand, for which alone Loyola might have thanked God, as the pearl of great price; Francis Xavier, the future apostle of the Indies, the admiration and the blessing of nations, whose career, splendid and innocent from its beginning to its early close, extorts up to this day reverence even from men who believe neither in moral heroism nor in Catholic truth. It seems as if worldly sagacity had grown with spiritual experience in the mind of St. Ignatius; for he was disappointed in his early disciples, and he never repeated his mistaken judgment concerning them. The young men who shared his imprisonment at Salamanca did not follow him to Paris. When he found himself reduced to destitution by the dishonesty of the Spanish scholar, he wrote to tell them of this disaster, and advised them to finish their studies in Spain, unless Calixto could obtain one of the Portuguese bursaries at the University of Paris. He wrote also to Doña Leonora de Mascarenhas, asking her to procure this from the King, which she not only did, but gave him money also for the journey. But Calixto, nearer than the others had been to Ignatius, and once so eager for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his first love, and pursued earthly riches. He went twice to America, became wealthy, and returned to

Salamanca a different and a worse man. Arteaga, though he did not rejoin Ignatius, does not appear to have lost his great reverence for him; he entered the military order of Santiago, was sent to the New World as Comendador, and afterwards was named Bishop of Chiapa in Central America, but he twice offered to resign his bishopric, that some disciple of Ignatius might take his place. That offer none of the Society could accept. He was accordingly consecrated, and returning to America, was poisoned during an illness at Mexico by the carelessness of his attendant. The French page, Jean, became a religious and died in peace. Caceres returned to Segovia, the city of his birth; he lived licentiously, entered the army, and ran through all sorts of adventures; he was arrested as a spy both in France and England, and so cruelly treated in captivity that he remained lame for the rest of his life.

But compensation was at hand; Xavier now shared the chamber of Ignatius. He was born in the house of Xavier in Navarre, a few miles from the present French frontier. He was poor, though of high birth; full of talent, passionately fond of learning, kind-hearted, pleasant in all his ways; high-souled and ambitious; he disdained what seemed a poor and pusillanimous spirit in Ignatius; and it was long before these noble minds understood each other. Like Ignatius, Francis[1] Xavier was the youngest of several children, of whom two were sons and three daughters. These two both followed the profession of arms. Francis was born on April 7, 1506, sixteen years after Ignatius. He seems to have settled in Paris about the year 1526.

In October 1531, after four years' study,[2] Xavier began to lecture publicly at the Collège de Beauvais on Aristotle; and this he did with such extraordinary skill, that applause, which he received complacently, attended him from all sides. Loyola, not repulsed by his dislike, took the interest of a friend in his successes; he endeavoured to make his talents appreciated,

[1] The name of Xavier was taken by Francis, according to the Basque rule; by which the first name of a gentleman was that of the house (*Palacio*) in which he was born, while the second was that of which he was the proprietor. The house and estate of Xavier came to his family through Maria, his mother, sole heiress of the Lords de Azpilcueta on her father's side, and D'Aznarez y Xavier on her mother's side. The property had been given to the Aznarez family in 1252 by Thibaut, the poet-king of Navarre and Count of Champagne, in return for important services. Xavier's father was Juan de Jaxu, so called from his manor-house in Lower Navarre, now the Basses Pyrénées. A building is still standing there which is used as a farm, but it is not that in which St. Francis lived, as the old house was destroyed by the Huguenots. Don Juan de Jaxu y Xavier was a statesman of eminence, a writer, auditor of the Royal Council, and stood high in favour with his sovereigns. All the gentlemen of his family, save himself, who was then too old, and Francis, who was but a boy of fifteen, fought on the side of the French in the campaign wherein Ignatius received his wound.

[2] See *Revue des Questions Historiques*, July 1, 1880, p. 231, n. 1.

spoke of him with admiration, and procured him hearers and scholars. Xavier was propitiated; he now listened to the exhortations of Ignatius, and the words of Scripture at last vanquished him. "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" This question, sinking in all its fulness into his mind, was the turning-point of his existence. Long years afterwards, referring to this same passage, he wrote from India, through Simon Rodriguez, his request to the King of Portugal, "That he would consider and apply to himself this single

CHAPEL OF ST. JEAN DE BEAUVAIS, PARIS.

*St. Francis Xavier lectured in the College formerly attached to it.*

sentence." "If I could believe," he continued, "that the King would not repulse my humble and faithful counsels, I would entreat him to meditate daily, were it but for a quarter of an hour, on that Divine maxim, praying for grace to understand it. I would wish him to end all his prayers with these words."

Meanwhile Don Juan Xavier thought it time his son's studies should finish and their reward begin; the family were not rich, for a letter of Francis to one of his brothers, in which he speaks of his obligations to Ignatius, mentions also that "he had supplied him with money," and kept him

from falling, as many did, into the heresies then prevalent at Paris. Juan destined him for the service of the Church, with the hope, entertained till very lately by Francis himself, that some of its highest prizes would be within his reach. He wrote therefore to recall him to Spain; but Francis wished to stay, and this desire was enforced at home by his sister Magdalena, a holy maiden, who had once filled a place in the court of Queen Isabella, and now had retired into the convent of St. Clare, at Gandia. She entreated her family to let him remain till his course of theology was concluded; "for," she said, "God has elected him to be His messenger to the Indies, and a strong pillar of His Church." This letter was long kept in the family.

Francis therefore remained, and continued to teach and to study. He could not retire from his public work to go through the "Exercises;" but, in intervals of rest, the instruction of Ignatius supplied their place. There seems to have been a considerable struggle in his mind before he abandoned himself wholly to the impressions of grace. That Xavier's outward life, ever perfectly blameless, was now visibly under pious influences, is proved by an incident which about this time had nearly brought Loyola's career to a close. One Miguel Navarro, an unworthy companion of Xavier, who had often received assistance from him, jealous of his intimacy with Ignatius, and fearing its consequences for himself, urged on also, probably, by others whose motives were not better than his own, resolved to murder Ignatius. One night, armed with a dagger, he placed a ladder against his window, and ascended, knowing that Ignatius would then be alone. Suddenly he heard, or thought he heard, a voice exclaiming, "Wretched man, where are you going, and what are you about?" Navarro, terror-struck, rushed into the room, fell at the Saint's feet, and confessed his wicked design. Ignatius was indulgent, and exhorted him with great charity to a better life. Navarro seems to have professed an entire conversion; but this state of mind did not last long.

The fame of Ignatius had now travelled back from Paris to his former friends at Alcalá; and two young men who had studied there, both eminently gifted by nature, and already advanced in philosophy and classics, urged by a strong desire to use their talents for the glory of God, resolved to go to Paris, and continue their studies under the guidance of one whom they heard spoken of as a saint. These two were Diego Lainez, twenty-one years old, a native of Almazan in Castile, destined to be the second General of the Society; and Alfonso Salmeron, of Toledo, already distinguished as a Greek and Hebrew scholar, though only nineteen.

As these young men dismounted at the door of their inn, on their arrival in Paris, it chanced that Ignatius was passing by. Lainez recognised him by description, and addressed him at once. They were received, as was certain to be the case, most kindly, and, having attached themselves to the little company of his disciples, they passed through the "Exercises" about the same time as Favre.

Another bright spirit, which Ignatius had discovered in great humility and poverty, joined them soon after; a poor, though well-born scholar, from Valladolid, who, having taught philosophy in that city with distinction, came to study theology at Paris, and was frequently obliged to ask alms of Ignatius. The Saint, caring at once for soul and body, fed him, and inspired him with a fervent desire to serve Christ. This was Nicholas Alphonso, named Bobadilla,[1] from a village near Palencia, in Leon, where he was born. Perhaps in his daring and original character Ignatius found something congenial with his own. At this time he was already allied in close friendship with another remarkable scholar, Simon Rodriguez, whose family was noble.[2] Rodriguez himself had much talent; his exterior was comely and graceful; he was one of those who verified the sagacious remark of St. Ignatius, that they who were best fitted to succeed in the world were also the best and most useful servants of Christ. His long life was eminently serviceable to the Church; his greatest fault was a piety too absorbing and meditative for the work which Loyola proposed to his Order; and more than once he incurred his master's displeasure. But he possessed much learning and considerable ability, with a most affectionate indulgence for the young, and so great an attraction for those whom he guided, that it came at last to be an inconvenient influence, and not quite consistent with the good government of the Society.

Rodriguez had always been supposed preordained for extraordinary things. When his father, Gil Gonçalez, was dying, he called his children round him to receive his blessing. Looking on Simon, carried in his mother's arms, he said to Doña Caterina, "Señora, I commend that boy especially to you. I see that God wills him to do great things for His honour." Caterina ever after considered Simon as consecrated to the service of the Church, and he was trained accordingly. Heaven bestowed on him an angelic innocence and a fervent zeal. Like many ardent minds of that day, he was bent on visiting the Holy Land, and renewing in another sense the old crusade against the infidels. This was the favourite project

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[1] *Semper strenuus, semper et ubique sibi similis Bobadilla.*

[2] They resided at Buzella, near Viseu, in Portugal. Their name was D'Azevedo.

that occupied alike Ignatius and himself; and so their hearts soon became united in the closest bonds of Christian charity.

It was not always that St. Ignatius was so entirely successful: he had an earnest desire to obtain the adhesion of Nadal, a native of Majorca, in whom he discovered uncommon gifts, and he employed Favre and Lainez for this purpose; but Nadal would have nothing to do with either, and even resisted his confessor, Manuel Miona, who was also the director of Ignatius. One day Ignatius sought him out, led him into a small unfrequented church, where there was no chance of interruption, and, beginning to talk with him on religion, showed him a letter he had written to one of his nephews, exhorting him to leave the world and follow Christ. Nadal took a copy of the New Testament from his pocket, and said, "I hold fast to this book; it is sufficient for me; I will not follow you, unless you have something better than this to offer." St. Ignatius, no doubt, endeavoured to convince him that what he offered was, in truth, the purest and most spiritual gospel teaching, but it was of no avail at that time. Ten years after, Nadal made the discovery for himself.

Meantime Ignatius had taken his Licentiate in Philosophy in 1532, and on the completion of those studies his Master of Arts on March 14, 1534, in the Church of Ste. Geneviève. The newly made Doctor now commenced his studies of Divinity at the neighbouring house of the Dominicans, who took their name of Jacobins from the street of St. Jacques in which their college stood.

Hitherto Ignatius had imparted his plans to his disciples with some reserve, and he spoke to each confidentially, desiring they would communicate the substance of their conversations with him to no one else. Thus, although well known to one another, and sharing the same studies, though some had gone through the "Spiritual Exercises" together, and they were all united by their great love and reverence for Ignatius, yet they had no foreknowledge of the act that was to form them into an Order, or of the companions they would join. Favre had already pledged himself; and Ignatius now spoke privately to each of the great work he desired them to begin in earnest, of separating from the world and living wholly for Christ. He found among them different views and opinions; and bade them therefore prepare themselves for a decision by prayer and fasting. Up to a certain day they were to consider what life they would choose, whereby to glorify God in saving their own souls and the souls of others; and then they were to come to him, and declare the result of their deliberations. They would find, he said, that there were others willing to work with them. This passed in July, 1534, while Henry VIII. had for-

bidden the title of the Pope to be spoken of in England, or even printed in a historical or liturgical work.

When they were all assembled in the presence of Ignatius—Favre, Xavier, Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez—each meeting the companions whom he would have wished to choose, and thinking himself the only unworthy member of that holy brotherhood—they looked at each other in astonishment; they shed tears of joy; they prostrated themselves in praise and thanksgiving.

Ignatius having made in their behalf a short prayer, told them that he had assembled them in order that they might communicate their wishes and hear his own respecting the journey he had long desired to make to Palestine. His wish, he said, was to return to that country, and devote his life to converting the people to the true faith. For the saving of souls he would die there, if that were permitted him. If any of those present were willing to join him, he would be their faithful friend as long as he lived. He had resolved to consecrate himself to God by solemn vows of celibacy, of poverty, and of serving Him in the Holy Land.

Each of them was delighted to find that the Saint's design was precisely that to which they had severally arrived. It only remained to decide what they should do if they were hindered from going to Palestine; and it was resolved that, if they found at Venice no opportunity of transporting themselves to the East, they were to wait for a year, after which time their vow of going to Jerusalem was to be no longer binding, and they then would all repair to Rome, and place themselves at the disposal of the Pope. Some of the young men had not concluded their theological studies, and Ignatius, with the patience of far-sighted sagacity, decreed that they should defer entering on their great enterprise for three years longer. On the 25th of January 1537, they were to meet at Venice, but the disturbed state of Europe made it impossible to foresee what would probably be the chances of crossing the Mediterranean three years later. All desired to pledge their solemn vows before the altar; and their reverence for the Mother of God made them choose for this ceremony the 15th of August, the day on which the Church commemorates her Assumption into Heaven.

In a journal that remains of B. Peter Favre, he gives the following short account of what passed on that memorable day:—"In this same year, 1534, in August, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, we, all of us having come to the same resolution, and made the Spiritual Exercises (Master Francis had not done this yet, though he had the same resolution as ourselves), went to the chapel of Notre Dame, near Paris, and each made a vow to go at the time fixed to Jerusalem, and to place

ourselves when we returned in the hands of the Pope; and to leave, after a certain interval, our kinsfolk and our nets, and keep nothing but the money necessary for the journey. At this first meeting were present Ignatius, Master Francis, myself (Favre), Bobadilla, Lainez, Salmeron, and Master Simon (Rodriguez). Le Jay had not yet come to Paris. Master Jean (Codure) and Paschase (Broët) had not yet been gained. The two following years we all returned on the same day to the same place to renew our resolve, and each time we felt greatly strengthened. Masters Le Jay, Codure, and Paschase were with us those last two years; all these, I say, were with us the last year (1536)."

Some interesting memoirs[1] of the beginning of the Society by Simon

CHAPELLE DU MARTYRE, MONTMARTRE, PARIS, WHERE, IN THE LOWER CHAPEL, ST. IGNATIUS AND HIS COMPANIONS TOOK THEIR FIRST VOWS.

Rodriguez give a few more details. "The place they had determined upon where they were to make their vow, was that chapel of St. Denis, which is half way up the hill of Montmartre, about a mile from the city, standing alone and far from the bustle and haunts of man." The chapel went by the name of *le Martyre*, as tradition tells that on that spot St. Denis and his companions, the apostles of Paris, gave their lives for God. Though at some little distance from the Royal Abbey of Montmartre, it belonged to the nuns of that house, and was afterwards connected with it by walls.[2] The

[1] *De origine et progressu Societatis Jesu*, Rome, 1846, p. 19.

[2] The actual crypt of the Martyrdom had been lost sight of during the troubles, and was only discovered in 1611. But devotion to St. Denys brought to the chapel of *le Martyre* every saint

site is now occupied by a graceful convent chapel of the *Dames Auxiliatrices*, just beyond the Boulevards, in the Rue Antoinette. The seven entered a lower chapel beneath the choir, and there, with no other person present,[1] Favre, the only priest among them, celebrated Mass; and when, previously to giving them Holy Communion, he turned towards them holding the body of our Lord in his hand, each in a distinct voice pronounced the vows of poverty, chastity, of going to Palestine and obedience to the Pope, as regards Missions. They promised also never to take any money for dispensing the Sacraments or any pious work. Then B. Peter gave them Holy Communion. They received it with such devotion, such joy and fervour of love, that Rodriguez, writing thirty years afterwards, felt his heart glow with ineffable consolation at the remembrance; their souls were inundated with happiness, most of all that of Ignatius, who now saw the object of his long toils and hopes attained.

"When I think of that time," writes the good Father Genelli, "I seem to witness their acts, to share their hopes and great designs, and to see through the deep shadows of the past a bright ray of heavenly sunshine descend and fill the quiet place with lustrous exultation! In that moment, weighty with the destiny of future years, they must have known that God was with them, preparing them for great deeds and noble victories among a generation sunk in coldness, and the apathy of inglorious self-love. Never before did so small an army set forth to conquer a world; never one more full of courage."

None of these men proved less worthy than Ignatius believed them to be; none ever fell away from his first vows. They were fulfilling, though then they did not know it, the decrees of Heaven; for, while they assembled in the crypt of Montmartre, Rainolda of Arnheim predicted to James Canisius, her kinsman, then in Flanders, that his son would one day belong to an Order of Jesus, which should be founded for the great profit of the faithful, and especially of Germany. B. Peter Canisius himself helped greatly to carry out this prediction in his own person.

When the new associates left the church, they passed the rest of the day near a fountain, which springs from the western side of the hill, once stained,

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who visited Paris. We meet there the memories of St. Bernard, of our St. Thomas the martyr, of St. Thomas d'Aquino. There came Joan of Arc to pray. And after the vows of St. Ignatius and his companions, a double attraction drew to the spot all the later glories of the French Church, St. François de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, the Ven. Eudes, Berulle and Olier, and the last Abbess of Montmartre, who died with fifteen of her nuns by the guillotine.

[1] A nun of the convent who died at the age of 100 used to recall with pleasure that she as under-sacristan had the pleasure of seeing St. Ignatius, and giving him the keys of the chapel on that auspicious day. *Clair*, p. 171.

it was said, by the blood of St. Denis. There they made a frugal repast, and took sweet counsel together upon the manner of life they should lead during the rest of their stay in Paris. Their spiritual father decided with them on certain practices which they were to observe; such as daily prayers, meditations, examinations of conscience, frequent communion, reading of the Scriptures, and the "Imitation of Christ," the only book besides the Bible which Ignatius seems to have much valued; so that thus the brethren would be united in spirit, though they could not yet reside together. Their studies were not to be in any wise interrupted; they were to return to the place in which they were then assembled, and there on the same day of the two succeeding years renew their vows; they promised to regard each other as brothers; they were to meet as often as they could, to walk together, and occasionally to assemble in each other's rooms, as the early Christians in their Agapes, or Feasts of Love, where they would enjoy themselves in their humble way, and speak of God's work, and how to aid each other in advancing it; and thus keep up, though separated, the charities of a regular life.

As they did this, and continued to cultivate their studies in Paris—striving in the spirit of humility and piety to develop all their powers and gifts in our Lord's service—their zeal appeared to enlarge and increase their natural faculties; they excelled others of the University in all the objects of their common efforts; and, before they emerged from it, were marked as extraordinary men.

These acquirements were already needed, for the new heresies had gained adherents in Paris. Calvin was there, and Servet, his future victim; and Rabelais, the precursor of Voltaire. Calvin, who had studied philosophy at the Collège de Montaigu, had made the rest of his studies at Ste. Barbe, and, while Ignatius was there, frequently came thither. He gained many converts to his opinions, and, to the great horror of the Sorbonne, even within its own walls. Among these was Kopp, the Rector of the University, who, lecturing once on the doctrine of justification, so scandalised his audience that they created an uproar in the streets. Kopp hid himself for a time, and then fled from Paris. Calvin was glad to take refuge with a vinedresser in the Faubourg St. Victor, who, giving him his own gown and rake, set him on the road to Nérac, where he was sheltered by Queen Margaret of Navarre.

Francis I., in his zeal for the revival of letters, had, in spite of the remonstrances of the Sorbonne, brought professors of Greek and Hebrew from Germany, who spread the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli. Some professors were needed; for, according to an almost incredible statement of Galland, "There was not, in the beginning of that reign, a Frenchman who could read

LES JACOBINS, DOMINICAN PRIORY, PARIS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

Greek or write Latin."[1] The King's sisters, Margaret and Renée of France, favoured the Protestants at court; the Sacramentarians affixed their theses, the work of Calvin, at the gates of the Louvre, and even on the doors of the King's apartment in the palace of Blois. Francis professed indeed the greatest horror of all heresy, to which, probably, he was in reality perfectly indifferent; but he encouraged literature, which amused him, and he conferred, he thought, a lustre upon his reign by these importations from the infected countries, whose influence he could not entirely neutralise, even when he afterwards endeavoured to suppress it by most severe measures. Ignatius, therefore, had plenty of occupation in confirming the waverers, and in confuting the ideas which had taken possession of erratic minds. Many, when they heard him, wished to be again secure within the true fold; and these he brought before Valentine Leivin, the inquisitor, that they might be reconciled to the Church.

Three scholars, well known, doubtless, to Loyola, were at Paris at this time, who, after his departure, asked and obtained admission into his Society, all eminently worthy of such an honour: Codure, who died young; Claude Le Jay, from Geneva; and Paschase Broët, the most lovable of his Order, golden-tongued, persuasive; so sweet natured, that Ignatius tells us he was called the "angel of the house."[2] Favre, who, as priest, and the first who had joined St. Ignatius, was Superior in his absence, led them through the "Exercises,"-and received their vows.

These successes caused a double increase of personal austerities in the hard life of Ignatius; he aimed more ardently than ever at Christian perfection, and chose, perhaps, to set an example of self-denial, which he would not enjoin on others; for afterwards he prescribed no severities; he even forbade them, unless expressly allowed by the Superior; but now he would sometimes pass whole days in the church of Notre Dame des Champs, belonging to the Carmelites, where he loved to kneel in the crypt before a venerated statue of Our Lady of Pity; he liked, also, to hide himself in a gypsum quarry of Montmartre, near *Le Martyre*, which recalled to him his cavern of Manresa. He fasted to excess; and his health, which had never been good since he came to Paris, now failed entirely. He suffered intense pains, which once lasted without intermission sixteen or

[1] Many years later Maldonado writes from Paris to Francis Torres (Prat, Maldonat, p. 226), that he wishes the Homilies of St. Cyril may be sent him in Latin, "because our printers are not willing to undertake Greek." Robert Estienne printed in 1546 a Greek Testament in beautiful type.

[2] He came from Bertrancourt, near Amiens.

seventeen hours, and he became almost incapable either of study or prayer.[1] Still, he used his wasting powers to the utmost whenever he could do good. Peralta, a professor of the University, who saw much of him at this time, declared that what he then knew of his holiness and charity would alone suffice to make him be justly regarded as a saint.

But his sufferings and his weakness went on increasing, and the physicians declared that nothing could save his life but a return to his native air. His friends insisted on this, "and the pilgrim yielded to the counsel of those about him," as he related to Gonçalez. Xavier, Lainez, and Salmeron had affairs to settle with their families, before they could fulfil their vow of poverty. They dreaded, and Ignatius for them, the remonstrances and entreaties they might have to encounter; and they wished the Saint to act on their behalf, which he consented to do.

It was not yet time, however, for him to leave Paris: another of those persecutions awaited him which he asked for his Order as a favour from God. He was not now attacked for teaching publicly, as he had been in Spain, but, on the contrary, the retirement in which he and his disciples kept themselves was thought mysterious and suspicious; it was said that he desired to found a new sect; and he used a book (of course the "Exercises"), which might perhaps contain some heretical doctrines. A formal accusation was laid before Laurent, the inquisitor. Ignatius postponed his departure; he prayed for an inquiry. Laurent assured him he wholly disbelieved the charge, but desired that the book of "Exercises" might be shown to him. He was so well pleased with it, that he asked to have a copy. Ignatius wished a formal recognition of his innocence; the inquisitor thought this unnecessary: but, foreseeing of what importance an authentic vindication might prove hereafter, the Saint went to the office of the Inquisition, without asking leave, taking with him a notary and some doctors of the University, by way of witness, and obtained from Laurent the attestation he desired:—

We, brother Thomas Laurent, professor of theology, priest of the Order of Friar Preachers, Inquisitor-General in France, delegated by the Holy See, certify by these presents, that after an inquiry made by our precursor, Valentine Leivin, and by us his council, into the life, morals, and doctrine of Ignatius de Loyola, we have found nothing that is not Catholic and Christian; we also know the said de

[1] About this time, a Spanish bishop, who knew Ignatius well, discoursed with him one day concerning prayer, and asked him how and in what frame of mind he felt himself to be when he prayed. Ignatius answered, "Of that I will say nothing: it suffices that I converse with you on what is edifying for yourself; in what you desire me to say there might be self-love or pride."

Loyola, and M. Peter Favre, and some of his friends, and we have always seen them live in a Catholic and virtuous manner, and have observed nothing in them but what becomes Christian and virtuous men. The "Exercises" also, which the said Loyola teaches, seem to us, so far as we have looked into them, to be Catholic.

Given and done at Paris at the Dominican Convent, under our usual seal, 1535, 23rd January. In the presence of;"—here follows the names of the witnesses; that of the Inquisitor is so concealed by marvellous flourishes as to be illegible.

It was not surprising that any semblance of novelty was regarded with suspicion, when events were passing which threatened the most serious dislocation that the Christian world had ever yet known. The Lutherans over half Germany had long been in open rebellion; Charles V. feared to exasperate them, because he wanted to concentrate his forces against the Turks. The Confession of Augsburg had shown that no compromise could be of any avail; for the Emperor had, in fact, already allowed liberty of worship, proscribing only Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, whose excesses horrified decent men of all parties. Protestants, as well as Catholics, were permitted to preach and explain the Scriptures "in the sense given to them by the Fathers." The Lutherans were still dissatisfied; in fact, toleration was but a small part of what Luther demanded, and the last thing he was willing to grant.[1]

On the remonstrance of Frederic, Count Palatine, the Protestants reduced their claims to these:—First, communion under both kinds; second, marriage allowed to priests; third, the omission in the mass of the invocation of Saints; fourth, the Church property which had been stolen to remain with the plunderers; fifth, a General Council to be called immediately to decide on other points in dispute. For all this while, and in spite of the insane hatred of Luther against the Pope, a Council to be summoned by him was always demanded by the Protestant party; they were not yet ready to follow their leader, and openly defy the head of the Church. Melanchthon, in another conference appointed by Charles, when seven persons on each side were to revise and modify the Confession of

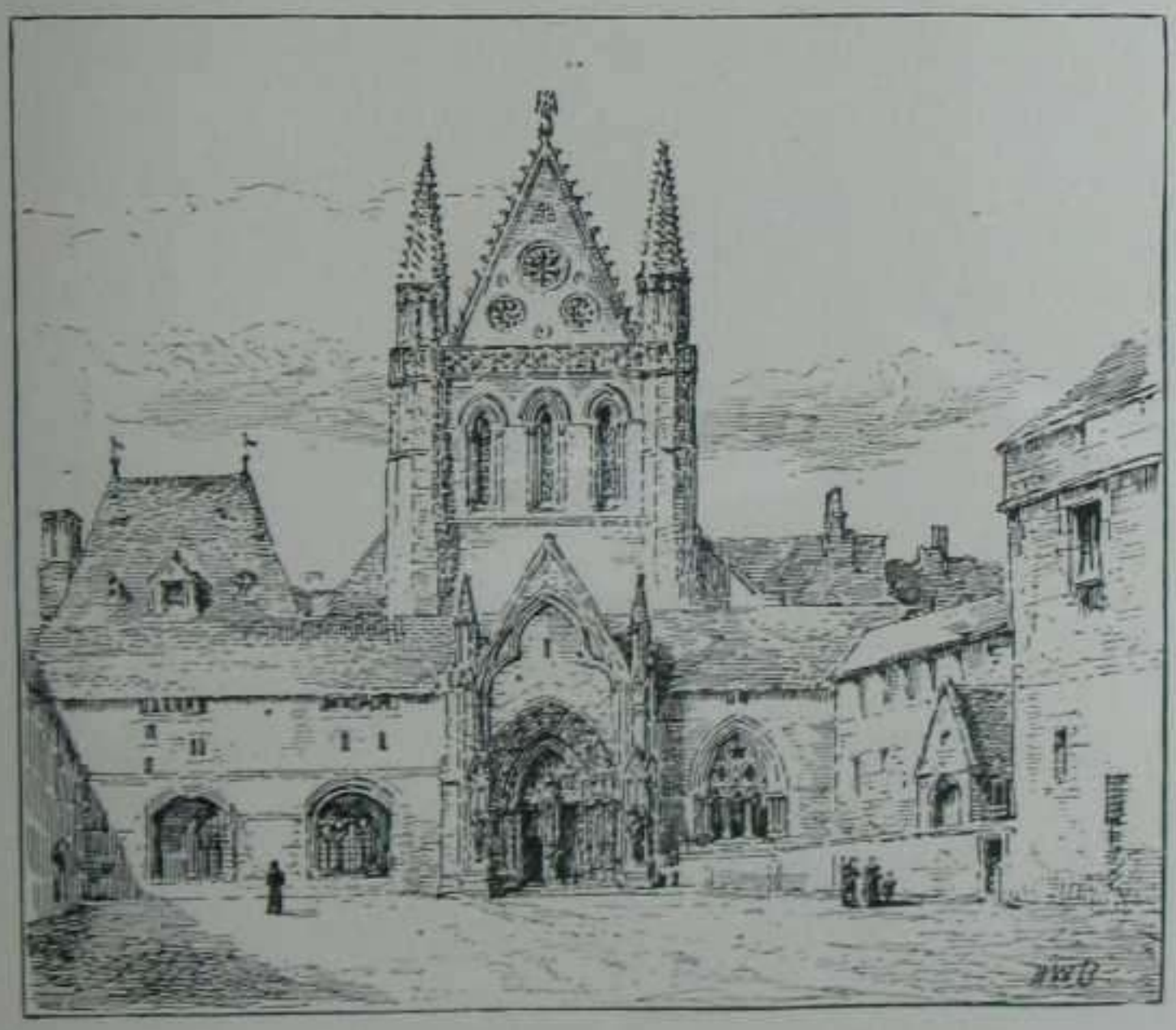
[1] It is pleasant to relate an honourable act of Luther which preceded this Convocation at Augsburg. He forbade his adherents (who were nearly all the insurgent party) to impede the journey of the Emperor through the Tyrol, where the Landgrave of Hesse, and other chiefs, thought it would be easy to intercept him and take him prisoner. And when the preachers of his side complained that Charles ordered them to abstain from intruding into the pulpits of the parish churches at Augsburg, where certainly they could have no right to be, Luther told them that submission to authority was a duty when it did not imply a sin. Charles bade the priests to avoid touching on disputed subjects, so that all might go to hear them with edification.

Augsburg, suggested so many motives and ways for reconciliation, that Luther burst into curses against him. He had agreed with the Catholics on fifteen articles; partially agreed on three more; and the remaining three were allowed to be placed under the head of "abuses." The points of agreement were important,[1] and peace might reasonably have been hoped for; but peace was not the aim of those who expected to make their own fortunes in the general disturbance of Germany. Luther and his partisans desired war at any price; and the oil that Melanchthon cast upon the waters was as nothing in the violence of the storm. The Lutheran leaders, assembled at Smalkald, resolved on resisting the Emperor; the Diet, convened at Cologne to elect his brother, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, gave a new occasion of revolt; they threatened to join their forces to those of Suleimán, who was then invading Austria, if they were opposed in their schemes of religious emancipation. Charles was compelled to sign the peace of Nuremberg; after which, the Protestant chiefs having enabled him to make an imposing display before the walls of Vienna, Suleimán approached, saw, and withdrew without a battle. Charles had an interview with Clement VII., the most unfortunate sovereign in Europe, at Bologna, as the Emperor passed there on his way to Spain. They agreed that a General Council should be summoned. Clement met Francis I. at Marseilles; the marriage of Catharine de' Medici, the Pope's niece, with the Duke of Orleans was decided upon; and Clement returned full of satisfaction to Rome. But there he learned that the Turks had besieged Tunis, and were plundering the coasts of Italy; that the Anabaptists had renewed their hateful excesses in Westphalia, and taken Munster. His own family had long embittered his life; the Cardinals de' Medici and Cosmo, his nephews, were fighting for Florence. The Pope consulted his Cardinals; they could only advise him to negotiate a peace, if possible, between the princes of Christendom, and convoke the Council so long desired. Clement saw that these measures were now indispensable; and he would have endeavoured in sincerity to carry them forward, if life had been granted him; but he was now an old man, and could no longer struggle against so much perplexity and grief.

His Holiness took the matter exceedingly to heart, and it was this sorrow

[1] Melanchthon allowed "that the Saints intercede for us, and that we may celebrate their memory on certain days; that Our Lord is contained entire under one species; that certain week-days should be kept holy, and a fast be observed on the vigils of some of these; that faith and justification come by grace, but man has free will." The Church was eager to reform every abuse, and the Council of Trent was actually legislating against them. Hence the disaffected, who hoped to profit by the suppression of monasteries and the plunder of ecclesiastical property, had no true desire that religious dissensions should be healed.

and dread that seems to have brought him to the grave. He died unregretted, for princes who are unfortunate are seldom popular; and Clement, from the time he mounted the throne, had been persecuted by a kind of adverse fate—his people plundered, his city sacked, himself twice a prisoner; and all his efforts to drive the foreigners out of Italy had only strengthened their power and sealed its doom. The Austrians were now holding firm possession of the north and south; and in the empire of opinion Rome had lost as much as in territory. Yet this was not the sin, nor even the error, of Clement VII.; he lived in times that were too strong for him; but they would have been so for any ordinary man; he strove to meet them conscientiously; those nearest his person always esteemed him most. Clement had said that, if he could choose a successor, Farnese should be the next Pope; and now the conclave, with only one day's deliberation, placed Farnese on the throne. The Romans showed "immense joy" to see at last, after 103 years, and thirteen foreign pontiffs, one of Roman blood seated on the chair of St. Peter. He was likely to fill it honourably and well, and the hopes of Christendom revived.



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DES CHAMPS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 181.

# BOOK II.

## From St. Ignatius' Final Leaving Azpeitia to his Settling in Rome.

DOORWAY OF CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA.

# BOOK II.

## *FROM ST. IGNATIUS' FINAL LEAVING AZPEITIA TO HIS TAKING UP HIS ABODE IN ROME.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### ST. IGNATIUS REVISITS SPAIN AND ITALY—1535-1536.

ST. IGNATIUS, thus justified by the Inquisitors in Paris, was now at liberty to set out for Spain. He committed his disciples to the care of Peter Favre, as being the oldest among them, and the only one of the number who had received holy orders. They procured him a horse; for he was too weak to travel on foot. He started about the 25th of March 1535; for that is the date of a letter from Francis Xavier to his parents, in which he commends Ignatius to them. At Bayonne he was recognised by some persons, who hastened to carry the news of his arrival to the Castle of Loyola, then

occupied by the family of his brother, Don Martin Garcia. Two younger brothers and two nephews were also there at this time. These last were probably Millan de Loyola and Antonio de Araoz, who were quite boys at the period of the Saint's visit to Spain. Both went to Rome together, in 1542, and both, at the request of their uncle, made the "Exercises" there, and soon after begged permission to join the Society, of which Araoz became a distinguished member. Millan died, after giving great promise as a preacher, in 1547 at Alcalá. As soon as Ignatius entered his native land of Guipuscoa, he left the main road to avoid being recognised, and went by mountain paths.

Ignatius stopped at an inn six miles from Azpeitia, where Juan Equibar, who knew him well, and had been sent to look for him, shortly after arrived. On his inquiring if there were any strangers in the house, the host answered there was one who spoke like a native of Guipuscoa, and had the air and bearing of a well-born man, though he was mounted on a sorry horse and was poorly clad. Juan desired to be shown to the stranger's apartment; but, instead of opening the door, he looked through a crevice and beheld Ignatius kneeling in prayer. He instantly recognised him, and rode off to inform the family at Loyola of the near approach of their saintly relative, spreading the tidings wherever he passed.

Hereupon his brothers and nephews prepared to set out with a noble cavalcade, and bring him with honour to his ancestral home; but, alarmed lest the intended display should shock the Saint's humility and be the means of depriving them of his presence, they sent in their stead a worthy priest, Balasar d'Arabaesa, with directions to welcome him in their name, and beguile him, if possible, into a visit to Loyola. Fearing, however, for St. Ignatius' safety, as the mountains were infested with brigands, they dispatched two servants, well mounted and armed, who, while appearing to be mere chance travellers like himself, were to act as his guard. The Saint, meeting the two men, at first supposed them to be robbers; but, on finding who they were, and for what purpose they had been sent, he was forced to accept their offered escort. However, instead of proceeding to his brother's house, he went on to Azpeitia. But even thus he did not escape the honours prepared for him; for at the entrance of the town he was met by a procession of the clergy and a number of his own kinsmen, who received him with all the reverence due to his high repute for sanctity, and entreated him to accompany them home. This also he declined to do; saying that, since he had become poor for the sake of Christ, he had no home save the houses of the poor, and he would lodge nowhere but at the Hospital of St. Magdalen. This with its little chapel, in whose porch the Saint used

to preach, is still standing by the river-side. There his family sent him a comfortable bed, together with provisions. The bed he would not use, and disarranged it every morning, to conceal that he slept upon the floor. When this pious artifice was discovered, a common bed was given him, such as the poor lay upon in the hospital, and this he was content to use. The provisions that had been sent him he distributed among the sick; and, during all the time he remained in Azpeitia he lived on alms, which, to the disgust of his relatives, he persisted in begging from door to door. He used to wait upon the sick, and eat at the same table with the poor, sharing with them the victuals he received in alms, and reserving the worst portions for himself. Never but once, say his biographers, did he consent to enter the house of his ancestors, and then only in compliance with the entreaties of his brother's wife, who on her knees implored him by the passion of our Lord to visit Loyola, at least for a few hours. Still he yielded, we are told, rather that he might impress upon her the reverence with which he regarded that holy mystery, than out of any weak relenting of his heart towards his own kindred and home; for he had renounced all for Jesus' sake, and, it may be, had still enough of natural tenderness unsubdued within him to make him dread a fresh entanglement with human ties. As it was, he remained but a single night, which he passed on the bare floor, going from the hospital in the evening, and returning early in the morning, before the inmates of the castle were awake.

Many years after this, when he desired to encourage a young novice whose heart clung too fondly to memories of home, Ignatius told him that for a long while he had been troubled by a picture in his book of prayers representing the Holy Virgin, in whose sweet and gentle countenance he seemed to see such a resemblance to that of his sister-in-law, Doña Magdalena, that, whenever he came to that page, his heart was touched with a feeling of regretful affection for the place and friends he was to see no more. So he fastened a piece of paper over the picture, resolved to obliterate that dangerous tenderness—a childishness he called it—and these temptations, he said, never returned.

His health had already benefited from the effects of the journey and relaxation from severe study, even before he again breathed his native air; and he now resumed the practice of all his former austerities; he began also to labour for the instruction and salvation of souls. When his brother, Don Martin, learned that it was the Saint's intention to preach in public, he was much chagrined, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, telling him that he would have no listeners. Ignatius replied that he should be quite content if he had but one. The event surpassed

all expectation. Many of every rank flocked to hear him, even the chief men of the neighbourhood; and the lord of Loyola was himself amongst them. Ignatius was accessible to every one, though he would speak on none but spiritual subjects. He preached for two or three hours together on three days in the week, besides Sundays and holidays; nor did he desist even when his strength was much reduced by continual low fever. The crowds at length became so great, that he was forced to leave the town for the open country, men climbing up into the trees to hear him; and so marvellously was he assisted by the power of God, that he was distinctly heard at a distance of three hundred yards, although his voice was not naturally strong. He spoke entirely from the impulse of the moment, preparing nothing beforehand, but throwing his whole soul into his discourses, which, therefore, in spite of their extreme simplicity, produced extraordinary effects.

Parents were glad to bring their children to learn of Ignatius and receive his blessing. One ugly little fellow, Martin Alarcio, stammered so much that the people around laughed at him. Ignatius turned to them and said—"You laugh because you see only the outside of this boy. I can tell you that it is not so ugly as his soul is beautiful in the sight of God, and this beauty will continue ever to increase. He will one day be a distinguished servant of God, and will do great things for the saving of souls." The event proved the truth of the prediction, for Alarcio lived to be a holy and zealous priest.

Another boy was brought to Ignatius by his mother that he might bless him, and pray to God to preserve him for her comfort and support. He was eight years old; his name Francis Almario. Ignatius looked attentively at him, then he said to his mother, "Fear not; your son will live long, and have many children." And Almario lived to the age of eighty, and had fifteen children.

When Ignatius preached publicly for the first time, he told the people that one of his reasons for returning to his own country was to appease his troubled conscience, which never ceased reproaching him with the examples he had given in his youth. Every day he implored God to forgive him; now he asked pardon of his fellow-countrymen also, and he besought their prayers. "Besides, I was obliged," he said, "to return, that I might pay a debt of justice to an innocent person. Yonder," he cried, pointing to a man who was present among the crowd, "is one who was imprisoned and fined for damage done in an orchard by me and my companions. Let all therefore know that he is innocent and I the guilty person; and now, in reparation of the wrong that was done him, I publicly

THE CHURCH OF LOYOLA. (*From a photograph.*)

make over to him my two farms, presenting him as a free gift with all that is over and above the debt I owe him."

Such a beginning secured a ready acceptance of the lessons he taught; and he made, we are told, a revolution in the morals and habits of that part of the country. He commenced with the clergy, of whom many were sunk in a dissolute and scandalous life.

Then he attacked the passion for gaming, which was universal in Spain. This custom was so inveterate that the Spaniards, says Howell, would say their prayers before they began to play, and thank God for their good fortune afterwards. The crusade was so successful that for more than three years after cards or dice were not to be seen in Azpeitia. Then he addressed those who indulged in the luxuries of life, and a vain display in jewels and dress; above all, he tried to repress a style of feminine adornment which he thought unsuitable to Christian decorum. The women listened with delight and remorse; they wept, they mended their ways; the over-obtrusive charms were hidden, the vain decorations cast away. On each of the ten days that intervene between Ascension Day and Pentecost, Ignatius spoke in the evening on one of the Ten Commandments; and on the day of Pentecost itself, it was said, the Holy Spirit descended into many hearts. When he had preached on the taking of God's name in vain, all oaths and impieties of speech became odious, and were heard no more. Women who had led bad lives now devoted themselves to penance and works of piety; some of them made long pilgrimages on foot, some practised a more safe devotion by attending to the sick poor in the hospitals. All strove to convert their companions in sin. That association which has so often in Italy impressed strangers with the considerate and tender charity of the Catholic faith, instituted for the "poveri vergognosi"—decent and destitute persons whose bashfulness or honest pride concealed their wants from all eyes but those of their loving mother, the Church—originated at Azpeitia with Ignatius, who established there a Confraternity, charged to discover and relieve such persons in perfect secrecy; and he gave to it an income from his own property, which fund was to be administered by the principal inhabitants of the town. He commenced among them the holy custom of praying at noon daily for those who were living in mortal sin; he gave money for ringing the bells at that time. He revived the evening prayers for the souls of the departed. He obtained from his kinsmen at Loyola a dole of twelve loaves to the poor every Sunday, in honour of the twelve Apostles.

Some five years after, St. Ignatius wrote a long letter from Rome in 1541, exhorting his town-folk to persevere in their good resolutions, and sent them

the Bull of a Confraternity of the *Most Holy Body of Our Lord*, just founded by Father Stella, a Dominican. He begged the people of Azpeitia to found the Confraternity in their town. They did so, and it is still in vigour and life.

He succeeded in everything that he attempted, and it pleased God often to bestow upon His servant a miraculous power. A woman said to have been possessed for four years was brought to him. He said that, not being a priest, he could not exorcise her; but he prayed for her, placed his hands on her head, made over her the sign of the cross, and she was cured. A girl horribly convulsed was brought to him as a demoniac. But the Saint perceived that the convulsions were physical; he dispelled them by the sign of the cross. In the hospital was a poor man named Bastida, who had been subject to epileptic fits for many years. One day he was seized with the disorder in the presence of the Saint. Ignatius, moved with compassion, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, uttering a short prayer, laid his hand upon his forehead. Bastida immediately revived, and so perfect was the cure, that the fits never after returned. Almost more wonderful was the restoration of a poor consumptive creature thought to be dying. Ignatius at first refused his blessing, saying he was not a priest; then, vanquished by the importunities of the sick woman and the bystanders, he gave it, and her health and strength returned. She had been carried from Gumaya, where she lived; she returned on foot and without help. Some days afterwards she came to thank her benefactor, bringing with her an offering of fruit; the Saint would not refuse her gift, but distributed all among the poor of the hospital. But not the Saint's hand alone, even things that belonged to him were endued with a miraculous virtue. A poor woman, whose arm was withered and useless, moved partly by a feeling of devotion and partly by a hope of obtaining some heavenly favour, took some of his linen home with her to wash, and on the first touch she was entirely healed.

The exertions made by Ignatius, while he treated himself with so little indulgence, at last brought on another illness. He refused to leave the hospital, but two of his sisters-in-law, Maria de Oriola and Simona de Alzaga, came there to attend on him. One night when they wished to leave a light in the room, he would not have it; he said, God would not let him want anything that was necessary for him. He rose in the night to pray, as was his custom; his heart, overburdened with joy, relieved itself in exclamations. His kinswomen ran to his room, thinking he was ill; they opened the door suddenly, and saw him surrounded by a bright light, his hands clasped, his eyes raised to heaven, his face shining with a radiance that dazzled them, his soul absorbed in prayer. When he

found himself discovered, he was confounded, and desired his cousins not to speak of what they had seen; doubtless they did not think it necessary to be silent after he had taken his departure.

Such are the traditions which the people of Azpeitia still preserve and delight to repeat. Many families remain there who have heard from their parents stories like these, carried down from the days of Ignatius. Three miles from the town is a farmhouse, whose owners gladly relate how he used frequently to rest there after his walk from the town. There was to be seen, about the year 1865, a figure of the Saint, and in its pedestal was enclosed the rope he wore round his waist, which rope he left as a parting gift when he said Farewell.

Three months Ignatius had remained at Azpeitia; he had recovered his health; he desired now to hasten on towards the objects for which he had left Paris. Clergy and laity strove to retain him; they entreated him to continue the good work he had begun. He answered that God called him away, that he must extend the work elsewhere; but they themselves would still participate in it. He intended to set off on foot, taking no money; his brother Martin insisted on escorting him to the port whence he was to sail for Italy, and Ignatius compromised by accepting his brother's company as far as the confines of Biscaya. There he made his last farewell to his kinsman, dismounted, and pursued his journey on foot to Obaños, a little town in Navarre, where Juan de Azpilcueta, the eldest brother of Francis Xavier, was residing, then to Almazan, the home of Lainez, to Segovia, and to Toledo, where lived the family Salmeron.[1] With all these he concluded the arrangements committed to him, though the parents of the young men were almost all unwilling that they should make the renunciation of their property; but he would not take charge of the monies they were to receive. From Valencia he went to Segorbe, to visit his old friend Juan de Castro, who had formerly been hindered from following him. He was now a priest and a novice in the picturesque Carthusian monastery of Val de Cristo; a wondrous valley, thought to be like Jehosaphat, a mile from Segorbe. Ignatius told him all he had done and hoped to do, and asked his counsel and prayers. De Castro said he would answer him next day. He passed the night in prayer, and in the morning, as one filled with Divine light, he declared to Ignatius that this

[1] It was during this journey that Philip II., then a child of nine years old, saw S. Ignatius, and his nurse, Doña Leonor Mascarenhas, pointed him out to the boy—"See, Sire, that is a Saint; ask him to pray God for your Highness."

work must be of God, and bade him proceed; he was even willing himself to quit the monastery, where as yet he had not taken the vows, and to accompany Ignatius. But this the Saint would not allow, and the friends parted with mutual promises of intercession and a lasting charity.

Perhaps this was the monastery in which it was made known to Ignatius that two of the monks, unfaithful to their vows, intended to abscond. He announced this revelation before all the brotherhood; the two offenders, smitten with remorse, immediately confessed their designs, and delivered up the disguises they had prepared.

Ignatius was to embark for Genoa from Valencia. There he stood for the last time in the neighbourhood of the lady whose service he had professed in the chivalry of his earlier years; he saw the romantic residence given by Ferdinand and protected by his successor, where Princess Juanita lived with her mother, the Queen of Naples. The Princess too must have heard of him, if she did not see him; for he stayed several days in Valencia, and preached much and converted many there. If she had ever contemplated a possible marriage with Don Iñigo, she might have thought her kinsman, Charles V., would not have opposed it; he was a good-natured prince to young women in those days, and sympathised in their inclinations. He took his sister Catalina, the Queen of Portugal, away from Tordesillas, that she might share the festivities of his reception in Castile; but the poor Queen Juana la Loca, Joan the Mad, pined for her and refused food, so the Princess was forced to return; and he removed his grandfather's young widow, Germaine de Foix, from the convent of Abrojo—doubtless greatly to her satisfaction, since she re-married next year, with Charles's consent, though the lord of Brandenburg was looked on as a *mésalliance* by the old subjects of King Ferdinand. We can find afterwards no mention of the Princess Juanita, and may conjecture as we please, from the silence of history, that she remained unmarried, from some memory of her illustrious lover; or, incited perhaps by his example, took shelter in the obscurity of a religious life.

When Ignatius left the house of his friend Martin Perez, where he had lodged in Valencia many days, to embark for Italy, the sea was infested by pirates; Barbarossa had driven Muley Hassan from Tunis, and swept the Mediterranean with a fleet of 100 galleys, plundering both by sea and land. He did not fall in with the vessel which bore Ignatius; that danger was averted by another: it was caught in a violent storm; the helm carried away, the mast broken; the sailors gave themselves up for lost. Ignatius told Gonçalez afterwards that while they shrieked and lamented

GATE OF THE CID, VALENCIA.

as if their last hour was come, he felt no fear or disturbance, only a profound grief that he had answered so imperfectly to the graces that Heaven had bestowed on him. At last they reached the port of Genoa; but he was not yet safe. In crossing the Apennines to Bologna he lost his way, and found himself, after much scrambling and climbing, on the brink of a precipice, where he could neither advance nor, without difficulty, return. He had to crawl on hands and knees up steep rocks, which overhung a torrent far below, holding on by ledges of rock, or by herbs growing in the crevices. He said afterwards that he had never been in greater danger; his escape seemed to him a miracle.

He arrived sick at Bologna. The winter was advancing, the rains had set in, the roads were flooded, and when at last the weather mended, and he had reached the town, as he entered it his foot slipped in passing a bridge, and he fell into a moat. He rose bruised, wet through, and covered with mud. All along the streets the boys shouted at him; he asked alms, but nothing was given to him: he would have perished of hunger and cold but for the kindness of the inmates of the splendid Spanish College, who took him in and sheltered him kindly until he had recovered strength. Then after a week he set off for Venice.

He arrived at the well-remembered spot on the last day of the year 1535. Probably "the learned and worthy man" with whom he lodged when he wrote a letter to his friend Jaime Cazador, afterwards Bishop of Barcelona, was the elder de Eguia. It was dated February 12, 1536:—

*St. Ignatius to Cazador, Archdeacon of Barcelona.*

. . . You say that you will not withdraw from me your former assistance. I only gave you notice, when Isabel Roser wrote to me, that next April she will make provision for me to finish my studies. This seems to me the best; for during the whole year she can provide for me both some books, and other things I shall need. Meanwhile though the place is dear, and though my health does not allow me now to bear want and corporal fatigues beyond what study brings with it, I am abundantly supplied with everything, thanks to Isabel Roser, who has made me receive here twelve crowns in her name, besides the alms you have sent me for the love of God, Who I hope will pay you in full and in good money, not only what you are doing for me, but the great care you have of my poverty, for I do not think any father could care more for his son. Fifteen days before Christmas I was kept in my bed at Bologna by pains in the stomach, owing to cold and fever. I resolved, therefore, to go to Venice, where I have passed a month and a half in the society and the house of a learned and worthy man, so that I am persuaded nothing better could have happened to me. . . . The wish you express, to see me occupied in preaching at Barcelona, certes I cherish in my

heart. Not that I have the conceit that I can do what others cannot, nor that I can reach what they cannot attain; but merely to preach, as a simple individual, things intelligible, easy, and lowly. For I trust in God our Lord, that if I keep to what is lowly, He will give His grace that in some way we may be of help in His praise and due service. For that reason, as soon as I have finished my studies—in a year from this Lent—I hope to stay to preach His word in no other place in the whole of Spain, till I come to you, as we both of us desire; for I think I am without doubt more obliged to the people of Barcelona than to any others on this earth. This, however, must be understood, *clare non errante*,[1] provided God our Lord does not call me out of Spain to some work which will bring me less honour and more trouble. I cannot tell how this may be; what I do know is, that I shall always preach in poverty, but putting aside the solicitudes and difficulties which now entangle me during my studies.

Ignatius had sought a lodging in the Hospital of the *Incurabili*,[2] of which St. Gaetano de Thiene was one of the founders. This must have occurred after the date of the preceding letter, and perhaps gave rise to the story of Ignatius wishing to gain admission into the Order Gaetano had founded; he, it was said, refused, saying that it would be better Ignatius should create a new one, entirely devoted to external acts of charity.[3] St. Gaetano himself was not then at Venice, but at Naples. In that same winter St. Ignatius wrote the following letter to Miona, his former confessor, at Paris:—

I wish much to know what has become of you; which is not surprising, since I owe so much to you in spiritual things, as a son to his spiritual father. And because I am bound to repay the great love and goodwill you have always shown towards me, I do not know any way of repaying a tittle of what you have done, except to put you during a month in the "Spiritual Exercises" with the person I have named to you, and who offers to conduct them. If, therefore, you have tried them and have relished them, I pray you in the name of our Lord write and tell me. And if not, I beseech you by His love, and His painful death for our sakes, to set about them; and if you are afterwards sorry for it, I consent to suffer whatever penance you inflict on me, and besides to be regarded by you as a man who trifles with the spiritual persons to whom he owes everything. As in writing to one, I mean my letter for all, I have not yet written to you in particular, and so

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[1] "So as not to err."

[2] Now a barracks. The administration was bankrupt in the last century and the charity discontinued.

[3] Ribadeneira relates that Lainez having come to Rome from Venice in April 1545, communicated, in his presence, to Ignatius the desire of Cardinal Caraffa to join the two Orders in one. Ignatius answered, it was more for the Lord's service that each Order should remain as He had been pleased to constitute it. He declined a proposal from the Somaschi Fathers of a similar kind in 1547.

Favre can tell you all you want to know concerning me, and you can read the letter I now send him. I pray you twice, thrice, and as often as I can, for the glory of God our Lord, to do what I have said, so that the Divine Majesty may not reprove me later for not having conjured you with all my might to do the best thing that I can think, feel, and understand on earth, not only for the separate good of each, but also to learn how to conduct many others in the way of piety—how to help and guide them. So that if you feel not the want for yourself, you will see how much you can profit others beyond all degree more than you expect. For the rest, I pray the infinite goodness of God our Lord to give you grace to know His most holy will, and to accomplish it perfectly in everything, *juxta talentum omnibus commissum*—according to the talent which has been given to each one, if we would not hear Him say to us one day, "*Serve nequam, sciebas*—wicked servant, didst thou not know," &c.

VENICE, *November* 16, 1536.

Our Saint continued his Divinity studies, while giving his leisure to works of zeal.

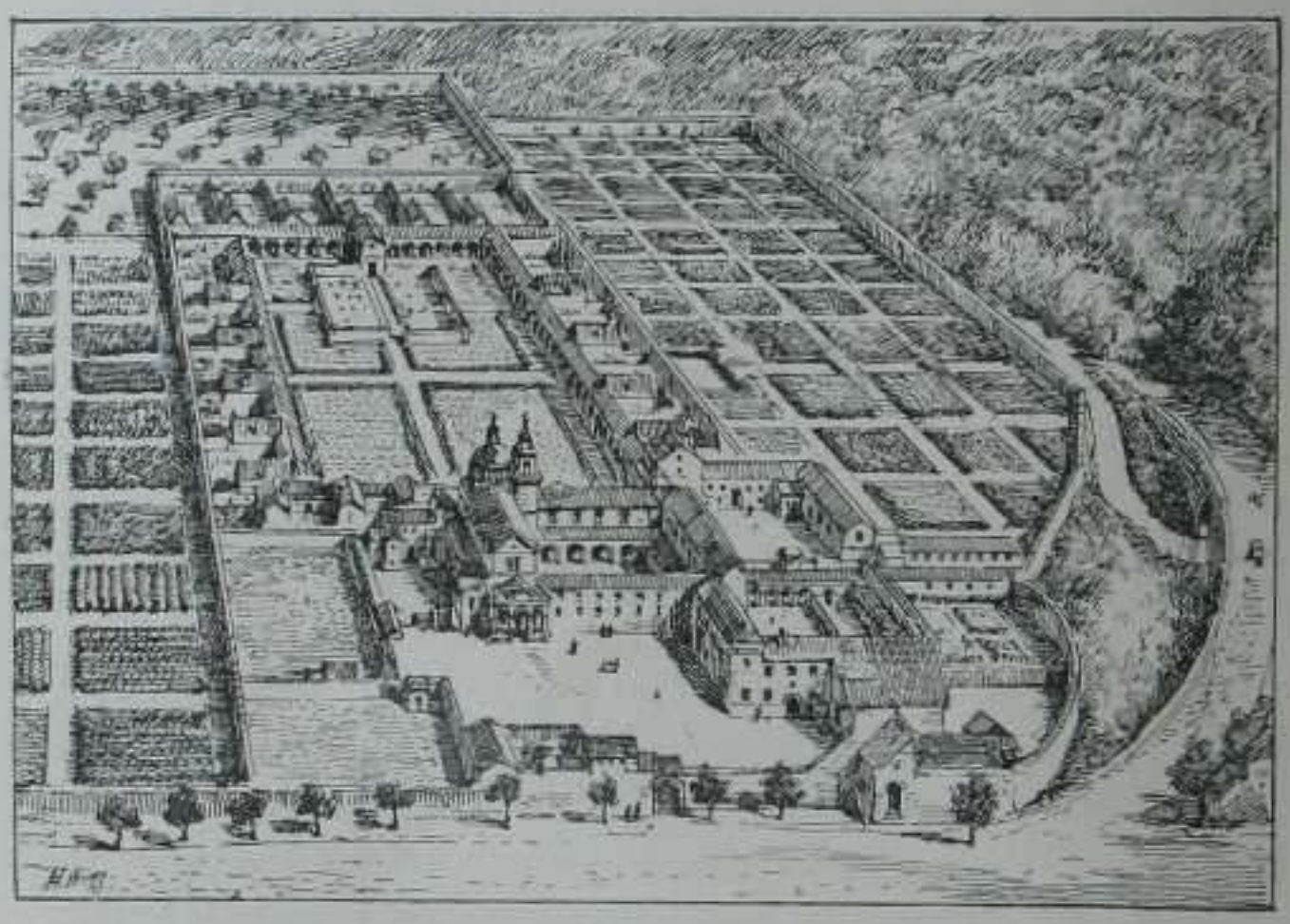
The "Exercises" were not less efficient at Venice than he had found them before; they won for him three new companions—Diego Hozes, and the two de Eguias. Hozes was of an ancient family of Malaga,[1] a worthy man, very earnest against the German heresies. Though the desire of spiritual profit led him to Ignatius, it was not with entire confidence; he had heard accusations against him, and he entered on the "Exercises" well provided with volumes of the Fathers, Councils, and other such works. But when he had gone through the first meditations, he was persuaded that he beheld the characters of Divine truth. He attached himself to Ignatius at once, and the remainder of his few years on earth were spent in toiling as a member of the Society of Jesus. He was destined to bear to heaven the first fruits of the Order which was to lead so many thither.

The two de Eguias, Diego and Esteban, whom Ignatius had first known at Alcalá, were staying at Venice, on their return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They received him gladly into their house, and consulted him how they should shape their future life, which they intended to devote entirely to God. By his advice they sought Divine guidance in the "Exercises," and afterwards became members of his Society. Diego de Eguia had the signal honour and privilege of being confessor to his master during their later years. But in this office he did not entirely escape his censure; for he spoke of Ignatius as a saint, and this gave him great offence. Nevertheless Ignatius loved and venerated him. He sometimes said, "When we are in

[1] Originally of Cordova, made Lords of Abbayda by some former sovereign of Castile.

heaven we shall see Padre Diego fifty yards above us, so that we shall hardly know him." A saying of Diego's was often repeated, "Whosoever thinks something of himself is worth little, but who thinks much of himself is worth nothing."

Pietro Contarini, a cousin of the Cardinal, and subsequently Bishop of Baffo (Paphos), placed himself in close connection with Ignatius, and became his protector and warm friend. He resided in Venice, and was Administrator of the Hospital of SS. John and Paul, where the companions of Ignatius lived. Many noblemen of the Republic, and many persons of other classes, went through the "Exercises;" some of these afterwards entered the Society; and Venice always presented a rich harvest to the Jesuit preachers.



THE CHARTERHOUSE OF VAL DE CRISTO, NEAR SEGORBE.—*See p.* 197.

# CHAPTER II.

## JOURNEY OF THE COMPANIONS TO ITALY—1536–1537.

THE time was now approaching when the ten companions were to be reunited; it came sooner than it was looked for. When Charles V., returning victorious from Africa, presented himself before Paul III. at Rome, he brought with him no promise of peace; on the contrary, he could not, even in the presence of the Pope, or after the moving appeal made by his Holiness, control the passion with which he sought a new quarrel with Francis. He even challenged him to single combat. In a few weeks he invaded the Duchy of Milan, Provence, and Picardy; but success no longer attended his arms, and he retreated into Spain. The Queens, his sisters, with difficulty prevailed on him and Francis to conclude a short and partial truce; and the young men, who were left by Ignatius at Paris to complete their studies, were warned to leave France at once, lest the roads should be closed to them. Instead, therefore, of waiting till the last week in January, they started on November 15, 1537, for Venice.

But their departure was not unopposed, and even Favre could hardly have been wholly without hesitation when the strongest representations were made to him of the good work they were doing, and would have to renounce by leaving Paris for an uncertain and distant usefulness in the East. One of the most eminent doctors of the Sorbonne, whose learning equalled his virtue, declared to B. Peter that he could not, without sinning grievously, desert the good he was effecting in France, and which, said his counsellor, was more important than anything he could hope to do in Palestine; he added that he was ready to present this opinion in writing signed by all the doctors and theologians of Paris. Favre had indeed peculiar endowments for the work of winning souls among the highly-cultivated world, in which he was then exercising his untiring zeal and great learning; and perhaps it was

impossible for an uninspired judgment not to believe he had there found his calling. He had a delightful ingenuity in mingling spiritual things with familiar conversation; he could join in talk the most divergent from such subjects, and like a skilful pilot steer the discourse into any channel he chose. He pleased as much as he edified; all sought his society, and the sweetness and the depth of holy feeling with which he spoke touched all hearts, and often effected wonderful conversions. He directed the "Exercises" with so much of the spirit in which they were written, that Ignatius thought him in this without an equal. He was obviously doing great and lasting good, and if God Himself had not confirmed within the hearts of the six young men the engagements they had entered into with Ignatius, they would perhaps have yielded to these persuasions, and thought it His will they should remain in France. But the Society of Jesus was in the order of Providence, and Favre persevered.

Ignatius was now solicitous for his friends. He wrote to the confessor of the French Queen, Eleanor:—"Master Fabro (this was Favre's name in Paris) and his companions will have a difficult journey to make, and must be reduced to great necessity." He therefore asks assistance for them.

It was advisable that they should not start all at once; some remained to wind up their worldly affairs; the others were to proceed to Meaux, and there wait till their companions joined them. Simon Rodriguez was among the first party; it pleased God to send him a sudden malady and a surprising deliverance. He was seized with a burning fever; an abscess broke out on his shoulder; and when he reached Meaux, he suffered intense pain, and passed the night rolling delirious upon the floor, which was his only bed, as well as that of his companions. But the worst part of his torment was the fear of delaying the others, who, unless they consented to leave him, might find the passes closed and their journey hindered. He and his associates prayed fervently to God that night; towards morning he fell into a quiet slumber; he awoke quite well, and when, a few hours after, the rest of the party arrived from Paris, he was able to accompany them without difficulty. He soon met with another interruption: one of his brothers, and a college friend of Simon's, having discovered that he had not left them for a short absence, as they supposed, but with the intention of following Ignatius, rode hastily after him, and having overtaken him, implored him not to afflict his mother and brothers, nor, by devoting himself in a foreign country to the Society, disappoint the King of Portugal, who had some right to benefit by the education which he had enabled him to receive. Simon gently defended himself, and said,

"he thought it would be easier for him to persuade them to go with him, than for them to induce him to return." And they were forced to tear themselves away from Simon and return without him to Paris.

Farther on, he met with a different sort of importunities. A party of young people were dancing together in the summer evening, and three or four young girls came up and wanted him to join them. Possibly they were "sectaires," to whom the clerical dress was a matter of amusement, for they persisted until Rodriguez was frightened and fled with precipitation, calling out, "Aux voleurs, aux voleurs!" "Thieves, thieves!"

It seems to have been not in vain that early in entering on the religious life Simon had marked a cross upon his heart.

Francis Xavier also had impediments to overcome. The first was too easily set aside to deserve much notice; it was a canonry at Pamplona, to which he learnt his appointment just as he was leaving Paris. The next did not seriously molest him till some days afterwards. He had resolved in the fervour of his piety that he would strive to do penance separately for every fault of his youth. It was a common recreation of the students in Paris to run races, and Xavier accused himself of having felt a complacency in his own swiftness. For this offence he bound his legs tightly with rough cords, and endured the pain this gave him, until he was forced to sit down by the roadside exhausted and unable to walk farther. When at last he could neither conceal the effect nor the cause, his companions were horrified to find the flesh so inflamed and swollen that it had closed over the cords. They carried him in their arms, "fayre and softly, to the nearest Inne, where they sent for a Physitian;"[1] but as he could not undertake to remove the cords without severing the nerves, he told them there was nothing for it but recourse to earnest prayer. And God, Who is pleased sometimes to show His strength in our greatest weakness, worked the miracle that was asked. When Xavier awoke, after a night of peaceful slumber, he was a sound man; the cords had fallen off and the flesh was healed.

The wayfarers now resumed their journey. Once in a defile they were stopped and questioned by some French soldiers; it would have been embarrassing if they had been forced to answer separately, for several were Spaniards; luckily, a peasant who had stopped to look at them said to the soldiers in patois, "Let them go on! don't you see they are going to reform some country"—"I vont à reformer quoque pays!" Whether

[1] This account, from the memoirs of Simon Rodriguez, is quoted from F. Thomas Fitzherbert's translation of *Turselliní's Life of St. Francis Xavier*, Douai, 1632.

said as a reproach or in praise, the military allowed the travellers to go forward.

Crossing Lorraine, they were drenched with rain. In Germany the snow was so deep, that they were detained in some places two or three days. There they overtook the French army marching through Lorraine towards Belgium. The people, who durst not stir from their houses, wondered to see the companions on the road, and asked if they had travelled through the air. Again they were stopped by the soldiers and interrogated. They said they were students from Paris journeying from devotion towards St. Nicholas du Port, a celebrated church and town on the confines of Lorraine, through which indeed they had to pass. Their rosaries procured them a joyful reception wherever they came among Catholics. In the Protestant cities they were sometimes insulted, almost always challenged by the preachers to an argument, which they would not decline, though with little hope of convincing their prejudiced hearers. One minister, indeed, owned that they had the best of the dispute, but he would not promise to return to the ancient faith. The great humility and modesty of these poor pilgrims, contrasted so forcibly, even in the eyes of the most ignorant, with their learning and eloquence, as to touch many; and they were frequently kindly lodged and entertained, and guides sometimes set them on their way. At Basle they found the splendid cathedral turned into a rope-walk, and no vestige of religious worship, save the dreary Calvinist "preaching." Simon Rodriguez says Carlstadt was then in the city, but does not say that he took part in the discussion, though Orlandini, who really only follows Rodriguez, might seem to imply that he did. Many, however, came to visit them at their inn, and invited them to discussion. But we do not find that controversy ever did much good in these cases.

They had started with no other equipment than their staves, their chaplets round their necks, and a leathern wallet hung from their shoulders with their Bibles, Breviaries, and papers. They walked two and two, "with great recollection and modesty," the weakest going first; sometimes in prayer, sometimes conversing of the things of God, or singing psalms and hymns. Every day when it was possible Favre, Le Jay, or Broët, who were priests, said mass; the others received the Holy Communion. Amongst them there was no authority; all desired to serve and assist the others; they were together as loving brothers. When a resolution was necessary, each gave his opinion, and the majority decided.

One evening, arriving at a place sixteen miles from Constance, the minister who had been the priest there when he and his flock were Catholics,

CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE, TO WHICH IS ATTACHED THE HOSPITAL WHERE THE COMPANIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS STAYED.

followed them into the inn, laughed at their chaplets, and challenged them to an argument. They accepted the defiance, though very weary: Lainez opened the discussion. We may well suppose the astonishment of the ex-curé, when he found what antagonists he had encountered in these poor and simple-seeming men. He interrupted the dispute by a proposal that they should adjourn to take supper together, quoting Virgil—

Et jam nox humida cœlo
Præcipitat; suadentque cadentia sidera *cœnam*—

"Let us sup first," he said, "and then we will resume our discourse; to-morrow I invite you to come and see my books and my children," for the minister had a large family. The travellers, however, declined the invitation, and supped alone. They renewed the discussion afterwards, but the pastor, excited by wine and the presence of a large auditory, at last argued himself into a passion, swore at his adversaries in good round German, and left the inn in a rage, threatening that he would have them put into prison. Some who were there, told the Fathers in Latin what was in store for them, and advised the travellers to leave the place immediately; but they thought it better to remain that night. Early next morning, a man "about thirty years of age, of tall stature and a fair countenance, so that some said he was an angel," came to the inn, and made signs to the travellers to follow him, for he spoke only German, which they could not understand. He led them ten miles across the country, where they could see no track, yet they were not impeded by the snow, which lay thick all around. When they reached the highroad he left them.

Next day they proceeded to Constance. It was a Protestant town, but they were able to say mass in a church outside the walls, on the payment of a small sum. A farther journey through the bitter cold brought them to another town, near which stood a hospital for the plague-stricken. A woman coming out of it as they passed, showed great delight at the sight of their chaplets, and asking them by signs to wait a moment, ran into the hospital, and brought out bits of rosaries, and the arms, legs, and heads of statues of our Lord and of the saints, which had been smashed in pieces by the heretics. To make reparation for this insult to our dear Lord, the young men prostrated themselves upon the snow, and devoutly kissed those precious fragments.

After fifty-four days, on the 6th of January 1537, their toilsome journey ended at Venice;[1] they had the great happiness of seeing their Father

[1] St. Ignatius gives in a letter to a Padre Maestro Verdelay an interesting account of their stay at Venice, and of their doings up to the date of his writing, July 24, 1537.

Ignatius again; he wept over them for tenderness and joy. It was not yet time for the voyage to Jerusalem; they deferred asking the Papal benediction for the present, and divided themselves among various works of charity in Venice. They resided in the Hospital of the Incurables, and that of SS. John and Paul. There they all taught the truths of religion, attended the sick, helped the dying, and followed the dead. This great charity edified all who saw it; the senators and the chief men of the Republic often went to look at their apostolic work, and many shed tears of emotion at the sight. For these men of consummate learning and rare gifts, some of them highly born, thought no office too humble for them; they washed and lifted in their arms men suffering from loathsome diseases; watched by them at night, consoled them, and showed them how to make sufferings and misfortune a privilege and a joy.

Xavier, who was at the *Incurabili*, is said to have sucked the wounds of the sick in the hospital, merely to overcome the repugnances of nature; but another explanation gives additional value to this act—it was a remedy of those times much vaunted by the physicians, and probably with reason, for something like it has been lately revived.[1] A statue of the Saint in a chapel of the cloister recalled the memory of his devotion.

Thus they remained at Venice till mid-Lent, when it was thought right that all but Ignatius should go to Rome. He deemed it prudent not to accompany them, for two persons were there whom he believed personally hostile to him. These were Cardinal Caraffa, friend and partner of St. Gaetano, a man of stern and irritable temper, possibly displeased because Ignatius and Hozes had refused to join his Theatines; and Ortiz, then conspicuous in Europe as an envoy of Charles V. to the Papal Court, in the matter of Queen Catharine and Henry VIII. Ortiz, at Paris, had been active in bringing Ignatius into trouble; and the Saint could not tell how far this old prejudice might exist still. Ultimately Caraffa proved not unfriendly to Ignatius, and Ortiz was already one of his firmest and most helpful patrons.

About ten weeks after their arrival in Venice, the companions of Ignatius left him there, and set out to spend the Holy Week in Rome. They made, as before, but little provision for their journey; and, when they had followed the seashore for three days towards Ravenna, some of them fainted for want of food. From lack of money, they had a difficulty in

[1] The story of King Edward and Queen Eleanor is familiar to us; and a touching incident is related of the reign of Louis XV., when a lady of the Court saved by this repulsive means the eyesight of her daughter, nearly lost by confluent small-pox.

getting across a river, now swollen with the spring rains, and were forced to give a knife, an ink-bottle, or any small thing they had about them to a boatman to ferry them over. The country was so flooded that they had often to wade up to their waists, or even to their chests, while there was an unceasing downpour of rain. Codure, whose leg was causing him great pain from inflammation, came out from the hydropathic treatment completely cured. On Passion Sunday they rested under the well-known pine groves of Ravenna, and were glad to stay the pangs of hunger with the pine cones. They then dispersed to beg hospitality. Rodriguez knocked at a door, which was readily opened to him, and he was asked to go upstairs; but there he found, by the aspect of three women who received him, that he was not in good company, and he rushed out of the house faster than he had entered. The sequel of the adventure was fortunate: Rodriguez, placing himself in the open street, near the windows of these ladies, began preaching to the passers-by on sin, death, and judgment; the women, moved by curiosity, came to listen; and all three, smitten by conviction and remorse, asked counsel and assistance from the preacher, and entered on a better life.

At night, wet, wearied, famished, they got shelter in the hospice. To three of them a bed was offered so revoltingly dirty that Rodriguez preferred to lie on the floor. He reproached himself with his softness, and on his journey a resting-place still more loathsome presented itself, and he accepted it at once.

The water was so deep on the roads past Ravenna that some of the party had perforce to take a boat to Ancona; and after twenty-four hours' sail, on arriving in the port, they were forced to confess that they had not one farthing. The boatman only let one land, and bound him by an oath to beg the fare and return to pay it.

Not being in orders, he pawned his Breviary, and freed his brethren. As he was going about begging alms to free his book, he saw another of his companions, a man of vast learning and great ability, such as would have sufficed to gain for him the highest honours, going about in the rain barefoot, with his scholar's garb lifted up to the knees, and begging from the market women an apple or a radish. The sight so moved him that he felt it an honour to be the friend of one whose virtue and humility were greater even than his natural gifts.

At Loreto they were received into the Friary, and spent three happy days there. They then proceeded to Tolentino,[1] which they reached at

[1] Tolentino is 140 miles from Rome.

night, exhausted by fasting and fatigue. The rain fell heavily; no one was out of doors, so they could not hope for alms. Three went in advance; the rest sought a little shelter close to the walls. One of the three, already drenched with the rain, was walking in the middle of the road, now dark, when he saw advancing towards him a man of noble presence, and, as far as he could judge, pleasant in countenance, who stopped, took his hand, placed some money in it, and withdrew without saying a word. The travellers thought this was a Divine interposition, and they went to the inn, and ordered a splendid supper of bread, wine, and dried figs; but they would not partake of their feast till they had found some beggars with whom to share it.

Some days after, through like want and like hardships, they arrived in Rome, where Paul III. (Farnese) had worthily filled the chair of St. Peter over two years. Marc' Antonio Contarini, writing from Rome,[1] says of Paul III. and his Court:—

> For many years the Prelates had not been so strict in their lives as they were then. The Cardinals had greater liberty of giving their opinions in the Consistory than for a long while past; and the Pope, so far from being displeased, greatly encouraged this; so that every day new reforms might be expected. Among the Cardinals were so many highly distinguished men, that it was commonly owned that the world had none such elsewhere.

Farnese had commenced his Papal life by an action full of promise for the future interests of the world. He assembled round him a large number of Cardinals, chosen for their personal merits only; beginning with Gasparo Contarini, who suggested for his choice of counsellors such men as Sadoleto and Reginald Pole; Caraffa, well acquainted with Spain and the Low Countries; Ghiberti, Bishop of Verona; Fregoso, Archbishop of Salerno. Almost all were members of the "Oratory of Divine Love," that pious society, which, from the days of Leo X., comprised so many good and holy prelates,[2] who, seeing the general afflictions of the Church, and the Divine worship so much neglected even in the Pope's own city, had made themselves into a "fortress" for its protection. Cardinal Contarini wrote a treatise on Justification, which gave occasion to those who were jealous of his influence with the Pope and Emperor to spread abroad rumours unfavourable to his orthodoxy. The enemies of the Church have not been slow to adopt these views, but far different was the judgment

[1] To the Senate of Venice, in 1536.
[2] Such as St. Gaetano, its founder, Lippomani, Giuliano Bathi.

POPE PAUL III. (FARNESE).

of his friend Cardinal Pole, who congratulated him with admiration.[1] "You have brought to light," he said, "the jewel which the Church was keeping half concealed." He attacked the abuses of the Curia at Rome, and was indignant when it was objected that his censures implicated former Popes. "Shall we care," he said, "for the fame of three or four Popes, and not mend what is corrupt, and earn a worthy reputation for ourselves?"

Contarini wrote to Pole from Rome, in May 1537:—

> The Pontiff has taken in hand the work of reformation, beginning with himself. He has chosen four Cardinals — Simoneta, Ghinucci, Theatino (Caraffa), and myself—to examine and correct carefully everything that passes through the Dataria. . . . Almost all the Cardinals are favourable to a reform. The face of things in the Consistory is beginning to alter. . . . I cherish great hopes that our affairs are daily taking a turn for the better. I desire above all that you and the Cardinal de' Carpi should be with us, so that by the efforts of many the Christian republic may be more easily set to rights. I never despaired.

He found much fault with the abuse of dispensations; he rejected indignantly the idea that the Pope can suspend or confirm without reasonable cause.

In a joint document, drawn up apparently at the Pope's request, and of which Contarini is one of the signatories, arguments are used with the most Christian frankness against the abuses then existing in the Dataria, the large sums levied upon the applicants for dispensations, which fees went by the name of Compositions.

It must be owned that this was not language to be addressed to an arbitrary or unworthy sovereign.

We learn from Contarini himself how the Pope took it. He travelled "one bright November day," 1538—he seems to dwell complacently on the recollection—with the Holy Father from Rome to Ostia. "Our good old man," he writes to Reginald Pole, "spake to me about the reform of the Compositions. He told me that he possessed the short treatise I had written, and read it in the early mornings. I had almost ceased to hope, but now he spoke to me with such Christian feeling that my confidence revives. I now believe God will do some good, and that the gates of hell will not prevail against the spirit of the Lord." All that Paul had promised he began to do; he appointed commissioners to carry out the reforms needed in

[1] See Dittrick's admirable Life of the Cardinal.

the Apostolic Chamber, the Rota, the Cancellaria, and the Penitentiary; he kept the wise Ghiberti always near him; he suppressed abuses; he prepared for the Œcumenic Council so generally demanded. But on this last point he spoke little; he had, in fact, small hopes of its success. He chose his deputies with so much regard to their moderation, that they were afterwards accused of Lutheranism. He resisted the persuasions of those who, like Caraffa, would have cut the matter very short by the imperious demand for recantation, implying a threat. The Bishop of Vienna wished him to instruct his Nuncio in this sense. Paul's sagacity and humanity rejected this advice. "It is to be feared," he said, "that even if instant death were before them, they would endure it rather than renounce their opinions." He had a form of reconciliation drawn up by good and wise men in such a manner as to avoid giving offence to any, which he was ready to send on the least sign of the wanderers desiring to return to the Church. "Would it were come to that," said the Pope; "we scarcely dare to hope it!"

Whatever were the faults or errors of Paul, it is certain that there was then in himself and his Consistory a real desire to discover the wants of the Church, and reform the malpractices of so many of its members.

In those times of strong passions and violent contrasts, it is pleasant to contemplate a character like Gasparo Contarini, which stands out as a sort of personification of the sublime of moderation, liberality, and good sense. His father was one of the merchant lords of Venice. Gasparo was the eldest son, and seems to have devoted himself to the priesthood as much from a love of study as from piety. Maffei said he was the most learned man of his time. It was his custom to read with close application three hours a day, never more nor less, each day beginning with a *résumé* of what was done before. The free air that was then blowing over the fields of literature, the new range of thought which opened before active minds, was delightful to Contarini; but in following the speculations of the day he retained his humble Christianity. The sober simplicity of his language was suitable to one who only wished to impress the convictions of his judgment upon other minds, not to win their applause.

In his youth his father's rank, and his own uncommon talents, caused him to be chosen one of the Council of the Pregadi in Venice; there, with the diffidence of a refined mind, he remained long silent: this was a grief to him, for he had much to say. At last he spoke, and obtained at once the highest esteem of the other senators, though he aimed at no graces of oratory, and uttered his ideas in simple language, and with no display of manner. Perhaps, in those troubled times, he thought that to be calm and cool was a

virtue or a necessity of the first order. In the exact sciences, as well as in classic literature, he kept pace with the investigations of the day. It is said that when the world was circumnavigated for the first time by the Spanish ship *Vitoria*, Contarini, then with the Court at Valladolid, was the first who explained why she returned a day later than that noted in her log-book. He was sent frequently on embassies and missions, when he showed always the utmost sagacity, judgment, and temper. When Charles V. arrived in Germany, Contarini was the ambassador who greeted him from the Pope. After the wars which devastated Italy, and ended only with the sacking of Rome, it was chiefly Contarini who reconciled Clement to the Emperor, and he helped much to restore peace.

He was sitting in the Council one Sunday, in the year 1535, when the news was brought him that Paul, the recently-elected Pope, had made him a Cardinal. He did not at this time know the Pope, and could hardly believe the announcement. He had seldom left his home except on some government mission; like most of the Venetians, he was passionately attached to his native city; there, too, he held high honours, and saw no superior. But it was represented that a refusal would seem disrespectful, and therefore be injurious to the Court of Rome.

In his new position he was simple, grave, and diligent as usual; dignified and gentle; striving earnestly for reform within the Church, more sometimes than was agreeable to others of the Consistory; distinguished among them for the firm and equal mind, pure moral instinct, and polished amenity which were his nature; as well as for the love of truth, the enlightened moderation, and many-sidedness which accompanied his Catholic convictions. If there existed any person who could smooth away the asperities of dispute and bring characters so dissonant into harmony, it would have been Gasparo Contarini. But besides characters and opinions, there were also personal interests and selfish ambition to be encountered; and against these the integrity and genius of Contarini were of small avail.

Such a mind was worthy to understand St. Ignatius; and when Gasparo knew him, he said, "This is just the man I have always sought." He made Ignatius his director, and helped largely to remove the difficulties that might have embarrassed him at the Papal Court.

When the companions of our Saint arrived in Rome from Venice, poor and without friends at Court, each repaired at first to the hospital of his own nation; they were afterwards all received in that of St. James of the Spaniards—or San Giacomo dei Spagnuoli—in the Piazza Navona, by some

Spaniards at Court, who thought it reflected on their nation to see these good men in want, and they supplied them with all they required.

They had no sooner made themselves known, than one of the men whom Ignatius had dreaded as enemies—Ortiz, envoy of the Emperor—offered them his assistance, and presented them himself to the Pope. He recognised Favre, Xavier, and some others whom he had seen in Paris, and spoke highly to Paul of their virtues and acquirements, their voluntary poverty, and their desire to preach the Gospel in the Holy Land. Paul III., himself a learned man, delighted to hear discussions between men of letters, and frequently gave himself this recreation during his dinner, which Papal

CHURCH OF SAN GIACOMO DEI SPAGNUOLI, PIAZZA NAVONA, ROME, TO WHICH THE SPANISH HOSPITAL WAS FORMERLY ATTACHED.

custom obliged him to take alone. He desired that the strangers should be presented to him on the following day. Ortiz brought them to the palace, where a number of Cardinals, Bishops, and theologians were ready to dispute with them. Ortiz, a practised divine, broke a lance with them. All their opponents were delighted at their knowledge. Paul suggested the argument; and, when his repast was ended, signified that they should be brought up to him, and said, "We are exceedingly rejoiced to see so much learning joined with so much humility." They were allowed to kiss his slipper, and he, extending his arms as if to embrace them all, told

them that if he could assist them in anything he would do it willingly. They answered they wished nothing but his benediction, and leave to go to Jerusalem. "I give you leave readily," said he, "but I do not think you will go." For at that time a league had been concluded between himself, the Emperor, and the Venetians against the Turks, and the war he knew would prevent their crossing the sea.

Favre afterwards added another request, which was granted through the Cardinal-Penitentiary, Antonio Pucci, on April 27. All of them who were not yet priests, including Ignatius, had permission granted to receive holy orders from any Bishop whatever, as they had taken the vow of poverty, and possessed the necessary qualifications in learning. For Alonso Salmeron, the youngest, a dispensation was granted, by which he might be ordained as soon as he was twenty-three. And the Pope sent them sixty crowns for their journey to the Levant, to which a hundred and forty were afterwards added by some devout Spaniards. All these sums were returned when that voyage was given up.

Favre and his friends now returned to Venice; they travelled in as much poverty as before, for they would not touch any of the alms that had been given them to reach Palestine; but the time of year now made the journey easy, and the country on the coast is delightful.

In Venice they resumed their charitable labours at the hospitals. They all renewed their vows of poverty and chastity before Monsignor Veralli. St. Ignatius and his six companions, who had not yet received holy orders, were then ordained subdeacons on the 10th, and deacons on the 17th of June, and at last, on the 24th of that month, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, they received the priesthood at the hands of the Bishop of Arba, Vincenzio Nigusanti: their devotion and holy joy moved the Bishop to tears. He said he had never performed an ordination that touched him so much.

War was now openly declared between Suleimán and the Republic; with the Turkish fleet in the seas, a passage to Syria was impossible; and there seemed no chance that even the end of the year would bring them nearer to their object. The new priests thought only of preparing themselves to say their first mass. All resolved to leave Venice, and seek in different parts of the Republic places where, for the benefit of their own souls, they might find retirement, and at the same time be able to exercise their mission to save others. Ignatius, with Favre and Lainez, went to Vicenza; Xavier and Salmeron to Monselice;[1] Le Jay and Rodriguez to

[1] A town at the foot of the Monti Euganei, fourteen miles south of Padua.

Bassano; Broët and Bobadilla to Verona; Codure and Hozes to Treviso. Each in turn was to be Superior during a week. And thus they were to wait till the following year for the journey to the East, and "if God is pleased that they cannot then go, they will wait no longer, but continue to work as they have begun." But it seemed the will of Providence expressly to prohibit the expatriation of men destined to such great usefulness; for the war with Suleimán lasted during the year which they were to pass in the States of Venice, and ceased when they renounced their intention.

Ignatius and his two friends obtained permission to occupy a ruined convent,[1] close to Vicenza, which had been sacked in the last war, and had neither doors nor windows. They carried thither some straw on which to sleep; they begged their daily bread, but received it very scantily. Ignatius wrote from this place the following letter to his noble friend Pietro Contarini, partly in Latin and partly in Italian—which he had only just begun to learn—a curious confusion of both languages. The imperfect Latin certainly appears strange in one who had taken a Master of Arts degree at Paris.

Ignatius begins in Latin:—

*To the magnificent Lord Peter Contarini, my brother in Christ.*

As I have related our affairs at length in letters to Don Martin Gonzaga, in which also were many things regarding yourself particularly, I will use few words now, as I write not so much because it is necessary, as that we may not be thought to be unmindful of you. Hitherto by the goodness of God we have always been well; we experience daily more and more the truth, "having nothing, and yet possessing all things." I say, all things that the Lord has promised to those "who seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;" for if all things are added to those who seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, how can anything be wanting to those who seek only the righteousness of the kingdom, and Himself, the King of Kings? To them the blessing is not so much "of the dew of Heaven and the fatness of the earth," as of the dew of Heaven alone: to them, I say, who look with both eyes on celestial things. This He grants us, Who when He possessed all things, yet despoiled Himself of all for our instruction; Who, though He was in the glory of Omnipotence, and of so much knowledge and power, yet subjected himself to the feeble power and judgment and will of every one. But enough of this, especially for those whom Christ may detain in another degree. Because as for yourself you ought particularly to take care, that whatever you may possess, you do not allow yourself to be held captive by anything or enslaved by temporal goods. Refer all things to Him from Whom you have all. For he who

[1] This place, which afterwards became a Capuchin convent, and where long time the memory of St. Ignatius was preserved, is now destroyed.

cannot be occupied about the one thing necessary, the next best thing is that all that he has to do and about which he is solicitous should be well ordered. But I am straying from my purport. To come back to ourselves. [*Then he goes on in Italian.*] Near Vicenza, at a mile from the gate called Santa Croce, we have found a monastic place, called San Pietro in Vanello, where no one lives, and therefore the Friars of Sta. Maria delle Grazie are contented [*Then Latin again, in a jumble quite incomparable*] that we remain there as long as we please, which we are doing, and shall be there some months, if God permits; and thus it only remains that we should be good and perfect, since God's goodness never fails. Do you therefore also ask the Lord with us, that He will give us the grace of doing His holy will, which is the sanctification of all; and farewell, in Christ Jesus our Lord, Who directs us all in the way of peace, which is in Himself only.

Your poor brother in the Lord,

IGNATIUS.

The dilapidated convent was another Manresa to Ignatius; he had there the same celestial visions and rapturous tears.

Simon Rodriguez was at this time so ill that his recovery was despaired of. He, along with Le Jay, was inhabiting the hermitage of San Vito, near Bassano, where he had been received by a holy old man, named Antonio. This favour was granted them through the immediate providence of God; for some men having formerly abandoned Antonio, after asking to join him with great seeming fervour, he resolved henceforth to live alone. But now he willingly shared his residence with these chosen persons, and gave them for a bed a large table in the corner of his cell—a luxury to them, who were accustomed to lie on the ground. In the night they all rose to pray and sing psalms.

When the illness of Rodriguez became severe, Antonio brought a physician to visit him, who gave no hopes of his recovery. This report was carried to Ignatius, then himself weakened by a slow fever, yet he set out immediately with Favre, for Lainez lay sick in the hospital, and he walked with such vigour that Favre could not always keep up with him. Once when Ignatius halted to pray, Favre overtook him and saw that his face glowed, as it used to do when he had been especially favoured in prayer. Ignatius told him, "Rodriguez will not die." The moment he entered the hermitage and embraced the sick man, Ignatius bade him be of good courage; "for, Brother Simon," said he, "you will not die yet:" and from that time Rodriguez began to mend. Even in this extremity he was still lying on his wooden bed. Ignatius asked that a mattress should be given him, and the good hermit procured one immediately.

It was not at first that Antonio appreciated Ignatius; he wondered at the secular dress, the liberty of action, and unrestrained intercourse with

the world, in which the Saint and his disciples differed so much from other Religious; he knew the profit of a contemplative life, and thought too little of the value of energies and time devoted to the serving God through our neighbour. He had seen Ignatius several times while Rodriguez was unable to be removed; and, when he came to take leave of the worthy hermit who had tended his companion so kindly, the esteem Antonio felt for him was less than ever. But after they had separated, it was revealed to the hermit in prayer that he had presumptuously condemned a saint; and he related with great humility "that God had thus taught him how little you can guess the sap of a tree from its bark."

The peasants of the neighbourhood revered Father Antonio, and long afterwards told wonderful stories of his piety and self-denial. His disciple, Gasparo Gropelli, quotes several excellent sayings of his. He used to explain the words of David, "In circuitu impii ambulant," thus—"Men of the world begin their circle in self-love, proceed through creatures, and return to their own self again. Holy minds begin with love to God, proceed through love to their neighbour, and end by being absorbed in God, from whom they began." A rich man told him once, he was not impatient to get to the end of his journey—"the world is a very pleasant place." "If the road is so pleasant," said Antonio, "what will the palace be?" When some one assured Antonio in his sickness that he would yet live twenty years, he said, "I would not give a *quattrino* for them, if you could sell them to me." While he was dying he often said, "O death, I have been long expecting thee."[1]

The sanctity and repose of such a life, the happiness of having only God and one's own salvation to think of, instead of the constant distractions of that intercourse with persons of all ranks and characters which Ignatius imposed on his disciples, fascinated Rodriguez. When he had rejoined the others at Bassano, he longed for the safety and leisure of the hermitage. He fell into a great melancholy, and at last resolved to desert his engagements with Ignatius, and return to San Vito. As he left the house in which he lived, unknown to any one, and proceeded from Bassano towards the hermitage, he thought he saw an armed man coming to meet him, who, with fierce countenance and a sword in his hand, seemed to bar his passage. Rodriguez stopped in amazement, then took courage, and tried to go on. The figure again

[1] His disciple Gropelli entered the Society of Jesus, but being "accustomed to independence," was found unfit for it. Antonio died in 1552. His hermitage was given to the Jesuits, but they soon surrendered it to the Capuchins.

PIAZZA DE' SIGNORI, VICENZA, IN WHICH ST. IGNATIUS AND HIS COMPANIONS PREACHED.

advanced towards him, inspiring more terror than before, and Rodriguez fled back to the town with precipitation. Those who were near could not understand the meaning of his flight, for no one besides himself had seen the vision; but Ignatius knew all, and went out to meet him, receiving him with open arms and a smile on his countenance, as he addressed him in the words of Our Saviour, "Modicæ fidei, quare dubitasti?"—"O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?" (Matt. xiv. 31).

The year was now fast advancing, and no signs appeared of their reaching Palestine. Codure joined them when his retreat was over, and they began to preach. Ignatius, speaking afterwards of his own sermons, told Gonçalez that they were greatly effective and converted many; the companions therefore now received much more abundant alms. The four went, at the same hour, each into a different piazza; they mounted on a stone or a bench, waved their caps, and invited the passers-by to listen to what they had to say. As they spoke Italian very imperfectly, they were at first sometimes taken for foreign jugglers or conjurors; but the spirit which animated their discourses, their earnestness, their charity, and the eloquence of their saintly and pale countenances, surrounded them before long with patient listeners, and many were won to the faith. For at that time it was to a great proportion of the people a new thing; the churches were so much deserted, and the Gospel so seldom preached.

But at Venice a new tempest of accusation arose against Ignatius; the old stories of heresy were repeated; it was said that he had fled from Spain and France to escape the Inquisition; and the Nuncio Veralli proceeded to investigate the matter, probably at the request of Ignatius himself, who always urged the authorities to examine into these statements as soon as they were revived. Veralli appears to have been easily satisfied; but Ignatius, now returned to Venice, desired a formal recognition of his innocence, and received it on October 13, 1537. It was expressed in the fullest terms. It bore—

That the priest Ignatius de Loyola having of himself appeared before the judges, and a term having been assigned to the witnesses; their declarations, and the defences of the accused, having been listened to, the sentence they pronounce is this:

The Father Ignatius de Loyola is innocent of all the imputations and calumnies that have been brought against him before our tribunal; they are false and wholly unfounded. We declare him by these presents entirely justified, and impose silence on all who are interested in this process, certifying that the above-named Ignatius is and has ever been a priest of good and holy life, of irreproach-

able doctrine, of excellent reputation and condition; that he has spread purity of morals and faith in Venice. Such is our opinion and our judgment, by which we recognise his innocence in the fullest sense.

Ignatius assembled all his companions in his ruined convent at Vicenza; and in that city all the newly ordained said their first Mass, save Simon Rodriguez, who said it the following year at Ferrara, and St. Ignatius. He, more conscious of unworthiness as he attained greater degrees of perfection, postponed this solemn action till the next midsummer, and then again for six months longer; so that he did not celebrate the holy mysteries till Christmas Day of 1538, choosing for that occasion the Chapel of the Nativity in Santa Maria Maggiore, "as if," says Genelli, "he had all along cherished some hope that he might visit the real Bethlehem, and there offer for the first time the Body of his Lord, on the very spot where He came amongst us." Their lodgings were comfortless, but they wanted nothing that charity could supply, for since they began to preach they received alms in abundance. These, however, did not hinder the winds from blowing through the house everywhere—it was winter. Xavier and another fell ill. It was necessary to convey them to Vicenza; but they were placed in some old houses adjoining the Hospital of Incurables, hardly better protected than before, and they had but one bed to lie on for both patients. They had alternately ague fits of burning and shivering, and as they were differently affected, it was impossible to give relief to both. They had plenteous compensation granted them. Xavier was one day visibly consoled and strengthened by St. Jerome, for whom he had an especial reverence. He was told by him that he would be sent to preach in Bologna, and that a cross would there be given him, whereby his soul should receive great profit: all which happened. And he consoled and strengthened him with heavenly words, as so great a person knew how to do.

EXTERIOR OF ANCIENT BENEDICTINE HOUSE, ALBANETA, NOVITIATE OF MONTE CASSINO.

# CHAPTER IV.

## ST. IGNATIUS AT ROME—1537.

WHEN Xavier and his friend were recovered, Ignatius resolved to set out for Rome. He would go thither accompanied by the two oldest Fathers, Favre and Lainez; and the remaining seven were to station themselves in cities which had universities, and to carry on their missionary functions among the young men. Xavier, as he had been told in a vision, was sent to Bologna, along with Bobadilla; Rodriguez and Le Jay to Ferrara, where Ercole d'Este and Renée his wife kept their brilliant court; Salmeron,[1] with Broët, to Siena; Codure and Hozes to Padua. But before they separated, all desired that some rules should be laid down for their manner of life; and they resolved on the following:—

They were to live on alms, and reside in hospitals wherever they went. Each was in turn to be the Superior for a week; they were to preach in the open squares of the towns, and in whatever other places they were

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[1] Salmeron's name does not appear on the document with those of the other Fathers who were ordained at Venice; neither was he then of the canonical age. He was, however, certainly a priest at this time, as his *faculties* are quoted by the Bollandists, dated Nov. 4, 1537, allowing him to hear confessions.

permitted. In their discourses they were to dwell chiefly on the rewards of virtue and the punishment of vice; they were to speak by the Spirit of God rather than with human eloquence. They were to instruct children in Christian doctrine and the principles of moral life; to seize every occasion of doing good; never to receive money for any service rendered; in all cases they were to desire nothing but to benefit their fellow-creatures for the love of God.

They then discussed what answer should be given when strangers asked their rule and their name; in short, who they were. Ignatius had already long decided this, or rather had received the decision from God. For those who knew him believed fully that the name of Jesus was communicated to him in the cavern of Manresa, when our Lord Himself traced the outline of the new Society in the meditation on Two Standards. Ignatius now said to his disciples, that since they had united for the sake of our Saviour, to do His work, and fight for His glory, it seemed fit that they should call themselves by His name, and declare that they belonged to the *Society* of Jesus: the word in Spanish—"Compañia"—having a military meaning. Contrary to his usual custom, Ignatius did not discuss the point, but merely announced that this was to be its name. Then they separated for their respective missions.

Le Jay was chosen to preach at Ferrara; partly, it was supposed, because the Duchess Renée was known to have a strong attachment to her own countrymen, and Le Jay was French. But she would not see him, and the two years he remained there passed without any personal intercourse. Not the Duchess only, but a large party at the Court, were exceedingly glad to hear the new doctrines. They had welcomed Calvin when he came there two years before, soon after the publication of his "Institutes," under the name of Charles d'Espeville, in the guise of a young man devoted to literature, which the D'Este family patronised, and in this character he was presented to Ercole himself. And it is probable that the Duke's own zeal against the Protestant party was by no means vehement at that time.

Vittoria Colonna[1] seems to have first induced the Duke to patronise the new Order. She had heard of it at Rome: she met Le Jay or Rodriguez at Ferrara, by an apparent accident, and learning that they were lodged at the Hospital of St. Anne, she went there the same day. She inquired how they

[1] "Cette Aspasie pure et noble," says Lamartine. Her husband was Marquis de Pescara.

lived; she was told that they passed part of the night in prayer; begged their daily bread in the city, in order not to take it from the poor in the hospital; led a hard life, never warming themselves at the fire, though the season was cold; that they spoke only of God; that they spent their whole time in doing good. Vittoria placed herself under their direction, introduced them to the Ducal Court, and prevailed on Ercole to take Le Jay for his confessor. He afterwards asked him to become tutor to his son; this would have obliged the Jesuit to live at the Court, and Ignatius refused leave. He had acceded to the same proposal in the case of the King of Portugal; perhaps the weak and harsh character of Ercole, and the divisions of the Court and Ducal family, caused this refusal.

The sorrows of Renée, well known to us through the touching verses of the licentious Marot, are commonly attributed by the Protestant party to her Calvinism. They probably were owing much more to her French descent and partialities, and the misfortune of a husband who disliked her, and hated her country. It appears that her forbearance only made him worse:—

O dur mari, rempli de violence,
*Qui s'endurcit par les choses bénignes!*

In the absence of all her kindred, and of the companions who had once made her home at Ferrara cheerful, banished by Ercole, she still found a consolation which Calvin perhaps would have grudged her, in

Les saints où elle fait ses vœux
A chacune heure.

Marot expressly describes Ercole's enmity to the French as the cause of Renée's afflictions:—

Pourquoi le train de notre nation
Veut-il défaire?
Faute d'aimer l'aiguillonne, à ce faire
En lui engendre un désir de déplaire
A celle qui met à lui complaire
Merveilleux soin.

Vittoria, who, like others of the Colonna family, had warmly admired Bernard Ochino, the preacher, whom they had often heard at Naples, was charmed to find him now at Ferrara, and through her interest he preached that Lent in the cathedral. Seven years later he returned there a fugitive,

and under the ban of the Church. Renée assisted him to fly, as it was said she had aided Calvin before.

St. Ignatius, accompanied by Favre and Lainez, set out at last for Rome. At a little hamlet, called La Storta, about six miles from the Eternal City, he entered a wayside chapel to pray. While his spirit was communing with God, a wonderful vision was vouchsafed him, and a rapturous communication, not to be detailed in words, by which God the Father made it clear that He had admitted him to an ineffable nearness to the Divine Son. Then the Saint saw Jesus holding His Cross. "He gave me to Christ as a portion," he said to Gonçalez, "to be henceforward consecrated wholly to His service." The Saviour seeming to accept him, looked on him with Divine benignity, and spoke these words—"Ego tibi Romæ propitius ero,"—"I will be propitious to you in Rome." It appears from the relation of Lainez, that Ignatius did not understand what was the meaning of this sentence. "I do not know," said he, "what is reserved for us; perhaps we shall be martyred at Rome." "He told me, too," says Lainez, "that Christ had appeared to him raising the Cross in His arms, and near Him was the Eternal Father, Who said to Our Saviour, 'I desire you to take this man for your servant.' Jesus received Ignatius, and said, 'I will have you serve Me.'"

Father Lainez, when he was General of the Society, related this history one day before all the Companions who were at Rome. Ribadeneira says, that he was present when Ignatius was framing the Constitutions; the Saint told him, that in ministering at the altar, he sometimes found himself in the same state of mind as when the Eternal Father appeared to him, and placed him with His Son—"quando el Padre Eterno me puso con su Hijo."[1]

On this journey they were sometimes taken for offenders under the ban of the Church, going to ask absolution of the Pope. When they came in sight of Rome, Lainez took off his shoes; he would enter its holy walls with the utmost marks of humility.

Before they arrived, St. Ignatius gave his younger friends many cautions and much advice. "Let us avoid all relations with women," he said, "unless those of the highest rank." He did not choose that his disciples should be the confessors or directors of women; and they adhered to this rule as long as he lived.

They entered Rome in November. They begged alms at first; but

[1] This he put down in the notes which he kept of his spiritual life.

CHAPEL OF LA STORTA, NEAR ROME.

some rich Spaniards as before would not allow this, and maintained them all in the Spanish Hospital of San Giacomo dei Spagnuoli.

The Fathers left in the northern towns worked with various success. At Padua, after Hozes and Codure began to preach in the public squares and hospitals, the clergy, suspecting some concealed designs, arrested and put them in prison. They remained but one night, for many came forward next day to give evidence of what they did and taught, and they were dismissed with permission to preach as often as they pleased. That night they spent in rejoicing and singing psalms; Hozes, thankful for this first suffering endured for his Lord's sake, was full of exultation. He was already nearer another release than he anticipated. For soon after this, he preached in the great Square of Padua on the text, "Watch and pray, for you know neither the day nor the hour." He had hardly finished, when he was seized by an attack of fever; and he soon knew that he must apply his sermon to himself. He withdrew to the hospital, and prepared for death. Full of sweet hopes and aspirations, he expired in the peace of the Lord; like the labourer in the Gospel, though the last to enter the vineyard, he was first called to receive his reward. His countenance, which had before no comeliness, became after his death in a manner transfigured. Codure gazed on him with awe, and wept for joy.

Ignatius was then at the monastery of Monte Cassino; he heard of the danger of Hozes; and, whilst he recommended him in prayer, he beheld his spirit surrounded by a glorious light carried by angels into Paradise.[1] Some days after, while Mass was going on, at the words of the Confiteor, "Omnibus sanctis," Ignatius said that he saw the heavens opened, and, among the spirits of the redeemed, he beheld his friend, the departed Hozes, radiant with a celestial light. And for many days the delightful vision was frequently renewed.

Codure was insufficient for the work of Padua. Simon Rodriguez came to him from Ferrara, leaving Le Jay there; and soon had the whole burden to bear, for Codure also fell ill. There was in Padua a rich and noble ecclesiastic, who had been persuaded by this Father to reform his disordered life. Out of gratitude this priest now wished to receive the Jesuit into his own house, and Codure assented, and removed there. Rodriguez also left the hospital where he had at first lodged, moved by the charitable importunity of a lady, whose sons had earnestly recommended

[1] The vision was shown him on the spot where the Patriarch St. Benedict saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop of Capua, ascend to heaven in a globe of fire.

him to her. One of them had obtained through Rodriguez the mercy of a holy and peaceful death; the other, grace to enter a Religious Order. She was alone now, for she was a widow. He seems to have remained in her house till Ignatius called him to Rome.

Xavier and Bobadilla meanwhile toiled at Bologna. A few days after they arrived there, Xavier went to offer Mass in the chapel where St. Dominic is interred; and his heart expanded with such sweet emotion, that he shed tears of joy. A noble lady, one of the Third Order of St. Dominic, who had come from Spain to live and die near the shrine of that Saint, desirous to know the stranger who appeared so much affected, went with one of her friends to the hospital where he lived, and requested an interview. He spoke to them on spiritual subjects, with so much unction, that the companion alluded to, Isabella Casalini, also a member of the Third Order, perceived that he was one inspired by the Lord. And she described him with such admiration to her uncle, Don Girolamo Casalini, of Forli,[1] that he persuaded Xavier to leave the hospital, and come to his own house. But he could not induce him to live with less austerity, or to take any food but the bread given him in alms. He taught, preached, or visited the poor incessantly; and waited joyfully for the tribulation which St. Jerome had told him he would meet with in Bologna. It came in the shape of a quartan fever, which afflicted him during several months—the result doubtless of poor food and excessive fatigues. He did not, in consequence, desist from any of his customary labours. He was rewarded by great results from his preaching, and by the universal love and reverence of the people, which had not diminished when, three years afterwards, he passed a few days in Bologna, with the ambassador of Portugal, on his way from Rome to the Indies. Xavier remained at Bologna till Ignatius called him to Rome to transact the business of the Order.

Casalini, his host, said "he was sparing in his words, but wonderfully efficacious." He won all hearts by that ineffable charity which gave such sweetness to his manners, that in him, as in Ignatius, it seemed, we are told, like an enchantment.

Paul III., far from being unfavourable to Loyola, gave him the most cordial reception, readily accepted his offers of service, and, in order to make his companions useful at once, desired that Favre should lecture on the Scriptures, and Lainez on Scholastic Theology, in the University of

[1] Canon of San Petronio, and Rector of Santa Lucia.

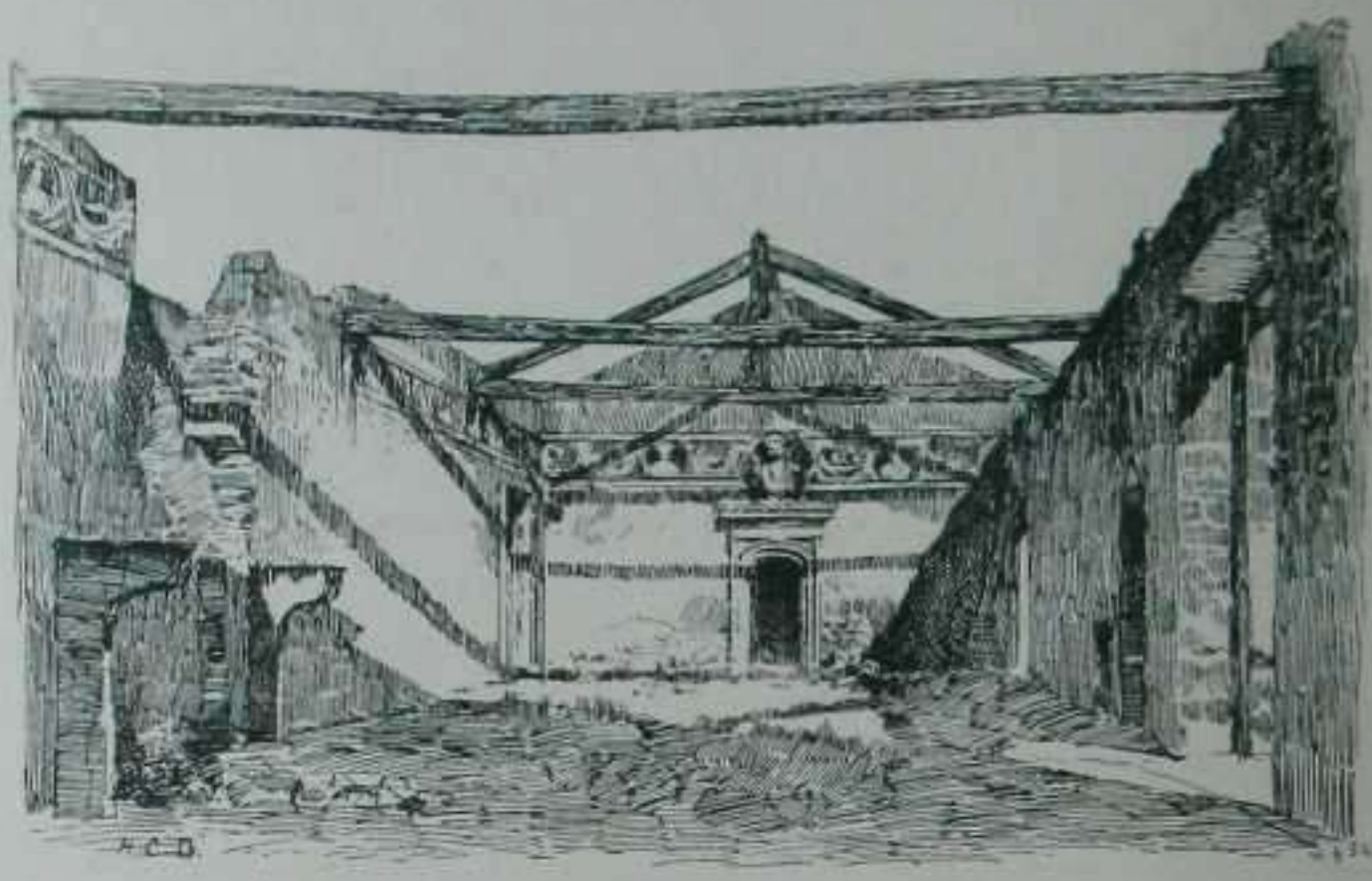
THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF MONTE CASSINO.

the Sapienza; while Ignatius endeavoured to arouse and convert the people by his instructions, and especially by the "Spiritual Exercises." But first he returned the money which he had received for the journey to Jerusalem, and sent back to Valencia four golden crowns which Martin Perez had given him. He went with Favre and Lainez to visit the Marquis de Aguilar, then ambassador from Charles V., at the court of Rome. Mention being made of reports already spread to the detriment of the Company, Aguilar intimated that the world called them hypocrites, and said, that under so much external humility they concealed great ambition, and came to Rome to seek a Cardinal's hat or at least a mitre. Loyola was at first so astonished that he could only make the sign of the cross. Then he stood up and made a solemn vow never to accept for himself or his Brethren any dignity whatever, unless he were obliged, on pain of sin, by the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and he renewed his vow some while after, in the presence of Cardinal Carpi, protector of the Order, and its kind and liberal benefactor in later times.

Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, who doubtless knew Ignatius by the letters of his cousin Pietro, was one of his earliest friends in Rome. He spoke of him to Ortiz, once the enemy of the Saint at Paris; and Ortiz, moved by what he heard, asked to be led through the "Exercises" in the solitude of the Abbey of Monte Cassino; there he passed more than a month, wholly abstracted from the world. The seclusion, the terrible truths of Eternity, the prolonged meditations, were too much for Ortiz' health; and his head broke down during the first week. St. Ignatius to cheer his friend danced for him the old national dance of the Basques, and it cheered him so that he was roused from his stupor, and able to carry through the spiritual work to its end.[1] He said, afterwards, that he had learned more religion in those forty days than he had taught others all his life through; that he had then found the great difference there was between learning in order to teach, and learning for his own salvation; and that he valued more the least illumination of his solitude than the most curious acquisitions of all human science. He wished to become one of the Society of Jesus, and to bind himself by vows like the others; but from this Ignatius dissuaded him, because he was too far advanced in years to commence a new way of life, and was engaged already in a service that enabled him to do much for the glory of God. Ignatius was lodged in the Novitiate of Albaneta, now a ruin; but the unroofed refectory remains, and is still shown by the monks as the place frequented by St. Ignatius.

[1] *Lancisius, Opusc.*, Antwerp, 1850, t. ii. p. 639, a. n. 51.

As it was during this visit to Monte Cassino that Ignatius learned the death of the saintly Hozes, so it was returning from thence that he met with the young disciple who was to replace him—Francisco Strada,[1] formerly slightly known to him in Spain. He had come to seek his fortunes at Rome. Ortiz had procured him a place about the person of Cardinal Caraffa; but the Cardinal, one day, turned away all his household, and Francisco, full of talent and spirit, had started for Naples, where he meant to become a soldier. St. Ignatius, skilful to move a mind thus disposed, persuaded him that the world would continue to disappoint him everywhere, and that there is but one banner under which it is worth a wise man's while to serve. Strada turned back with the Saint, and never afterwards left him.

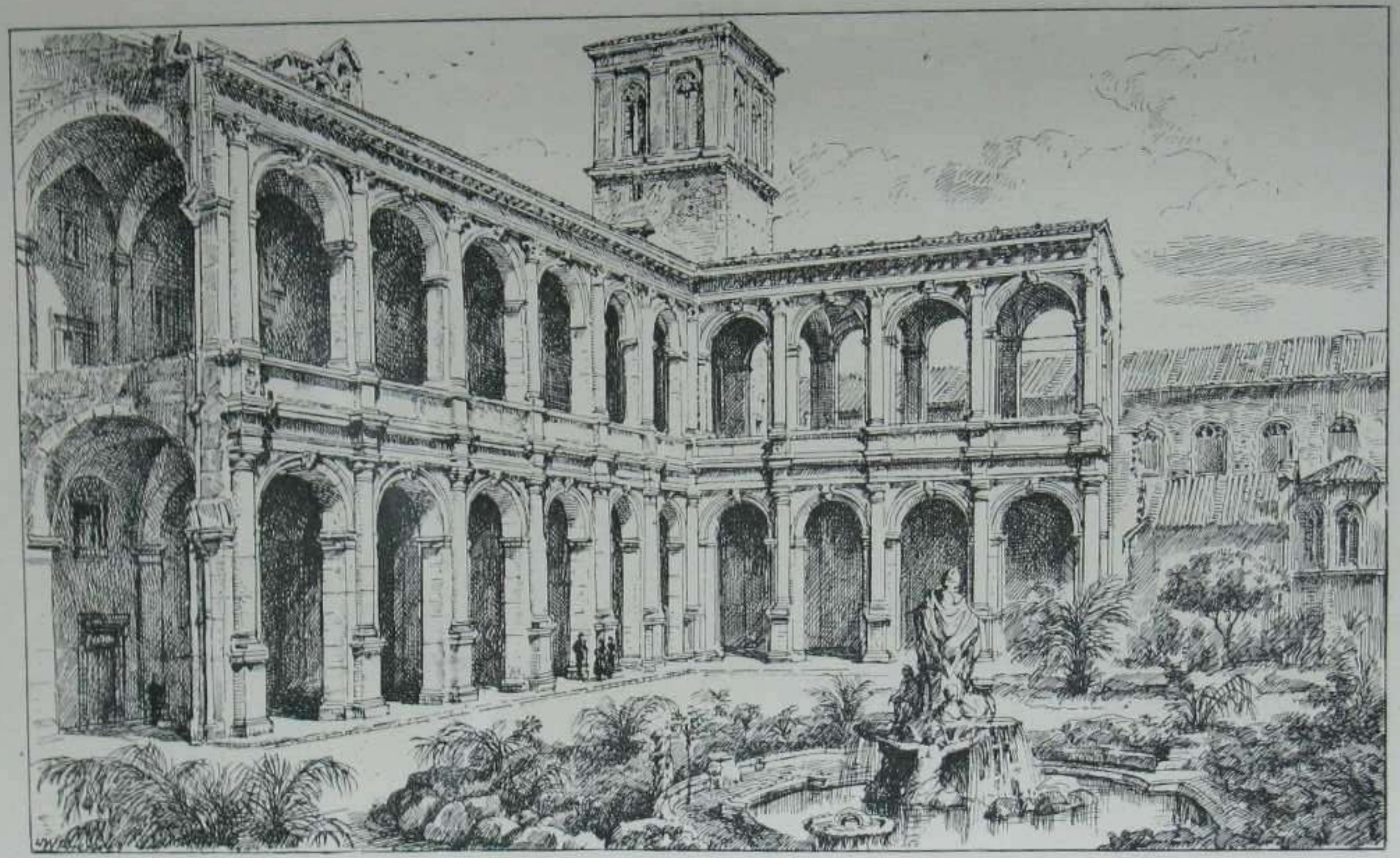


RUINS OF THE REFECTORY OF THE BENEDICTINE NOVITIATE, ALBANETA, NEAR MONTE CASSINO.

He had then but "a slight powdering" of Latin, and his Italian was imperfect; but his eloquence had an extraordinary gift of moving sluggish and hard hearts; even many who did not understand the language he preached in, were touched by his expressive countenance, his voice, and action. This terrified him; and he meditated and prayed much on the words of St. Paul: "Lest having preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." He became one of the most eminent preachers of the Society of Jesus, and spread its influence in Flanders, Portugal, and Spain.

Before Easter, 1538, St. Ignatius summoned the companions he had left

[1] Properly Estrada.



PALACE AND BASILICA OF ST. MARK, ROME, THE PAPAL RESIDENCE IN THE TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

behind to join him in Rome. Everywhere they departed with the regrets and reverence of the population; and from Padua some of the principal clergy accompanied Codure and Rodriguez as far as Loreto. They found their Father, with Favre and Lainez, lodging in a vineyard at the foot of Monte Pincio, in a small house lent him by Quirino Garzonio,[1] a relation of Cardinal de Cupis. A son of Garzonio used to tell how his father bade the man who was in charge of the vineyard, one Antonio di Sarsona, to note the behaviour of the Fathers; and Antonio told wonderful things about them—how that though beds had been got for them, they never slept in them, but on the ground, and that whatever food either his father or others sent, they gave it away to the poor for the love of God. But a larger place was now wanted, and Codacio, a rich man of the Pope's household, and much in favour with his Holiness, soon gave it them. He was the first Roman who entered the Company. Ignatius made him Minister of the house—for the Saint knew that he was wise as well as generous—and placed such confidence in him, that it was said he never refused him anything.

The house, which was the gift, or loan, of Codacio, was at the Torre del Melangolo—the *Orange Tower*—in the Piazza Margana, which is still remaining.[2] A room is still shown there as that occupied by Ignatius. Xavier mentions the tower in his letters from India, when he pours out his warm affection for the brethren he had left. From this he took his departure for the Indies; and in the small square room of the tower Ignatius embraced him for the last time. There is a remarkable gateway, surrounded by stone carving, which must be as old as the days of Ignatius, and may probably have furnished an incident in the story of Ribadeneira.

The Society preached in a number of the churches of Rome, to all ages and classes, attracted numbers round them, and soon effected a visible improvement in the people. The Sacraments, long neglected, were again sought for; the clergy, after the example of the new teachers, roused themselves and their flocks; and Sunday sermons, almost discontinued, became once again common throughout the city. The unction, simplicity, and fervour of Ignatius made his addresses so powerful, and his life gave such efficacy to all he taught, that, though Lainez, Bobadilla, and Salmeron were preaching sermons at this time with all the resources of their great talents and uncommon learning, none succeeded like Ignatius in winning souls. Even men of the highest attainments listened to him with docile admiration, and Ortiz

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[1] F. Clair, p. 227, says it was on the site of the present convent of the Sacré Cœur at the Trinità de' Monti. Ribadeneira says it was *near* the House of the Minims, now occupied by the nuns.

[2] The present number of the house (1891) is 40-A.

boasted that he never failed to be at Sta. Maria di Monserrato, where Ignatius used then to preach. The Saint had a horror of long sermons.[1] The harvest was so abundant that, when the day was over, and these new apostles met to thank Heaven for their success, their holy joy and thankfulness almost supplied the place of food and rest, and they sometimes forgot to beg the alms on which they lived.

But close on this prosperity followed a persecution more dangerous than any the Company had yet met with. It is related in a letter written by Ignatius at the end of the same year to the friend of his early life, Doña Isabel Roser:—

I think you will be pained and very surprised not to receive letters from me oftener. I wish I could write more frequently, persuaded as I am that if I were to forget all the good that God has done me through you, with such love and compassion, His Divine Majesty would forget me also; for you have never ceased helping me, out of love and reverence for Him. If I have been long in writing, it was because I hoped from day to day, from month to month, to conclude a business that concerns us, so as to be more sure of our affairs hereafter. The business has been such that for eight months we have gone through the most violent opposition and persecution we have endured in our life. I do not mean that we have been personally attacked, or brought before the tribunals; but, by rumours scattered among the people and inconceivable denunciations, we were suspected and disliked by some of the faithful, to their great scandal, so that we were forced to present ourselves before the Legate and Governor of this city, the Pope having gone to Nice, because of this great scandal some took concerning us. We named many who had declared against us, and called on them to say in the presence of our Superiors what they had seen reprehensible in our teaching and life. And that you may understand the affair from the beginning, I will give you some particulars about it.

Rather more than a year ago, three of us came to Rome, as I remember to have told you. My two companions began at once to teach gratuitously at the Sapienza by order of the Pope, one professing Positive Theology, and the other Scholastic Theology. I myself only gave the "Spiritual Exercises," in and out of Rome. We sought in this way to gain some men of learning and of position to our side, or, to speak more correctly, to the side of God our Lord, His honour and glory, for ours is no other than the praise and service of His Divine Majesty. We acted thus, in order to find less opposition among the worldly, and to preach with greater freedom the Holy Word of God; for, judging by appearances, we work on a soil fertile in bad fruit, sterile in good. When we had by these

[1] Evidence of Bishop Viperani, who had heard him, when a young man; cited by F. Clair, p. 228.

"Exercises"—with the help of God our Lord—gained the good-will and opinion of some persons distinguished for rank and knowledge, we resolved after we had been there four months, to gather all ours into this city, and when we were all together, we asked permission to preach, exhort, and confess. The Legate gave us very extensive powers, though meanwhile many injurious reports about us had been carried to his Vicar, which retarded the expedition of the permissions we desired. When we had them,[1] four or five of us began to preach in the churches on Sundays and feasts, and in other churches to instruct children on the commandments of God, the deadly sins, &c. The two lectures at the Sapienza, and Confessions were also continued. All the others preached in Italian, I only in Spanish. I had a large audience at all my sermons, a great many more than we expected, for three reasons:[2]—1. It was an unusual time—we began directly after Easter, when other preachers of Lent and the festivals left off;—and it is customary here to preach only during Lent and Advent. 2. Because many men, after the devotions of Lent, are more inclined, on account of their sins, to recreation and worldly pleasures than to other like or new doctrines. 3. Because we do not consider that we ought to employ graces and elegance of style, and with all this we have learned, by much experience, that our Lord in His infinite goodness does not forget us, and deigns to make use of us, in spite of our unworthiness, to show His mercy to others.

We appeared, then, before the judges; two of our three adversaries were also summoned, one proving quite different from what we expected; the others, whom we had summoned, were so confounded, that they had no longer the wish or courage to appear, and they obtained a prohibition against our pursuing the matter before other judges. And as these were persons, one of whom had 1000, another 600 ducats a year, men of great authority, all the courtiers and merchants used such influence with the Cardinals and numbers of other persons of rank at this Court, that they protracted the suit for a long time. The two chiefs of this little cabal at last presented themselves, at the time appointed, before the Legate and Governor, and declared they had heard our sermons, our instructions, &c., and their testimony completely justified our doctrines and morals. Though the Legate and Governor much esteemed us, they wished to pass the matter over in silence for the sake of these and other persons. We, on the contrary, repeatedly asked, what we thought perfectly just, that it should be explicitly declared whether our doctrine was good or bad, so that there might be no more scandal among the people against us; but we could obtain nothing either for law or conscience sake. However, no one henceforth dared to speak against us for fear of prosecution. As we could not obtain a sentence or declaration" (of innocence?), "one of our friends spoke to the Pope when he returned from Nice, and begged him to order that the matter might be cleared up. He may have done so; but as no such statement followed,

[1] Cardinal Caraffa gave them, May 3, 1538.
[2] Ortiz never missed one of these discourses.

two of us spoke to him of it. The Pope, having gone after this interview to a castle in the Comarca,[1] I went thither, and talked alone with his Holiness in his apartment a whole hour. When I had fully set before him our designs and our projects, I related candidly how many times in Spain and Paris proceedings had been taken against me, how often I had been imprisoned at Alcalá and Salamanca, not choosing that he should learn these occurrences from any but myself; and in order to induce him to order an investigation, so that one way or other he might pass sentence or make a declaration respecting our doctrine. Finally, since, to be able to preach or exhort the people with success, we need to be in good repute, not only before God, but man, and that all suspicion of our teaching and morals might be brought to an end, I prayed his Holiness, in the name of all my companions, to set all to rights by naming a judge of his own choice, so that we might be censured and punished if any fault were discovered, and if not, his Holiness might give us his favour. The Pope, as far as I could conclude from my conversation with him, took my request very well, praised our abilities, and the use we made of them for good. Then after addressing an exhortation to me of some length, and in words worthy of a true and righteous pastor, he diligently ordered the Governor, who is a bishop, and the chief justice of the city, both ecclesiastical and civil, to hear our cause at once. He began the inquiry all over again, with the utmost care. The Pope having returned to Rome, expressed himself, many times publicly, and in presence of the Society, in a manner highly honourable for us. For it is the custom that every fortnight they go to the Vatican to dispute before the Pontiff during his dinner. These favourable words of the Sovereign Pontiff have in a great measure dispersed the storm, and the sky daily becomes brighter for us; so that our affairs proceed, I think, as well as we could wish, for the service and glory of God our Lord, and already several bishops urgently ask us to come and do some good in their dioceses, by the help of God; but we keep quiet, in the hope of still better times.

By the grace of God our Lord, we have at last obtained the sentence we desired. But about this something happened which is really wonderful. You must know a rumour was spread here that we had escaped from several countries, among others, Paris, Spain, and Venice. Now just at the moment when the judgment was about to be pronounced, God deigned to send hither the Regent Figueroa, who imprisoned me at Alcalá, and proceeded against me; also the Vicar-General of the Legate of Venice, who too had instituted a suit against me when we began to preach in the States of Venice; also the Dr. Ori, who too instituted a process against me at Paris: and the Bishop of Vicenza, in whose diocese three or four of us had preached. All spoke in our favour. Moreover, the cities of Siena, Bologna, and Ferrara sent authentic testimonials in our favour.

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[1] The district around Rome. The *castillo* was probably that of Tivoli.

TORRE DEL MELANGOLO, THE HOUSE OF ST. IGNATIUS AND HIS COMPANIONS.—*See p.* 243

The Duke of Ferrara, not satisfied with this, and taking our affair to heart on account of the dishonour done to God our Lord, in the persons of us His servants, wrote to his ambassador, and condescended to send several letters to our Society, declaring that he considered our business as his own, because he knew all the good we had done in his town and in others, though we had much difficulty in remaining in Ferrara, on account of the obstructions raised against us there. We give thanks to God our Lord that up to this time we have never ceased preaching two or three times a day every Festival day, and giving two instructions every day, while others heard confessions, and some gave the "Spiritual Exercises." Now that we have a decision in our favour, we hope to extend our preachings and lessons to children. Although the soil be dry and sterile, and we meet so much opposition, we cannot say that we have been without work, or that God our Lord has not done for us much more than we could imagine. I will not here enter into details, lest I should write at too great length, only I can say, generally, that God our Lord has fully contented us. I cannot but tell you, however, that four or five new companions have resolved to join us, and have persevered for many days and many months past in this design. We do not dare receive them, for we have been reproached with this among other things, that we have admitted others and wanted to found a Congregation or an Order without authority from the Holy See. Though we do not yet live in common, we are nevertheless united by the same manner of life, so that we may meet together hereafter; and we hope that God our Lord will assemble us very soon for His greater glory. . . . Rome, 19th Dec. 1538.

Your poor in goodness,

IÑIGO.

While I was writing this letter, the Pope has commanded that an order should be given in the city that the boys' schools should be brought together that we may instruct them in Catechism, as we had already begun to do. . . .[1]

But the charitable reserve of Ignatius leaves some details to fill up. The cause at first of this attack was a Piedmontese friar, named Agostino, of the Order of the Augustinians, who had adopted the heresies of Luther, and taught them under an appearance of great devotion; and having considerable talent as well as boldness, he was listened to by large numbers of people, and received everywhere with great applause. Paul III. had gone to Nice, where Francis I. and Charles V. were about to meet, in the hope—realised but imperfectly—that he might induce both monarchs to keep peace between themselves, and unite their forces against the Turks.

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 63.

Rome, thus deprived of its Sovereign, appeared a favourable field for the efforts of Agostino; but he began with the utmost caution. He preached for some time without alluding to any disputed points, and when his simple, natural, and intelligent discourses had procured for him a high degree of confidence, he insinuated with prudent dexterity the doctrines that he desired to introduce concerning Papal authority, the value of indulgences, of celibacy, and of good works. Salmeron and Lainez heard Agostino preach, and perceived what he was preparing to do. After several sermons had confirmed their suspicions, they went to see him, and with friendly remonstrance endeavoured to dissuade him from his Lutheran views. Fra Agostino repulsed them with contempt, told them they were ignorant and malicious, and that the suffrage of all Rome would be on his side if they presumed to find fault. Thus baffled, the Fathers ceased to deal directly with the friar, but in all their discourses brought prominently forward the disputed topics. Agostino now attacked them on precisely the grounds on which they had censured him. He uttered from the pulpit a furious accusation of heresy against Ignatius—"a wolf, disguised as a shepherd, who had committed frightful ravages in several of the first Universities of Europe . . . under the mask of sanctity. Rome, though perhaps late, ought not to show herself less prudent than Paris, Salamanca, and Venice, where Ignatius, convicted of heresy, escaped death only by flight. . . . But even in Rome," said Agostino, "there are men of incorruptible faith, belonging to his own nation, who have renounced him. There is one especially, who, attracted at first by this man, has left him with horror."

These "men of incorruptible faith" were Spaniards—Pedro de Castillo, Francis Muderra, and one Barrera—devoted to Agostino, who helped to spread his doctrines; the "one especially" was Miguel Navarro, that dependant of Xavier who had tried to murder Ignatius at Paris, then asked to join his new Community and was admitted, then left it, then professed repentance, and at Venice asked again to be received as one of the Brethren. When Ignatius refused to enlist afresh so unstable a character, Miguel became his enemy and calumniator, and aided Agostino with all his powers of falsehood, spreading stories of the worst nature, relating to facts he pretended to have witnessed. He was promised a sum of money if he would carry a formal accusation against Ignatius before Monsignor Conversini, then Governor of Rome. The effect of this proceeding and of the accusations diligently repeated, soon showed itself; the new preachers became suddenly, and almost universally, the objects of dread and aversion; the charm and power of their exhortations were attributed to witchcraft;

all feared being involved in the punishments supposed to be impending over them, and the very two priests whom the Cardinal Legate had given to help them in hearing confessions, and who better than others could have borne witness to their lives and doctrines, dreading to share these suspicions of heresy, fled from the city, and even from the Papal States. Ignatius remained undisturbed; he encouraged his companions, he thought upon the vision of La Storta, recognised the cross, and humbly prayed for a fulfilment of the promise. This was now near at hand. One friend remained faithful to Ignatius, and this one, Quirino Garzonio, was able to do him effectual service. For when his kinsman, Cardinal de Cupis, head of the Sacred College, reproached him for his intercourse with men accused, and perhaps even convicted, of great crimes, he remonstrated, and declared what he knew from experience of his friend's work and of his strict loyalty to the Church. But De Cupis answered with patient benevolence, "that Garzonio was under the influence of enchantments used by Ignatius, to subdue men's judgments and hearts." "You do not know," said he, "what convincing proofs of their wickedness I have in my possession. Depend upon it, these men are very different from what you suppose." All this was repeated by Garzonio to Ignatius, who defended the Cardinal. He knew him to be really a good man, and was sure that if De Cupis were allowed an interview with him he would entirely change his opinion.

Garzonio therefore asked this as a favour. "Let him come," said De Cupis, "and I shall treat him as he deserves." And so he did, but in a sense opposite to that in which he had spoken; for De Cupis himself related to Garzonio, that after a conversation of nearly two hours, while Garzonio in another room waited the result, he was not only convinced, but so moved with admiration and contrition, that he knelt before Ignatius and asked his forgiveness. He brought him out of his cabinet, with every possible show of regard, and promised him in this, and all other matters, all the service in his power; he also bade his almoner take care that Loyola and his companions should daily receive bread and wine, as much as they needed; a charity which was continued as long as De Cupis lived.

Thus strengthened, Loyola appeared before Monsignor Conversini,[1] and asked for an immediate trial. On the day fixed, Miguel Navarro declared on oath, that on three occasions, at Alcalá, Paris, and Venice,

[1] Benedetto Conversini, Bishop of Bertinoro, Vice-Camerlengo, and at that time Governor in the Pope's absence.

he could bear witness that Ignatius de Loyola had been condemned for heresy and other crimes, and had only saved himself by flight from condign punishment. St. Ignatius listened with composure, then showed a letter to Navarro, and asked him if he knew the handwriting. Navarro answered that it was his own. Ignatius then read aloud the letter: it was addressed to some friend of Navarro's; it spoke of Ignatius and his virtues in the highest terms of admiration, and at some length related what he himself had seen. Navarro turned pale, hesitated in attempting to answer, and at last kept silence, being entirely discomfited.

The trial was now considered as having terminated in the full justification of Ignatius, so that nothing more needed to be said. Doubtless the protection of De Cupis had a great part in this result; and Cardinal Contarini used his influence to bring the matter to a conclusion.

Navarro was soon after banished for calumny; Agostino and the two others offered a public recantation, and used all the intercession they could procure to induce Ignatius to be satisfied. But he, warned by experience of the strength of life that exists in falsehood, thought no protection sufficient against future attacks without a formal judgment and sentence. He seems to have stood alone in what may have appeared at the time an uncharitable perseverance. The Legate and judges, and even some of his companions, thought he had obtained enough by the simple retractation of his accusers. He expresses himself thus in a letter written in Latin to his friend Pietro Contarini, at Venice. It is dated December 2, 1538. "We know," he says, "that this will not prevent us from being blamed hereafter; nor do we seek such an exemption; we wish only to safeguard our honour, as to sound doctrine, and the way of life that we profess. If we are called ignorant, rude, wanting in eloquence, or even bad, unstable, or deceitful, we will bear it in silence, by the grace of God. But we were afflicted when the doctrine we preached was said to be erroneous, and the life we had adopted was declared blamable; for these two things do not belong to us, but to Christ and His Church." He adds that he does not wish the guilty parties to be punished; he seeks only a full recognition of his innocence.

And now câme to light the wonderful coincidence by which, as Ignatius relates to Doña Isabel Roser, the three persons who could best prove the innocence of Ignatius had come to Rome on private business—Figueroa from Alcalá; Ori, the Dominican Inquisitor, from Paris; and Gaspar de Doctis, Auditor of the Nunzio to the Republic of Venice. They all bore willing testimony to the christian zeal of Ignatius, to the excel-

BASILICA OF ST. MARY MAJOR'S, ROME, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 258.

lence of his teaching, and to his exemplary life. After this, the calumny having fallen to the ground against the leader, it was desirable to clear his companions, and for this too the Lord provided. For, as soon as the story of their accusation became known, the bishops and clergy who had seen their work and way of living, in Paris and the places where they had preached in Italy, were earnest in sending the most favourable testimony respecting them; and Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, ordered his ambassador at Rome to do and say all he could for Le Jay and Rodriguez.

In spite of all this, Conversini seems to have been unwilling to proceed to any more explicit condemnation of Agostino and his colleagues; and at length, to put an end to Loyola's importunities, he announced that the Legate wished the cause to be considered as already decided, and ordered both parties to keep silence in future. We know by the letter to Doña Isabel how the justice refused by Conversini was granted by the Pope, after his return from Nice, in an interview which Ignatius had with him at Frascati; and how, after the inquiry had been recommenced, and brought to a triumphant issue, by the witnesses who came forward on behalf of Ignatius and those who taught along with him, a verdict was pronounced which, on this point, silenced his enemies for ever.* This species of accusation was never renewed during his life. "Not only," said the sentence, "had no fault been found in these persons, either in law or in fact, but the excellence of their life and doctrine was fully shown; and while their accusers were proved to have uttered only false and empty statements, the best men of the highest character, on the contrary, had given the strongest testimony in their favour."

The calumniators left Rome, but did not ultimately escape. Muderra, afterwards himself convicted of heresy, was condemned to death, but escaped from prison; Pedro de Castiglia, tried at the same time, was imprisoned for life. But long afterwards, Navarro, confiding in the charity of one he truly knew to be a saint, asked assistance from Ignatius in his misfortunes, and received it; and Pedro, moved by the grace of God, in his long solitude, died a true penitent in the arms of a Jesuit Father, Diego Avellaneda. Barrera, at the hour of his death, which was premature and sudden, declared the innocence of Ignatius. Only Agostino, the original cause of all, came to a wretched end. He fled to Geneva, laid aside his religious habit, and published a work in which he attacked the Church; but after a time, leaving Geneva for Spain, he fell into the power of the Inquisition, and was put to death. The first fruit of this vindication of St. Ignatius was that his nephew, Antonio Araoz, begged to be received into

the Society, and his prayer was granted in 1540. It was necessary that Araoz should return to Spain to arrange the renunciation of his property; thus he was the first missionary sent by Ignatius to spread his Order among his countrymen. He appears to have been excellently well adapted for his missionary office: he was enthusiastic and eloquent; his personal gifts, and his relation to the Loyola family, were certain to facilitate his reception by the Spaniards, whose instincts were all in accordance with the character of Ignatius himself.

When Araoz landed at Barcelona, he found the remembrance of Ignatius still fresh and enthusiastic. The people besieged the place where Araoz lodged, demanding to see and hear him; they listened to his sermons with admiration; they desired that some of the Society should be fixed among them, and a college should be begun. This was not, however, accomplished until 1553. All through the Basque provinces such crowds assembled to hear him, that he was sometimes forced to preach in the open air, and at Azpeitia he had an audience of 4000 people.

The grief of Araoz on leaving the Saint had touched the heart of Ignatius; and he gave him the little picture of the Virgin Queen of Sorrows, which he procured at Montserrat, along with a crucifix,[1] when he first assumed the penitent's garb. "Antonio," he said, "never give this to any one; I have always worn it since I changed my life and dress; and amidst many wants and dangers of soul and body, I have ever experienced the protection of the Holy Mother." Araoz went to the castle of Loyola, where he had business to transact; there he found a niece of Ignatius, Doña Marina, who piously cherished his memory, and persuaded Araoz to leave the picture with her till he had returned. But Araoz never did return, and, eight years after, Doña Marina transmitted the precious relic to a pious friend, Pascual Manduro, who was to place it with the Fathers at Saragossa. It was for long years kept there in the chapel of the Jesuit College. Araoz had a great devotion to Our Lady; and when he lay down to sleep, he had always a rosary in his hand. At Burgos, where he preached before the young Infantas, daughters of Charles V., and at Valladolid, Araoz was equally successful. As St. Ignatius had long desired, his young nephew, Millan, son of the lord of Loyola, accompanied Araoz on his return to Rome in September of 1541. With them also came a young man from Toledo, Martin de Santa Cruz, like Millan, highly educated and of very good abilities, both of whom were received into the Society.

Towards the end of this year, Rome was visited by a terrible famine,

[1] This crucifix came into the possession of Juan Pascual.

made more disastrous by an unusually severe winter. The people were lying about in the streets and squares, hoping to excite compassion, but too feeble to beg. Distress was everywhere; many who were used to give charity to Ignatius and his companions, now needed it themselves; nevertheless, the faith of the Fathers did not wait on prudence; they lifted up those poor dying creatures, carried them into their own house, and gave up their beds to them, or placed them on straw spread on the floor. They were living then in the spacious building which Codacio had lent them, at the Torre del Melangolo. In this large house they collected more than 400 people; and from the piety of rich persons, moved to give all they could spare into the hands of men so much respected, they soon received so many donations, in furniture, food, and money, that they were able to purchase covering for the most destitute; it is even said, that during the period of distress, which lasted till harvest, about 3000 persons received assistance through them. Nor is this unlikely, for the recent trial and its issue had raised them to a great height of reverence in the popular mind; and their humble and self-denying way of living inspired a perfect confidence in their disinterestedness. They used this new occasion of intercourse with the poor to benefit them spiritually, and few hearts were hardened enough to resist the exhortations of men so compassionate and so devoted. These poor creatures when first received into the house were exhorted to confess their sins; they were instructed in Catechism; heard frequent and well-adapted discourses; had fixed times of common prayer; and they often became true converts. Some, under the impulse of remorse and gratitude, begged that they might remain with Ignatius as long as they lived. From the destitute, these sentiments ascended to the rich; and among all classes, up to the highest, there was but one voice respecting the foreign priests. Many persons, led by curiosity alone to visit the house where the Fathers lived, were impelled to become partners in the good work, and even took off part of their own clothing to protect from the cold those not yet provided for. The nobles, unwilling to do little while these priests, themselves living on alms, did so much, placed large sums at their disposal. The youthful Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V., who had come to Rome for her wedding, procured them valuable assistance; she seems from the first to have been attached to the Society, made Codure her director, and after his death prevailed on Ignatius himself to take his place. After her unpromising marriage with Ottavio Farnese, she continued to correspond with him. Some of these letters remain.

The storm that had now passed away left Ignatius to prepare for his

first Mass, full of peace and thankfulness; recognising in the depths of his heart that the Lord had been favourable to him in Rome. He wrote to his brother Martin on the 15th February 1539:—

I went at Christmas to Sta. Maria Maggiore, and said there, with the help and grace of God, my first Mass, in the chapel which contains the crib where the infant Jesus was laid.[1]

This letter was never received, for though Ignatius did not know it, his brother had died two months before.

When Ignatius had not been long in Rome a young man came there whom he had known at Barcelona—Miguel Arrovira, much in favour at the Court of Prince Philip. Ignatius had one day said to him, not in answer to anything told in confidence, but guessing his thoughts: "You intend to marry! Alas! how you will repent it. What trials await you!" And this happened. At Rome he met Ignatius coming from Ara Coeli, and showed him a letter from Francis Borgia, then Governor of Catalonia; his wife Leonora was still alive. "You will one day," said Ignatius, "see the man who wrote that letter a member of the Company of Jesus and its head." And this prophecy, too, Arrovira saw fulfilled.

It ought never to be forgotten, that in the times when Loyola entered on his religious life, a woeful depravity of morals had spread far and wide; many clergy were among its most deplorable examples; the convents were infected with the vices of the outer world.[2] The Popes had not overlooked this: Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Julius II., and the illustrious Leo X. had all examined, complained loudly, and taken measures for reform. Adrian VI., only a few years before, had in a Brief addressed to the Diet of Nuremberg acknowledged the local corruptions in the Church, with a sincerity worthy of a noble and Christian mind, had promised reforms, and asked assistance and advice.

Paul III. applied himself vigorously to correct abuses; and, in 1538,

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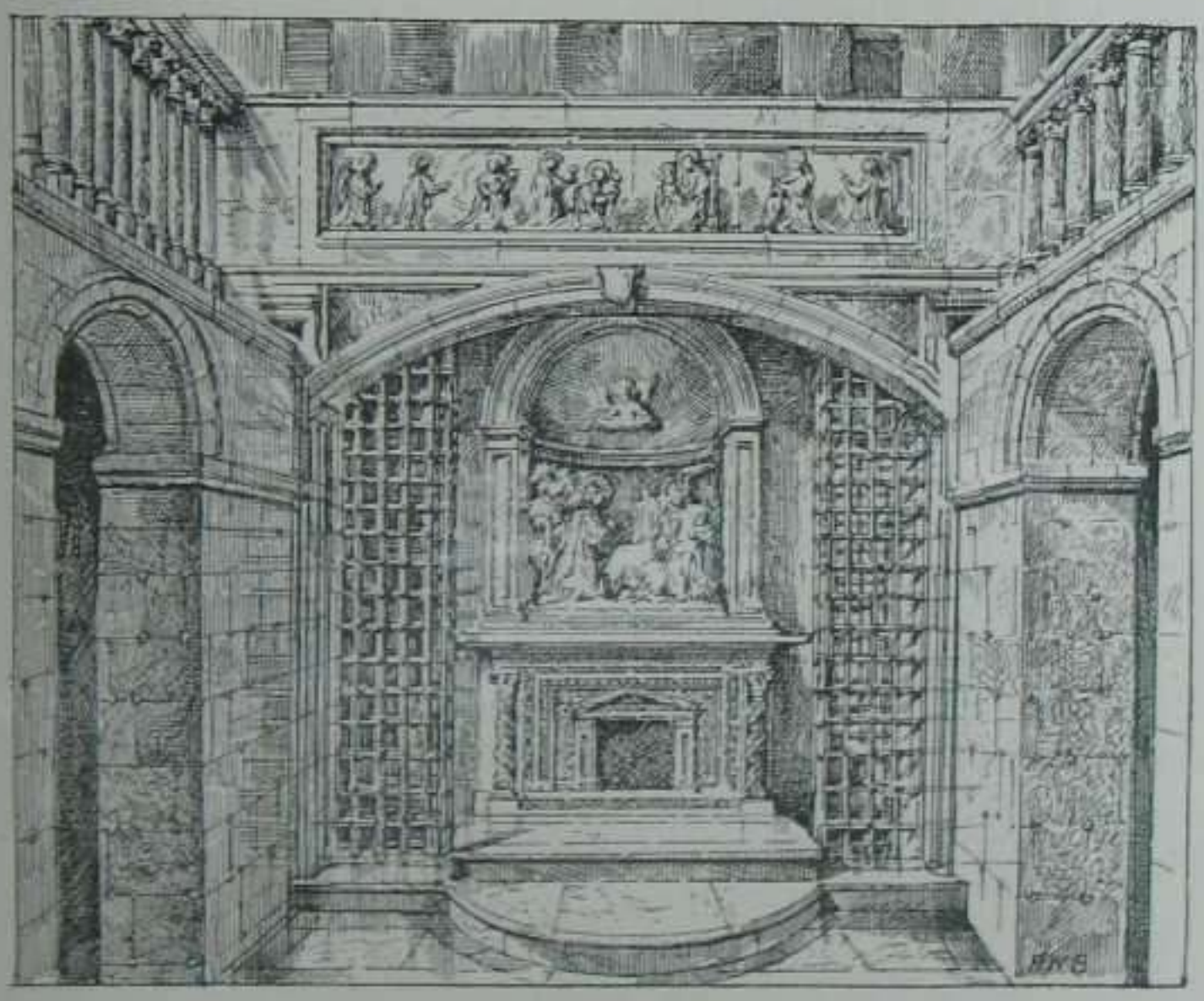
[1] The chapel of the *Presepio*, which was afterwards transported bodily, by Fontana, at the order of Sixtus V., to its present place below the chapel of that Pope, and the altar which he constructed of the Blessed Sacrament.

[2] Bellarmine himself confesses "there was hardly any religious Order remaining;" and yet the instinctive reverence of mankind for the clerical profession, surviving esteem, and independent of interest, still showed itself in the protection of Church property in time of revolt or war; and the spiritual judges were in those times so far superior to those employed in the secular jurisdiction, that the people endeavoured in all ways to lay their affairs before them, and thus aided, what has been sometimes termed ecclesiastical encroachment, with all their power.

commissioned trustworthy persons to investigate and report. These declared, that even in the Universities, errors contrary to faith were publicly taught, and that great scandals existed among the clergy and in the convents. To remove this last grievance, they proposed that the several Communities should be (without exception, as far as appears) forbidden to receive novices; so that the old set of monks and nuns having died out, a new generation might be trained in the spirit of their primitive rule. The Pope rejected this plan; but, that it could ever have been suggested shows how unpropitious the moment was for the establishment of a new Order; and how necessary was the sagacious caution of Ignatius, who, before he divulged the darling idea of his life, prepared the way for its reception by giving proofs of the piety and judgment which fitted him for such a work.



CHAPEL OF THE CRIB, ST. MARY MAJOR'S, ROME, RESTORED, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See Appendix.*

# CHAPTER V.

## THE SOCIETY IS FOUNDED AND APPROVED—1540.

THE time was now ripe: the hour and the man were come, ordained by Providence for the defence of the Church in time of great necessity; the army and its leader were ready to combat the powers of darkness, ever more active within the sacred fold than beyond its barriers; and Loyola summoned his few adherents to discuss, after prayer and solemn meditation, the project which had long been spoken of amongst them, but never till now with a near hope of its accomplishment; some opinions among themselves, it appears, were against it, probably from a dread of the unfavourable aspect of the times. It was resolved that they should deliberate at night, so that they might postpone no work of charity by day. They prepared themselves by prayer and fasting to consider, in the presence of God, the questions placed before them, and each was enjoined to meditate alone, and form his independent judgment, before they met to compare their decisions and motives.

St. Ignatius has left a record of the discussions. The first evening they examined if it were well that they should form one united body, or should remain disconnected and independent, should the Pope send them, as he had already begun to do, on missionary work in distant places.[1] All rejected this idea. He then inquired if they were willing to add to their vows of chastity and poverty the vow of obedience, and they were all ready to do so. But, since this was the point of primary importance, on which all the rest must depend, some of them proposed that all should retire for solitary prayer during thirty or forty days; others, that three or four should do this on behalf of the rest, or that they should set aside half of the day to prayer and meditation; but all of these suggestions were rejected: it was resolved that the companions were to seek for light

[1] Broët, Salmeron, and Strada had been sent to Siena.

in prayer and from Holy Mass. They were not to canvass the matter among one another; but they were, according to the *Rules of Election*, to consider what advice they would give to a person who was a perfect stranger to them, but was in the same position as themselves.

Then on the next evening they were to bring forward every argument they had found, in the quiet of prayer, against the vow of obedience; to show the various inconveniences which would flow from it.

The following were some of the objections which were adduced. Popular opinion was hostile to Religious Orders, and to the very name of religious obedience; many who would otherwise be willing to work in the Lord's vineyard, would be repelled by the obligatory obedience. Then the vow of obedience would make them a Religious Order, and this would oblige them to ask for the approbation of the Pope, and he might refuse to grant it, and force them to enter some existing Order in which they could not work for souls as much as they desired.

The next day the opposite reasons were discussed, in favour of obedience, which had presented themselves to each of them in time of prayer and meditation. For example, one argued *ad absurdum*—"If our congregation, without obedience, had any work in hand, no one would undertake that charge, but would shift it on to another, as we have found several times. Besides, if this congregation were to be without obedience, it could not last a very long time, contrary to our intention that it should be permanent. And as nothing maintains a congregation so much as obedience, it seems specially necessary for us, who are vowed to perpetual poverty, and are always in constant work, spiritual and temporal, in which it is most difficult to keep up union."

Another gave a positive argument. "Obedience produces continual and heroic actions and virtues. For whoever lives in real obedience is always most ready to do whatever he is bid, however difficult, even though it bring upon him shame and ridicule, and make him a spectacle to the world. Again, nothing beats down all pride and arrogance like obedience. Because pride lifts us up to follow our own will and judgment, yields to no one, and inflates us with ideas of greatness and marvels far above ourselves. The work of obedience is directly the reverse. It always follows another's judgment and will, it yields to every one, it is the closest companion of humility, which is the enemy of pride. And although we have paid all obedience, in general and in particular, to the Supreme Pontiff and Pastor, still as regards our particular affairs and those which we may have to undertake, which are numberless, he neither could, nor even if he could, would it be proper for him, to see to them himself."

Many nights were passed in discussing what might be said on both sides. When the subject was exhausted, they came unanimously to this conclusion, that they ought to unite themselves under obedience to a Superior from amongst themselves. They bound themselves to this obedience by a form in Favre's handwriting, examined and approved by all. Each in turn read it aloud after Mass, and before receiving the Holy Communion, and then signed his name. The form was this:—

I, the undersigned ———, declare before God Almighty, the Most Holy Virgin Mary, and all the Court of Heaven, that after having prayed to God and maturely deliberated on the matter, I have freely made this decision; that it is more conducive for the glory of God and to preserve the Society, that a vow of obedience form part of it, and that I freely offer myself, but without any oath or obligation, to enter the Society, if it should be confirmed by our Lord the Pope. And in testimony of this resolve, which I recognise as a liberal gift from the hand of God, I now, though quite unworthy, am about to receive the Most Holy Communion. Tuesday, April 15, 1539.

The signatures are R. Cacres,[1] Jean Codure, Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Paschase Broët, Francis Xavier, Peter Favre, Ignatius, Simon Rodriguez, Claude Le Jay.

On May 3, Holy Cross Day,[2] it was unanimously decided, and confirmed on the following day—(1) "That whoever entered the Society should make an explicit vow of obedience to the Pope, and by it offer to go to any province or country whatever, whether of believers or unbelievers, &c. And this vow was to be made before the Superior of the Society, or before the whole Society, but not before the Pope *in propriâ personâ*." (2) To teach the commandments to children or to any one else. (3) To take a fixed time—an hour more or less—to teach in an orderly way the commandments and Catechism. (4) To give forty days in the year for this work; and (5) That all who are received as candidates for the Society should go through the "*Spiritual Exercises*" and the other *experimenta* or tests of the Society.

Bartoli says they even wished to oblige themselves to this by vow; but Bobadilla, with better judgment, as time has proved, obstinately objected to this oath; and it was not imposed. However, it was resolved that in future no account should be taken of the opposition of any single person, lest their

[1] The name of Cacres, which comes first, is puzzling. The Bollandists, quoting F. Pien, say that a letter to St. Ignatius written and signed by Cacres was in the Roman Archives of the Society, dated February 11, 1541. Cf. Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 423.

[2] Curiously enough the minutes of these decisions are incorrect as to date. Holy Cross is put down at the 4th, and yet a Saturday—the 3rd being a Saturday that year; and the Saturday before the fourth Sunday after Easter, given as a fresh date, was also May 3rd.

proceedings should be too often impeded. On the evening of the Octave of *Corpus Christi*, June 12, they resolved that there should be a Superior of the whole Society; the election to be for life, but with restrictions that should afterwards be determined. If they were dispersed into many countries, the Constitutions of the Society should be decided by the majority of members then in Italy, either by summoning them to Rome, or procuring their votes in writing. The decision arrived at was to be binding upon all.[1]

The last document of the series, written by Codure, and signed on March 4, 1541, delegated to St. Ignatius and to Codure the drafting of the remaining resolutions, so as to get on quicker with the work, and to leave the rest free to devote themselves to their ministry. These resolutions were, however, finally to be submitted to the Society, to be approved or altered as they might see fit.

Six days later the two commenced their work. The discussions which had begun in the middle of Lent were at last brought to a successful end on the 24th of June, the feast of St. John the Baptist.

It was then left to Ignatius to draw up the formula that should be presented to the Pope. He did this by stating, in five chapters, the decisions they had come to. Cardinal Contarini presented the manuscript to Paul III., and enforced the petition of Ignatius by his own personal recommendations. Paul received it graciously, and remitted it for consideration to Tommaso Badia, a Dominican, Master of the Sacred Palace, afterwards Cardinal of San Silvestro. Badia kept it two months, and then returned it to Contarini, with an opinion in its favour. On the 3rd of September, the Cardinal wrote to Ignatius from Tivoli:—

> I received yesterday by your Spaniard, Master Antonio (Araoz), the statement of your "Chapters," with a letter from the Master of the Sacred Palace. To-day I went to the Pope, and, besides making a petition by word of mouth, I read the five chapters to his Holiness, with which he was well pleased, and which he deigned to approve and confirm. We shall return to Rome with his Holiness on Friday, when Cardinal Ghinucci will receive his orders to prepare the Brief or Bull. I recommend myself to your prayers.—Your devoted,
>
> CARDINAL CONTARINI.

The Pope was then in his castle at Tivoli. When the Pope had heard read, and had seen the papers presented by Loyola, he exclaimed, "The finger of God is here." But he did not proceed as rapidly as

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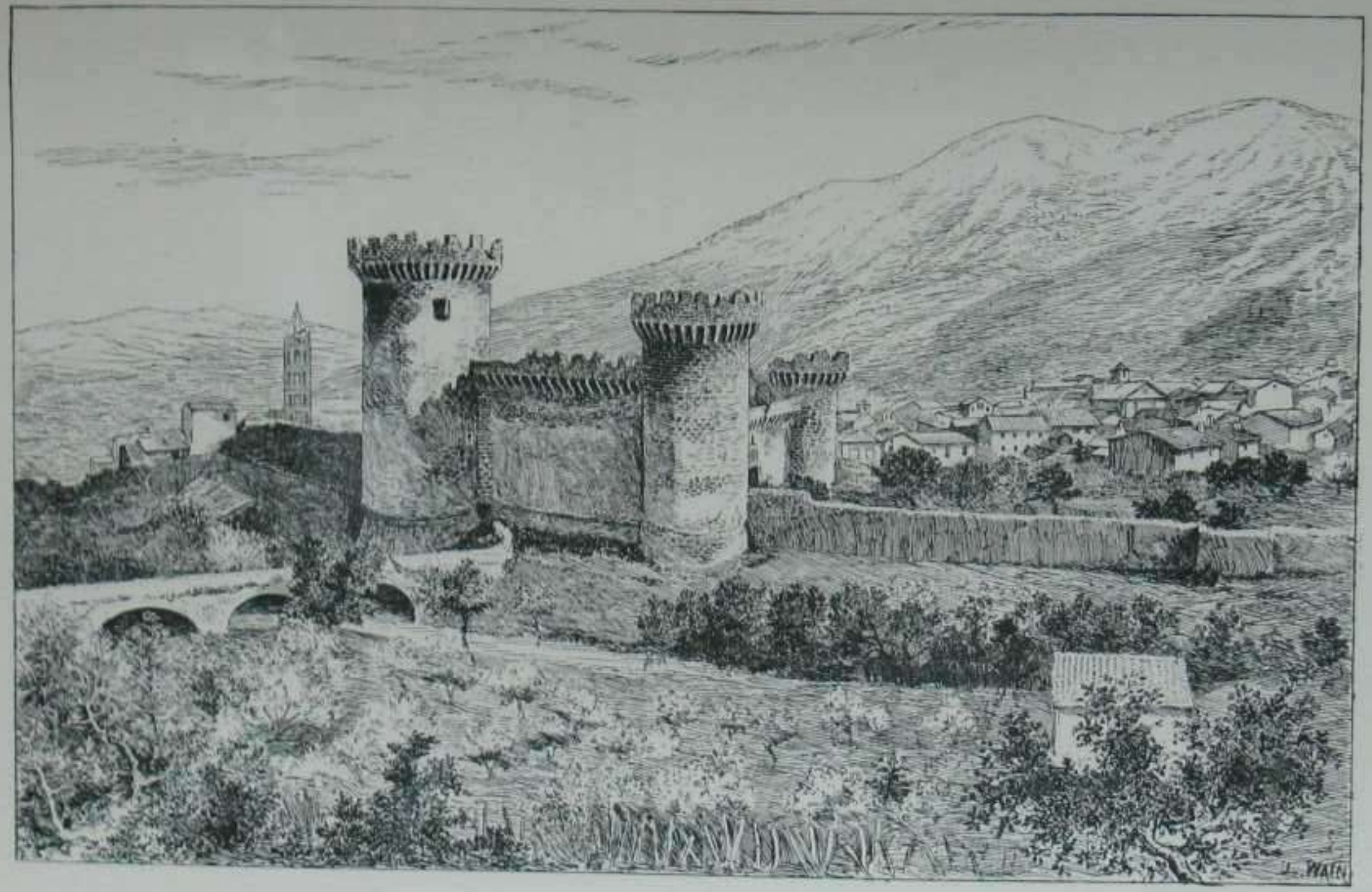
[1] Signed March 4, 1540. This last document is in the handwriting of F. Codure, but signed by Iñigo, Codure, Rodriguez, Salmeron, Francis Xavier, and Le Jay.

Contarini anticipated. He desired three of his Cardinals to examine the "Constitutions." These were men of eminent learning and worth; but one of them was Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, of Lucca, whose opinion was entirely hostile to the approval of any new Religious Orders. He would not even have patience to read the papers sent him; "for," said he, "all Orders become relaxed, and then do more harm to the Church than they did good in the beginning." Guidiccioni was a redoubtable opponent, for he was an excellent theologian, a distinguished poet, possessing great abilities, and so highly venerated for his holy life, that when he died Paul III. exclaimed, "My successor is dead." His horror at the disorders into which many of the monks and nuns had fallen, made him desire, not reform, but suppression; he wished all Orders to be abolished but four, which he would remodel and place under strict governance. To allow a new Order was, to his mind, an idea not deserving even to be discussed. He would not waste a thought on the scheme of Ignatius; and the weight of his judgment carried with it that of the two Cardinals conjoined with him. Ignatius, not discouraged, had recourse to prayer—he reminded our Saviour of His promise; then, in the name of himself and all his Society, he vowed to God that the Sacrifice of the Mass should be offered three thousand times in thanksgiving when the confirmation they prayed for was granted. It seemed as if the time which our Lord had set was not come; nor could any one ever tell how it happened, unless by Divine influence, that one day Guidiccioni desired that the Chapters of the Institute should be read to him; he then examined them himself, and his opinion was at once reversed. He approved the whole completely; he announced to his colleagues that, though he thought as before on the danger attached to Religious Communities, yet the Institute proposed by Loyola was so different from the others, so excellently planned, and so adapted to the necessities of the time, that he could willingly join them in recommending its confirmation to the Pope. They acquiesced, and the report thus presented, obtained from Paul III. the Bull confirming the Society, and which begins "Regimini militantis ecclesiæ." It limited the number of the Professed to sixty; but three years after this restriction was removed.

Cardinal Contarini had doubtless a large share in this result. Ignatius, writing to his cousin Pietro Contarini, tells him that his Holiness has formally given his approbation of the Company, and thanks Pietro for the trouble which he had taken in procuring the favour of the Cardinal, who had been one of their most efficient patrons with the Pope.

Dominic Soto, the eminent Dominican theologian, and one of the most learned men of the day, heard with indignation of the exemptions from



PAPAL CASTLE OF TIVOLI, WHERE PAUL III. APPROVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 263.

choir duties which was granted to the Society of Ignatius. Any Community, he declared, which failed in the exact and frequent celebration of Divine service in the sanctuary, in so far fell short of the spirit of its rule. "I mean," said he, "to speak of the old Orders; for as for any new Institute that would claim exemption from this obligation, it could not have any right to call itself a Religious Order at all."

But this was a mistaken judgment. St. Dominic himself allowed his Community to make its commencement without a choir; the Military Orders, and those devoted to works of charity, had none; in the strictest monasteries those are exempted who are teachers, preachers, or missionaries. Pope Gregory the Great forbade that the deacons who had to preach should chant in the choir. Many Religious Houses were established solely or chiefly for those who seek there a refuge and a shelter, where they may save their own souls; the Society of St. Ignatius was to labour constantly in teaching in colleges and in preaching, hearing confessions, catechising, giving retreats and missions; and the public chanting of Divine office in choir is incompatible with such work—the end and aim of the Order.

The Pope's Bull had not given any name to the new Society, Ignatius would use none but that which he had declared to his associates at Vicenza, and the title of "Society of Jesus" had been inserted in the formula approved by Paul III. St. Ignatius said in after years, to his secretary Polanco, that he would have resisted the will of God, if he had hesitated to give this name to his Institute. He seems to have understood that this was part of the promise given to him at La Storta, and when Miguel Torres, in 1554, wrote to him from Spain, that the title excited jealousies, Ignatius answered, "that it had a deeper root than the world knew of, and it could not be altered." This was at a time when the passionate attacks and false statements of the Sorbonne made a considerable impression on even unprejudiced minds. Two of his Society conversing with the Cardinal de la Cueva at Rome, were unable to persuade him that the name was rightly chosen; because, he said, it would appear presumptuous and excite the envy of other Orders. They repeated this to Ignatius. "If they will not call us the Company of Jesus," said he, "let them say the Congregation or the Order of Jesus; but I do not think the name of Jesus can ever be taken from us."[1]

[1] Pope Sixtus V., when Acquaviva was General, revived this dispute, and ordered the Father to forbid his Provincials ever in future to use the obnoxious designation. Acquaviva complied, and

The letters I.H.S. upon the seal used by its members are merely the sacred monogram, an abbreviation of Jesus. A seal is said to have been used by Loyola with his own initial Y standing for Yñigo under the I.H.S. The official seal as General in place of the Y has a crescent between two stars, and the legend SIGILLVM : · PRÆPOSITI : · SOCIETATIS : · JESV. Impressions of three of his private seals exist, the first bearing I.H.S. only, the second having in addition the three nails with their points crossed downwards, and the third like the second, but with two palm branches like a wreath encircling the sacred letters.

SEAL OF SOCIETY.

One evening after dark the door bell of the Torre del Melangolo rang. Ignatius, in his humility filling the office of porter, opened it, and a boy entered, dressed in the rich apparel worn by the pages of great lords. He seemed about fourteen years of age. He asked to be admitted, and then told his story. His name was Pedro de Ribadeneira; he had been ordered by his master, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to accompany him that morning into the country; but Pedro thought a day's liberty in Rome would be more agreeable, so he did not go; and now he was afraid to return to the palace. Ortiz had desired him when he first came to Rome to visit Ignatius, and therefore he came now to ask his intercession.

He was the son of a noble lady of Toledo,[1] who had consecrated him to the Blessed Virgin before his birth. He was well educated; his mother, however, was a widow, and unable alone to control the effervescent and fiery temper which showed itself early in the child. At seven years old he ran to stop a runaway mule, which severely injured him; some while after a playfellow broke his leg.[2] The confinement that followed these accidents produced the happiest effects. When, in the year 1540, Cardinal Farnese with his attendant prelates arrived at Toledo, bearing the Pope's condolences to Charles on the death of the Empress Isabella,

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brought the decree to the Pope, who seems to have been appeased by this ready obedience, and let the affair drop. His successor, Gregory XIV., finally decided the question. In a Bull published June 28, 1594, he gave his formal approbation of the Institute and name of the "Society of Jesus." The name *Jesuit* was first used, it is said, by Calvin, in his "Institute of the Christian Religion." It is found in the Register of the Parliament of Paris, in 1552. It was never used at that time by the Society itself, being meant as a sign of contempt, just as was the word *Christian* in the outset. In Italy they were called Chierici Regolari, or erroneously *Teatini;* in Portugal, Apostoles; and in Spain, Inigistas.

[1] Caterina de Villalobos; her husband was Alvaro Ortiz de Cisneros; his grandfather was Governor of Toledo.

[2] The playfellow was Dionisio Vasquez, who afterwards, like Pedro, became a Jesuit.

Ribadeneira, who was allowed at all times to run into the Nunciatura, just opposite his mother's house, attracted by these splendid visitors, waited diligently on the Cardinal at his repasts, in accordance with the custom of those times, and seems to have pleased all the party. Even the rigid Guidiccioni, who accompanied the embassy, became interested in the intelligent and comely boy, and suggested to Cardinal Farnese that he should carry him to Rome. Doña Caterina was well pleased, because she wished her son to be among priests. Pedro heard the proposal with delight, but it was the prospect of novelty and adventure that charmed him. At Rome he was instructed along with the other noble youths of the Farnese household in letters, in horsemanship and gymnastics, fencing and dancing; these were congenial and easy to him, but in self-control he seems to have made small progress. Once at an entertainment given by the Pope to the members of his family, the Farnese, in his palace, their pages were standing behind with lighted torches in their hands. Pedro suddenly rushed upon another page who was waiting on his master near him, and dashed the blazing torch at his head. The whole place was in an uproar. He said the other page was making faces at him. At the following Candlemas, all the Court and their attendants received blessed candles from the Pope's own hand; each taking it reverently kissed the cross on the Pope's slipper. But Ribadeneira, either ignorant or saucy, kissed the Pope's hands. Paul III. asked who the youth was, but did not express displeasure. Altogether Pedro was tired of his town life, and ready for any mischief. He disobeyed an order to accompany the Cardinal into the country, and when the boy had enjoyed his day's freedom, and knew that he would be missed at home, an unwonted timidity appears to have seized him, probably a consciousness that after being long a favourite he had become insupportable, and could not proceed further with impunity. He sought refuge with St. Ignatius.

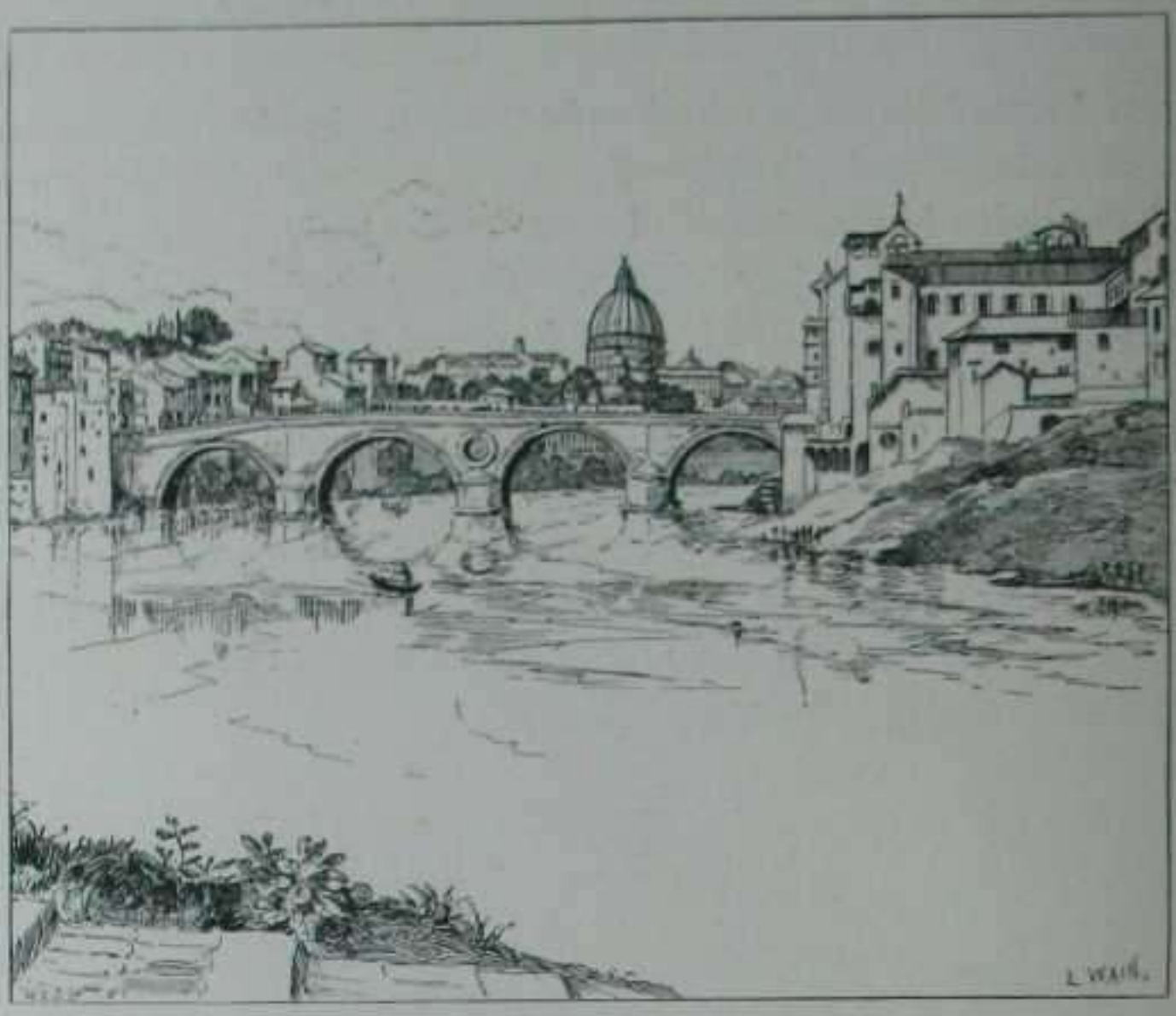
The Saint received him with the utmost kindness; the other priests were equally paternal. They kept him that night, and next day Ignatius went to Cardinal Farnese, whom he knew well: Farnese only laughed, promised forgiveness, and desired that Pedro should return. But these few hours had produced a wonderful change in the boy's mind. He now wished to remain with the Fathers. He went back to the palace and to some other places only to find friends whom he might consult, as Ignatius bade him, on his choice of life. The step appeared too rapid and extreme to all ordinary judgments; he was hardly fifteen, and the contrast with his former life seemed too great for a boy so young. But Ignatius saw extraordinary promise in Ribadeneira, and thought with a

precocious and turbulent nature like his, it was best to begin soon. He kept him in the house; and at last, in September 1540, he received him formally into the novitiate. Doña Caterina heard the news with pious joy. He was made to retain at first his ordinary dress; it was impossible yet to be quite sure of him; he had not gone through the "Exercises," nor even received his first Communion. And at one time he regretted the splendours and pleasures of the Court; his old impatience and wilfulness seemed to revive. St. Ignatius reproved without the least effect. Pedro was only irritated. Then Ignatius had recourse, as usual with him, to prayer, and earnestly asked that this soul might be given him. He sent for Pedro, who, almost as soon as Ignatius began to speak, burst into tears, and said, "Yo los haré, padre, yo los haré—I will make them;" meaning the "Exercises." He passed through these, made his confession to Codure, and received the Holy Eucharist at Christmas of 1540, the first Christmas after the Society of Jesus had been recognised as an Order.

The two years of his novitiate did not pass without many outbreaks. He disliked early rising, and took to lying down with his clothes on, to save the time appointed for dressing. This was against the rules of order and cleanliness, and censured accordingly. When he was bidden to sweep the house, he filled it with dust; when he went about, he banged the doors, clattered down the staircase, ran or jumped through the corridors. The grave Fathers began to think Ignatius had introduced a monkey into the house, and one day the Master of the Novices, following the youth into the room when Ignatius sent for him, complained that he was unmanageable, that he disturbed the peace of the house, and that they could do nothing with him. The Saint appeased the Novice-master, quieted the other Fathers, who urged a dismissal, by assuring them Pedro had made much progress already, and would hereafter be a worthier subject than those who had less effervescence to subdue. The boy really tried, and in part succeeded; he tied something to his legs, that he might remember not to run downstairs; he made less noise, and took pains when he was ordered to dress the dinner. Once, an egg pasty was to be added to the usual fare, because Ignatius had a guest. Pedro, expecting a compliment, placed it on the table himself; but when the crust was broken, it proved to be all burnt up. Ignatius discerned the boy's conceit, and said, "How dare you show yourself, after making such a dish as this? Leave the room." He once asked him "if he knew what it was to be a secretary?" "It is to be faithful in keeping secrets," said Pedro. "Since that is your idea," said Ignatius, "you shall be mine;" and he often gave him letters and other things to transcribe. He wrote

badly, and sometimes made mistakes in spelling. Ignatius, fastidious in the matter of neat writing, had much patience, and corrected his copies repeatedly. One day, to give him a stronger lesson, he threw the papers on the floor, and said, "This foolish boy will never do any good!" Pedro wept, and beat his cheeks for grief. Then he infringed the rules of the refectory, and took his breakfast into his own room to save time; then he made grimaces to another novice, when the *Ministro*, doubtless Codacio, crossed the hall. He incurred long penances by these transgressions; but his courage, and his desire to join the Order, carried him through the two years successfully, though not without many mischances. Less kindness to the boy novice would have caused him to give up hope; less severity would have left him a confirmed trifler.

ST. PIETRO IN MONTORIO, ROME, TRADITIONAL SITE OF MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER.—*See pp.* 275, 279.



PONTE SISTO—THE BRIDGE WAS BUILT BY SIXTUS IV. IN 1473.—*See p.* 279.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ST. IGNATIUS, FIRST GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY—1541.

IT now became necessary for the new Society to proceed to the choice of a Superior. Hitherto they had none, for Ignatius abstained from all supremacy or dictation; on every point, except that of its name, the opinion of all the members was asked; when government was necessary, they exercised it in turn. Now that their rule was approved, they required a head; and in the Easter of 1541, Ignatius summoned all who could come to Rome to meet at Santa Maria della Strada: the others were to send their vote in writing. Only five could be collected. Broët came from Siena, Lainez from Parma, Le Jay from Brescia. Bobadilla was at Bisignano, in Calabria; there the inhabitants petitioned the Pope that they might retain him, and the Pope forbade him to return. He had not time to send his written vote, but afterwards declared that he would have chosen like the rest.

In prospect of this election, Xavier and Rodriguez had left their votes

sealed up at Rome. Favre sent his, copied twice over, for fear of accident, from Worms, where he was attending the Diet. Those who could come reached Rome as soon as possible, because there was so much to do. They had desired their Father Ignatius to form a plan for them; this was now considered, closely examined and adopted. Then the election was deferred till April 7, that all might pass three days in prayer; meanwhile they were to abstain from consulting with one another. On the 7th the sealed papers were opened. Ignatius was named by all. Lainez wrote:—

I, Diego Lainez, moved only by desire for the glory of the Lord Jesus and the saving of souls, choose Master Ignatius of Loyola for my Superior and that of the Society of Jesus, in testimony whereof I have signed my name.—This 4th April, 1541.

Salmeron wrote:—

I, Alonso Salmeron, most unworthy member of this Society, having prayed to God, and according to my judgment maturely considered the matter, choose and declare, for my part, as Superior of the whole Congregation, Master Ignatius de Loyola, who, according to the wisdom given him by God, as he begat us in Christ, and fed us with milk as babes, so now, being stronger in Christ, he will guide us onwards with the solid food of obedience, and lead us into the fat pastures of Paradise and to the Fountain of Life. So that when he shall restore this little flock to Jesus Christ the Great Shepherd, we may be truly called a people of His pasture, and sheep of His hands; that he himself may joyfully say, "Lord, of these whom Thou hast given me I have not lost one," which may He, Jesus, the Good Shepherd, deign to grant us. Amen. This is my decision.—Written at Rome, 4th day of April, 1541.

Xavier had left a paper in which he declares that he adheres beforehand to all the Constitutions that shall be framed by the Society, even if there be but two or three members to represent it. He charges Lainez to make the three vows on his behalf. And he gives his vote thus:—

I.H.S. I, Francis, affirm and declare, in no way influenced by man, and speaking from my conscience, that, in my opinion, we should elect for Superior to our Society, whom we may all obey, our first and true Father, Don Ignatius. He, who has collected us with great pains and much labour, will be best able to govern us, and advance us in what is good; for he, better than any one, knows each of us. And after his death—I speak as I judge in my soul, and as if I were to die immediately—I think that Father Peter Favre ought to be his successor. God is my witness, that I speak only according to my own mind; and as it is the truth, I subscribe it with my hand. Given in Rome, March 15, 1540.—FRANCIS.

The vote of John Codure is written at the greatest length of any. It is dated March 5, 1540, and speaks of the mission to Ireland, to which Ignatius alluded in the letter to his nephew at Loyola. But as it was deferred at that time, Codure remained at Rome.

He writes, in giving his vote, that as he is about to depart for Ireland by order of the Pope, and the distance is great, he thinks it best to name in writing the Father who he thinks ought to be Superior of the Company.

It is he whom I declare I have always known zealous for the honour of God, and most ardent for the good of souls, who ought to be placed above all, because he always made himself least of all, and ministered to all, our honourable Father Don Ignatius de Loyola; after whom, I think, should be named the honourable Father Don Peter Favre, distinguished for not less virtue. This is charity before God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ: nor otherwise could I say, if I knew this to be the last hour of my life. May 5, 1540.

Ignatius himself in his vote would name no one. He declared that he accepted beforehand for Superior whoever should be chosen by the majority:—

I.H.S. Excluding myself, I give my vote, in our Lord, that he may be our Superior who will be named by the majority of votes. I give it indefinitely, *boni consulendo.* If, however, the Company should think differently, and consider it better and more advantageous for the glory of God our Lord that I should name some one, I am ready to do it. Rome, April 5, 1541.—IÑIGO.

When Ignatius found himself unanimously named Superior, he declared that he could not accept the office. He represented his faultiness and incapacity, that he had led for nearly thirty years a worldly and sinful life, and that his weak health made it impossible for him to sustain so great a burden. He told them they had erred in thinking him fit to be their Superior, that their persistence in electing him would overwhelm him with grief.

Undoubtedly he was sincere in saying this, but the reasons he gave were not the sole motives that withheld him from assuming such a responsibility. They may be seen in his conduct during the last few years, when, after having obtained his chosen adherents, and formed them by the "Exercises" according to the plan he had marked out for his Society, he withdrew from all appearance of authority, in all the proceedings that became necessary as the work developed, and acted always in concert with the whole Community, and as if their delegate; assuming no weight or precedence, avoiding to appear as the founder of the Order, or to let it be called by his name. This was so marked, that before the election the associates referred to their having been hitherto without a leader.

It is easy to believe that when he had no longer any anxiety for his beloved Institute, and saw it carried onwards by Christ Himself, he would have gladly sought again the Divine communications granted him at Manresa, and taken refuge from the world in the tranquillity of simple obedience. He thought that he would lose much in the interruption of his private devotions, when his time would have to be given to others, and he had nothing to gain that he cared for.

He made all the efforts in his power to procure another election. He obtained by earnest entreaty of his associates that they would resume their votes, and give them anew with fresh light and direction; he begged them to pray constantly meanwhile for heavenly guidance. They agreed; they met again after three days, and they unanimously voted as before.

Ignatius still remonstrated and refused. He would have entered on fresh arguments. Lainez arose and said, "Father, yield to the will of God, for if you do not, the Company may dissolve itself, so far as I am concerned; for I am resolved to recognise no other than the head whom God has chosen."

Ignatius then said he would submit himself to the decision of a third party. He would lay his soul open before his confessor, and then abide by his opinion, whether he should agree to their choice or not. The confessor appealed to was a Franciscan, Fra Teodosio, of the convent of San Pietro in Montorio. Ignatius, to be more undisturbed, went thither, and remained three days in prayer and confessing his sins. Then when he had told all his faults and reluctances, he begged of Teodosio to write to the associates and tell them freely the unfitness of the chief they had chosen. Ignatius returned home on Easter Tuesday, April 9. Fra Teodosio brought his written opinion, which was opened and read in presence of all. He declared that Ignatius was obliged to submit to the desires of his companions, and to accept the office imposed on him.

While Ignatius was in the monastery of San Pietro, a young lay-brother, named Matteo, was suddenly possessed by a devil, who caused him horrible sufferings, and resisted the prayers and exorcisms of the Friars Minor. Ignatius led the young man into his chamber, prayed over him, and brought him out entirely cured; and the story adds that the devil in revenge tried to stifle Ignatius that night, compressing his jaws so that they were tender for many days after. But when, by a great effort, Ignatius uttered the name of Jesus, the evil spirit fled.

And now, hearing the judgment of Father Teodosio announced before all his Society, Ignatius accepted it as an indication of the Divine will, and entered on the office of General on April 13, 1541.

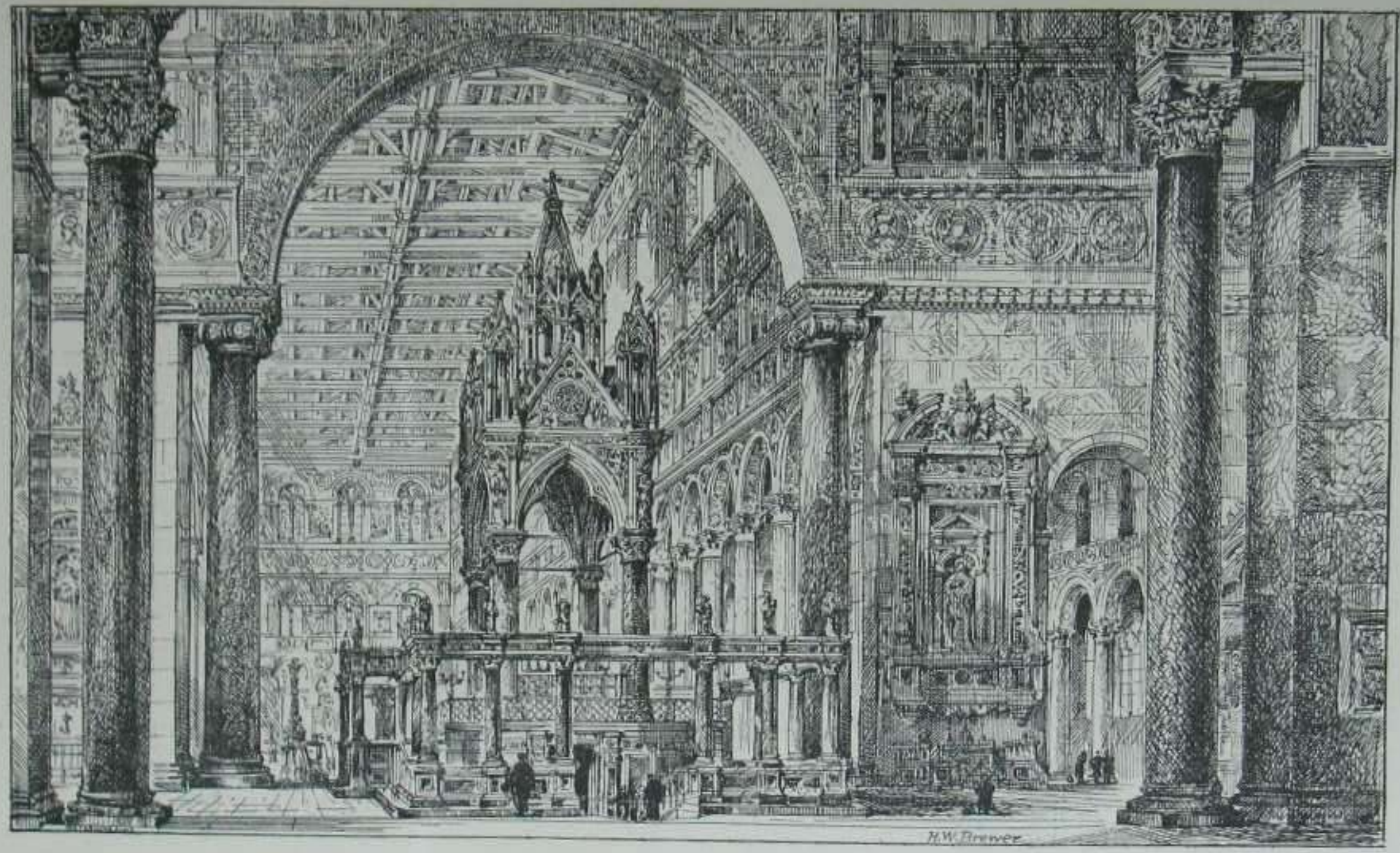
Those to whom the Catholic spirit is a mystery, those who do not know the sweetness of the gall and vinegar tasted for Christ's sake, and how much the humiliation of the Cross is more precious than all earthly power and glory to a soul seeking union with Jesus in the abasement of Calvary, have found it difficult to believe that Ignatius was sincere in his refusal of the Generalship. But others can suppose that, to a mind like his, it would have been a far more inviting prospect to see in thought his cherished Order governed by Favre or Lainez, and carried onwards in the way he had established, he himself retiring into obscurity to guide his beloved Society only by his prayers, persuaded as he was that now our Blessed Lord Himself was its true Head.

Xavier, Codure, and Rodriguez gave their second votes for B. Favre. It was believed that all would have named him if they had made any second choice at all; for Favre was greatly beloved, and Lainez and Bobadilla said that with the exception of St. Ignatius they thought him the most admirable person they had ever seen. But when the Saint was present he appeared as a child.

It remained for the Fathers of the new Society who were then in Rome, Ignatius, Codure, Le Jay, Broët, Lainez, and Salmeron, to take the vows of their solemn profession. The time was to be the next day but one—Friday, April 15; the place St. Paul-beyond-the-Walls, where they expected to be most undisturbed. They first made the Stations of the other six churches, then they went to St. Paul's.

St. Ignatius said Mass at an altar of the Blessed Virgin, which was on the Gospel side of the high altar, the opposite side to the miraculous Crucifix which was believed to have spoken to St. Bridget.[1] Before communicating, he turned towards his five companions kneeling round the altar, and, holding in one hand the Body of our Lord, in the other the form of his vows, he read it aloud, and took the Sacred Host. Then he received the vows of his brethren, which were of the same

[1] It is of ebony, and is still in the Church of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, having been saved when the church was burnt in 1840. The crucifix has, however, been moved from the place it occupied at the time of the vows. The Basilica was greatly altered by the energetic and Philistine Pope, Sixtus V., after the days of St. Ignatius. The high altar in St. Ignatius' time was that which still exists, and to one looking from the nave, as the priest would stand facing the people, the altar of Our Lady would be to the *right* of the altar. It stood in front of two of the columns which then ran parallel to the high altar and divided the transepts. The altar of Our Lady was enclosed by a *grille* of iron, and contained the Blessed Sacrament. The picture which was at the altar was for many years previous to the fire in a small apse at the right hand of the great apse.




SPOT WHERE THE SAINT TOOK HIS LAST VOWS.

ST. PAUL'S OUTSIDE THE WALLS, ROME, RESTORED, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See Appendix.*

form as his own, except that his were made to the Pope, and theirs to Ignatius, as their head. When he had given them Communion and Mass was ended, they visited all the Privileged Altars of the church, then returning to the high altar, they all embraced the Saint, kissing his hand with great reverence and with tears of joy. Before leaving the church they signed a paper, written by Jerome Domenech, who acted as secretary, and doubtless intended to be presented to the Pope. It is superscribed—"Done in the Church of St. Paul-beyond-the-Walls, in the year of our Lord 1541, April the 22nd." It relates that Ignatius of Loyola, and the rest, whose names are given, assembled in chapter in the church, representing the Society of Jesus, lately founded by Pope Paul III., after having invoked the Holy Spirit and offered the Sacrifice of the Mass, have proceeded to elect a Superior, and have unanimously chosen the venerable Master Ignatius of Loyola as their General, and made in his hands the perpetual vows of their Institute.[1]

They then returned to their house in Rome, full of fervour and consolation, their hearts overflowing with thankfulness and the love of God. Codure, who had been the first after Ignatius to pronounce his vows, walked on with Lainez before the others. He seemed to them to be carried along by the Holy Spirit; he wept, he uttered exclamations like one beside himself; his heart was already glowing with the joy upon which he was soon to enter, for his death was at hand. Some time after, as the Irish mission was still delayed, he was made *Socius* to Ignatius, to aid him in the temporal affairs of the Community; in a few months he was seized with a dangerous illness. Ignatius went to offer up the Holy Sacrifice for him at San Pietro in Montorio, and passing the Ponte Sisto on his way thither, he suddenly stopped when half way over the bridge, gazed up to heaven, then said to his companion, F. John Baptist Viola, "Let us return, Codure has just died." Codure had expired at that moment. Ignatius never explained what he had seen, but his disciples believed that he beheld the very vision which he himself described as granted to a pious person in a letter to Favre soon after—Codure surrounded by a blaze of light, accompanied by Angels,

[1] The form subscribed by St. Ignatius, still existing, is thus expressed:—"I, the undersigned, promise to Almighty God, and to the Pope, His Vicar upon earth, in presence of the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, and of the whole court of Heaven and of the Society, perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the form of life contained in the Bull of the Society of Our Lord Jesus, and the Constitutions, already published or hereafter to be published. I promise that I will cause young persons to be instructed in the faith, according to the same Bull, and to the Constitutions. Given at Rome, the Friday, 22nd April, in the Church of St. Paul-outside-the-walls. —IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA."

ascending into heaven. All his companions held Codure to be a perfect character. It was thought that the spirit of John the Baptist, whose name he bore, had been imparted to him. He was born on St. John's Day, in Provence, where the festival is particularly honoured; he died on the day of the Baptist's martyrdom, and at the same age.

That same year (1541) a novice, Stefano Baroelo, was supposed to be dying. Ignatius was offering the Holy Sacrifice for him at San Pietro in Montorio; returning, he said to his companion, Ribadeneira, "Stefano will not die now." Stefano indeed recovered, lived to an old age, and thought to the last that the prayers of Ignatius had prolonged his life.

Ignatius entered on his functions as General by calling the Community on the following morning. He helped for several days in the kitchen, and undertook the humblest labours of the house. Then during forty-six days successively he taught Catechism in the church belonging to the Society, called Sta. Maria della Strada,[1] where more full-grown persons came to learn than children. His custom was first to explain a precept, or some mystery, adapting himself to the slenderest apprehension, and repeating the same thing several times; then he made the practical conclusions or applications that were useful for the conduct of life. His method of teaching was "to use the Gospel as a sword drawn from the scabbard, to show its truths as they are in the Scripture language," unornamented, and not mixed up with any ideas of his own. Ribadeneira, frequently present, says his instructions were more pious than learned, his language very simple, and frequently faulty, from his slight knowledge of Italian. But his words were weighty, and reached the minds of those who listened; they forced reflection, and inspired repentance. When he had done speaking, you saw the people hasten to the confessionals, showing all the signs of profound conviction. Lainez looked on with wonder. "But when I remember," says Ribadeneira, "what I then saw, this does not surprise me. For I recall perfectly the energy and earnestness with which Ignatius spoke; he appeared like one inflamed with the love of God, so that even when silent his countenance moved his auditors, and he could do with them what he liked." Ribadeneira was employed to repeat to the people next day what the Saint had taught the evening before, and, as he feared that defective expression might mar the usefulness of those excellent lessons, he ventured—

[1] The old church was destroyed to make way for the new one, the famous Gesù, but the picture of the Madonna, before which Ignatius prayed so often, still remains, though in a new chapel.

for he was by no means bashful—to suggest that Ignatius should strive to improve his Italian. Ignatius answered, with his wonted humility, "You are right; listen carefully to me when I speak, and remember my mistakes, that you may tell me of them afterwards." Ribadeneira did as he was commissioned, but the faults were many, and the whole instruction seemed full of Spanish idioms. Ignatius only said with a smile, "My Pedro, what can we do against God?" meaning doubtless that Heaven had made him a Spaniard, and it was impossible for him quite to renounce his native tongue. And so he went on, edifying and charming his hearers in his bad Italian as before.

All the accounts that remain to us of the Jesuits of that early time represent them as admirable men, leading a life supernaturally charitable and pious, realising the prophetic picture of St. Vincent Ferrer, when he announced the future Company of Jesus: "Men carrying humility and charity, the pure heart and single spirit, to perfection; men who were to know nothing but in Jesus crucified; to love, speak, and think of Him only; to have no care for themselves; to desire nothing but Heaven, and death, that they might come to it sooner;" who were to cultivate for Christ's sake all their natural gifts to the highest point, yet desire no other reward than still further success in the salvation of souls; who, attaining the most brilliant eminence of eloquence and learning, would lay all at the foot of the cross, and show in their lives and manners such simplicity, sweetness, and innocence, that they would win even hearts hardened by controversy and the cruel fierceness of party zeal.

One instance of conversion by the mere seeing what kind of men these were occurred soon after they were formed into an Order. A young Lutheran preacher, of much talent, came to Rome, expressly to spread the doctrines of his sect. He began by haranguing in the streets against the sins of the Catholic clergy; and when he thought he had won a hearing by attacking the lives of the priesthood, he went on to refute their doctrines. He was arrested and imprisoned. Several ecclesiastics visited him, and tried to convince him by arguments; but these remained without effect. His youth and talents would not probably have saved him from some heavy punishment, had not St. Ignatius offered to take him into his house, and to try what could be done there. In that blessed dwelling the Lutheran saw men who realised the pictures his mind had formed of the early Christians, and who performed all that they taught; he was no longer instigated by opposition, for none disputed with him; he respected the faith which produced such effects, then loved, and then adopted it. When

he was asked afterwards why he had remained unconvinced so long, he said he was not converted by argument, but by the holy and charitable life he had seen around him; he could not believe that its foundation lay in anything but truth.

Soon after they arrived at Rome, a brother of Lainez, Martin by name, appeared there. He had heard unfavourable rumours of Ignatius' orthodoxy, and, dreading lest his brother should be drawn into heresy, he came to judge for himself what Ignatius was. His inquiries ended in his going through the "Exercises," and then entering the Society. He was exemplary and zealous; he devoted himself with such charity to taking care of the sick, that he caught a fever from them, and made an early and most happy death.

"OUR LADY OF SORROWS." REPRODUCTION OF PRINT CARRIED ABOUT HIM BY ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 236.

(*From Engraving in Bollandists.*)

# CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY.—ITALY, PORTUGAL AND INDIA—1540.

IF Palestine had been closed to St. Ignatius and his companions, it was in order that a wider field should be opened to their labours. The very first mission fell to Broët and Rodriguez, who were asked for by the Archbishop of Siena. A convent in that city had lost its old spirit, and his Grace looked to F. Paschase to restore the nuns to their first fervour. The two fathers took with them the young Francis Strada. He was not yet a priest, but he had the gift of a marvellous eloquence. The "Exercises" not only did their work at the convent; but, preached also to the people, they wrought the most wonderful change. A priest had written a play not of the most delicate kind, and even took his part in it on the stage. He was so touched with one of Strada's sermons, that he visited the Fathers and consented to go through the "Exercises." He came out of them with so ardent a desire to repair his fault, that he begged and obtained permission to mount the pulpit with a rope around his neck; and in this fashion of a penitent, he asked forgiveness of all for the scandal he had given. He then retired to a Capuchin convent to pass his days in a life of austerity. So the work went on till Rodriguez was sent off to Portugal, young Strada was called off to preach at stately Montepulciano, and Paschase Broët was recalled to Rome to take part in the election of the General of the infant Society.

Meanwhile the Cardinal of St. Angelo, Ennio Filonardi, carried Lainez and Favre with him to Parma. There they evangelised the town; Lucrezia Gonzaga, Countess of Mirandola, and Giulia Zerbini, became under their direction missionaries amongst the rich and poor of their own sex.

At Bagnorea, in Tuscany, a most pernicious discord had arisen between the clergy and the people. Claude Le Jay was sent there, with the consent—not entirely cordial—of both parties, to find a way of restoring peace. Possessing the spirit of his Institute, prudence united with zeal, he proceeded cautiously, convened the leaders of both sides, and explained his errand to

them in such a manner as conciliated all. Then he began to preach; people crowded to his sermons; his confessional was never empty, day or night, while he could be found there. And, finally, the grievances he came to redress wholly disappeared; hostilities were banished by common consent; those whom he found enemies, now became friends, embraced each other with Italian effusiveness, and desired to receive the Holy Communion together, in token that their peace was founded on Christian charity, to be impaired no more.

The kingdom of Naples was disturbed by the dissensions of the Isle of Ischia. Ignatius was entreated to send Bobadilla, whose pacific embassy was successful to such a degree that they refused afterwards to part with him, even when summoned by the Saint himself. The city and kingdom were in an incredible state of demoralisation. So had it long been; and yet the instincts of the people still clung to the Church, and craved for new Religious Orders, as the old ones had become contemptible from the evil ways into which so many of their members had fallen.

Bobadilla found that these scandals still existed unchecked, for the Viceroy, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, was unwilling to take desperate measures. His successor, Pedro de Toledo, was a governor of a different stamp, and introduced laws that enforced a great advance in at least outward decorum. It was no longer possible to defy or evade these laws; for Toledo, though a wise and temperate man, yet, like his kinsman of Alva, proceeded with excessive rigour, and succeeded at last in extirpating the "schools of false swearing," which had long turned into a mockery the courts of law. He made it death to carry a ladder at night, because decent women were often attacked by men entering houses through the windows; and he actually beheaded one unhappy gentleman who was caught escaping in this way, though the Princesses of Salerno and Sulmona, and almost all the nobility of Naples, interceded for his life.

But it was long before the energy of Toledo could reduce this excitable and luxurious people to good order, and moreover relapses were always frequent. Bobadilla found the difficulty of reforming the public morals balanced by the equal difficulty of keeping the more intelligent and cultivated minds free from the German heresies which had penetrated everywhere. Against these nothing had been so effectual as the preaching of Fra Bernardino, now better known by the name of Ochino, whose pathetic and flowing eloquence inspired his crowded congregations for three or four years with faith and compunction, and moved even the Emperor himself, not much given to sensibility. Ochino, however, was now absent, and reports had reached Naples that he too was sidling into Luther's views. The Jews

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.

*(From an Engraving of Marco Pitteri, 1703-1787.)*

of Naples, fulfilling the heaven-directed destiny of their race, were become enormously rich and numerous, spreading over whole districts, occupying suburbs and large villages of their own; and many Moors and Spanish Jews, flying from the rigours of the Inquisition in Spain, had sought shelter there. Then attempts were made, long defeated and renewed, to introduce that redoubtable tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Charles V., when he was at Naples in 1536, published an edict which threatened death and confiscation of goods to persons who held communication with a heretic, or even any one suspected only of heresy. Yet five or six years after this, the works of Melanchthon and Erasmus were largely circulated, till the Viceroy ordered that they should be collected and burned, which was done before the gate of the Archbishop's palace. A publication of Valdez, or suggested at least by him, called "Il Beneficio di Cristo," found immense favour among the educated classes. It treated of the difficult subject of Justification, and was condemned to such strict extermination, that till very lately not a single copy was known to exist.

The Neapolitans hastened to follow the example of Siena, now taking the lead among the towns in all matters of "*le belle lettere*," and introduced dramatic representations; a novelty soon domiciled in that kingdom. Several academic societies of literary persons, such as the Italian taste delights in, had lately been formed;[1] Toledo suppressed all, lest heresy should insinuate itself into their discussions. As far as possible all erudition and literature were discouraged. It followed almost as a matter of course that many minds took to controverted points and forbidden books, as a part of that enjoyment of which this ruler's rigour sought to deprive them.

The Colonna family, eminent in wealth and influence, were earnestly in favour of intellectual research, and welcomed talent under all its forms. Vittoria Colonna, whose widowhood was passed in devotion, study, and elegant composition, and who was the friend of Michael Angelo, Contarini, and Pole; Giulia Gonzaga, and her husband, Duke of Palliano; Galeazzo Caracciolo, nephew of Paul IV., then only commencing his remarkable adventures; and many more of the noblest in the kingdom, all encouraged Valdez and his adherents, but still with the utmost profession of deference to the Chair of St. Peter. They thought with Clavio, "that no corruption in the Church can justify us in receding from its communion. . . . Our only thought should be, how the old institutions can be improved and purified from all defect."

[1] As the Sireni, the Ardenti, the Incogniti.

But some had not the wisdom to stop here, and broke loose from the obligations of morality as well as the precepts of religious faith.

Paul III. at last consented to establish a Tribunal of the Inquisition in Naples, at the earnest petition of Toledo, who thought to introduce it quietly in the Pope's name, without arousing the national jealousy of Spanish jurisdiction. But the Neapolitans resisted so vigorously, that Toledo could not carry his point even partially, till towards the latter part of St. Ignatius' life, when a court was formed with something of the power and the objects of the Spanish Inquisition, intended to prepare the people for its complete establishment. The *Teatini*, encouraged doubtless by the reigning Pope, himself a Theatine, denounced many persons to this court, though, as some maintained, on very slight grounds. Many of the defeated and scattered Waldenses and Albigenses had taken refuge in Calabria, and endeavoured to remain concealed, but before the reign of Philip ended they were hunted out and exterminated.

The Society of Jesus did not possess any college in Naples till 1551, when Salmeron was sent to follow up the work begun by Bobadilla. No Order, except the Theatines, was so much beloved and respected there; and they became highly prosperous. They were first lodged in cramped premises by the Duke of Monteleone, where as usual they began to teach religion gratuitously to all classes, "setting an example to the secular priests." Then the Neapolitans, "moved by their charitable and pious labours," bought for them the Casa Maddaloni, and built a church called the Gesù, which soon became too small for the crowds that flocked to it. Afterwards their splendid College was begun, on which the Prince della Rocca alone spent 20,000 ducats; and the other magnificent buildings all over the kingdom soon followed.[1]

Before the approval of the Society, an unexpected mark of confidence in Ignatius had come through a former enemy. King Joam III. of Portugal, desiring to evangelise his newly-acquired possessions in the Indies, asked the advice of Diego Gouvéa—formerly the master of Ignatius at Ste. Barbe, and his fierce opponent—who now said he knew no men so zealous and so capable as the companions of Ignatius. Then, by the King's desire, he wrote to his former pupil at Rome. Ignatius answered, that he and his associates

[1] These gave occasion to the sarcastic remark of Giannone, that while the Professed houses, in which the rule of poverty was observed, were but twenty-one, the number of colleges was two hundred and ninety-three. But, since in the colleges a few Jesuits resided with some hundred scholars, whom it was not intended to withdraw from the reasonable enjoyments of life, even this difference, supposing it accurately stated, would not be excessive. Individually, each Jesuit, wherever placed, was strictly faithful to his rule which forbade his possessing any property.

were ready to go whithersoever the Pope should send them. Gouvéa transmitted this answer to Lisbon. King Joam, henceforward the warm and active friend of the Company, ordered his ambassador, Pedro Mascarenhas, to press the affair with Ignatius and the Pope. Mascarenhas, exaggerating his instructions, asked for six of the Saint's companions. Ignatius offered two. "We are but ten altogether," he said, "and two are already wanted as missionaries by the Pope. How many then would remain for the rest of the world?"

Mascarenhas appealed to the Pope; but his Holiness refused to interfere. Bobadilla and Rodriguez were named for the Indian mission. Rodriguez had but just arrived from Siena; he left Rome on the 5th of March, and embarked at Civita Vecchia for Portugal. Bobadilla came from Naples, but suffered so much from rheumatism that he was not able to proceed; the impediment seemed providential, for Xavier was appointed in his place. St. Ignatius was ill at the time. He sent for Francis, and said to him, "You know, Brother Master Francis, that by his Holiness' orders, two of ours have to go to India, and that Bobadilla, who was fixed upon, is detained by sickness. The ambassador is in such a hurry, he will wait no longer. Now God means to employ you on this mission." Xavier, delighted at the news, answered, "Father, here I am, ready to sail!"

He heard his destiny on the 15th of March 1540; next day he started for Portugal with Mascarenhas. Ignatius sent by him a letter to his nephew at Loyola:—

Obliged as I am to dispatch immediately some of my companions to the Indies, to Ireland, and to Italy, I cannot write to you at such length as I should wish to do. The bearer of this letter is Master Francis Xavier of Navarre, son of the lord of Xavier, and one of our Company. He goes by order of the Pope, and in accordance with the request of the King of Portugal, besides two others, who are proceeding by water. I must inform you that the ambassador of the King of Portugal, with whom Master Francis travels, is much attached to us, and we owe him a great deal. He hopes to be of service to us, if he can, with his King, and every other person, in all things which concern the service of God our Lord. I beg you, therefore, to receive him with all the courtesy and hospitality you are able. And if Araoz is there, let him take this letter as if his own, and so he will give the same credence to Master Francis at my petition, as he would give to myself.

I beg much to be remembered to the lady of the house, and to all whom the house contains. May Our Lord be ever on your side and be your aid.

Poor in goodness,

Iñigo.

Rome, *March* 16, 1540.[1]

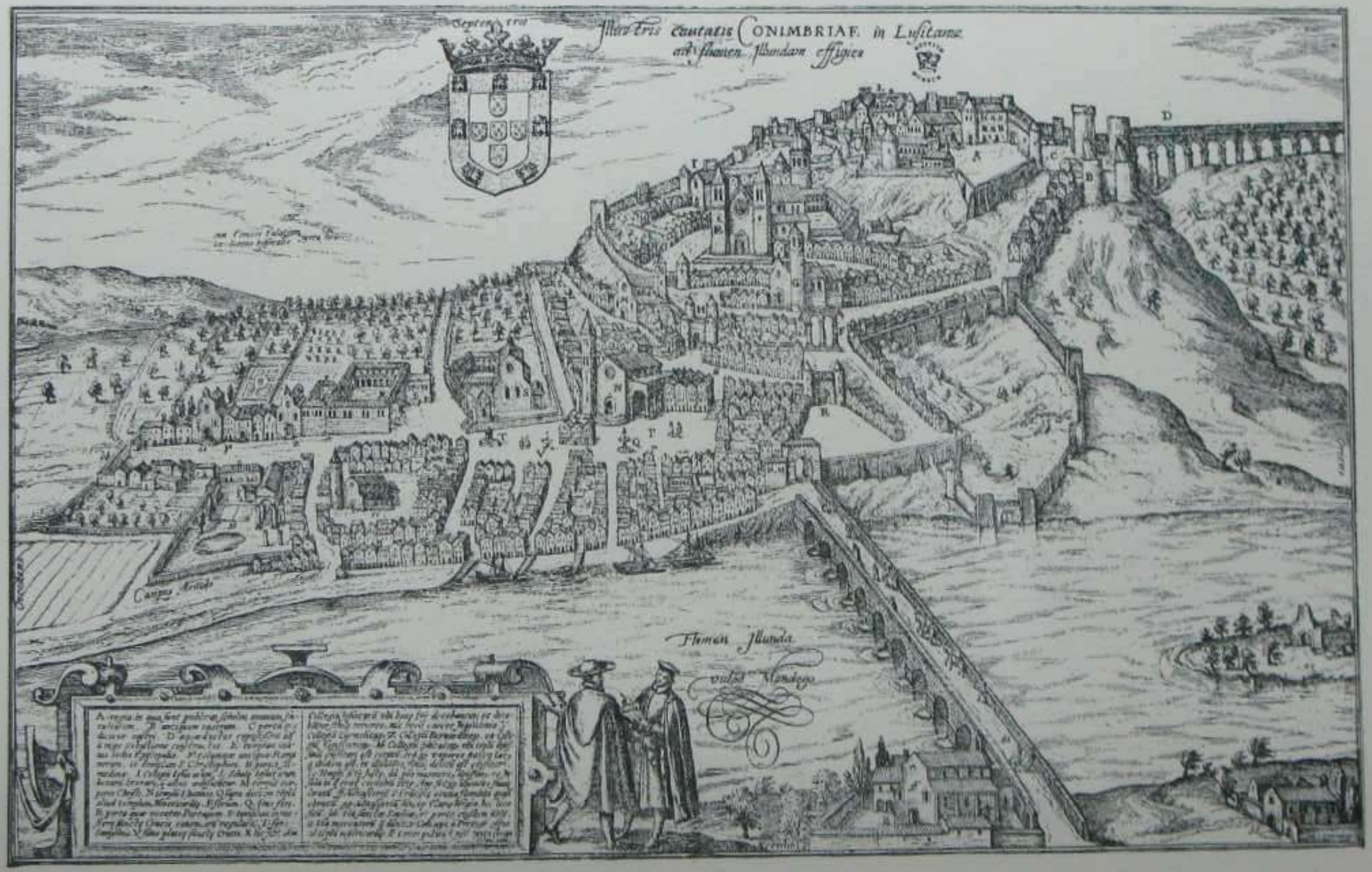
[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 83.

When Xavier appeared before Ignatius in his travelling equipment—as all did who left the Torre del Melangolo—in order that Ignatius might see they were sufficiently provided with the small stock of comforts which was accounted necessary, he wore only his old and much patched cassock. St. Ignatius, knowing that he would have to cross the Alps in the stormy month of April, took off the flannel vest he was himself wearing, and made Xavier put it on, whose whole stock of luggage was his Breviary. He dismissed him with the words he commonly used to those who left him for a distant mission—"Ite, omnia incendite et inflammate"—"Go, set the whole world on fire and in flame;" and the command was never uttered to a more fervent heart than Xavier's. St. Francis accompanied the ambassador to Bologna, where he stayed a few days. He found he was well remembered; for, when his arrival became known, crowds assembled in the Church of Santa Lucia before daybreak to hear him say Mass. He was constantly occupied in preaching or in hearing confessions. He wrote to his "Father," Ignatius, in a letter dated 31st March, "I have much more to do in Bologna than at San Luigi" (in Rome).

On the day of his departure a multitude pressed round him to receive his blessing. He recommended himself to their prayers that they might meet him in heaven; for, to all appearance, they would never see him again on earth. Then they burst into tears and lamentations, and some wanted to accompany him wherever he went.

It was in memory of Xavier that the Society of Jesus was afterwards invited to Bologna, and the Chapel of Santa Lucia, where the Saint usually offered the Holy Sacrifice, was given to them. The chamber which he occupied was converted into a chapel; and the Bolognese piously believed that many favours were granted to them through his intercession.

The royal intendant at Lisbon, by order of the King, begged St. Francis to make out a list of all he required on his voyage, as Joam desired him to be treated as his character of Papal Nuncio demanded. But Xavier coveted nothing but the poverty of his Divine Master, and could only be induced to accept for himself and his two companions a few books and three rough sailors' coats to shield them from the cold of the Antarctic Seas, through which the Portuguese sailors used then to navigate. The Admiral de Souza invited him to dine with him while on board. This he absolutely declined. He accepted, however, his meals, but only to divide them among the sick, to whom he threw open his cabin, and of it made an hospital. Though violently sea-sick for two months, he lived on the broken food he begged from the merchants on board. His whole time was given to




*X.* First College of the Society. *S.* Church of Santa Cruz, where they stayed on their arrival. *E.* Old Cathedral. *L.* College of the Society, opened in 1545. *A.* University, formerly Royal Palace.

COIMBRA, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

corporal and spiritual works of mercy, and, just as he had been when in the suite of Mascarenhas, he was the slave and the father of all.

Joam III., charmed with the two Fathers whom Ignatius had sent, was unwilling to part with them. He kept them near him, and during the summer and autumn much negotiation passed between himself, the Pope, who left both parties at liberty to do what they pleased, and St. Ignatius. At last it was proposed by Ignatius that Xavier should be sent to India, and Rodriguez remain in Portugal, where he might found a seminary of the Society, and so provide for the wants of both countries. King Joam acceded; and on the 7th of April 1541, St. Francis sailed from Portugal to enter on his mission to the Indies, leaving Rodriguez to found those seminaries, whence for 200 years an ample stream of learning and sound faith flowed from Portugal over a large part of the world. There were subsequently times when the proceedings of Rodriguez displeased his kind Father, but none when Ignatius ceased to entertain for him the most indulgent affection.

King Joam, resolved to fix and spread the Society of Jesus in Portugal, asked the Pope to transfer some vacant benefices to the use of a college in Lisbon, and in 1542 he gave to Rodriguez the house and Church of Sant' Antonio Abad.[1] Rodriguez took possession of it along with his disciples Bernardino Scalecati and Gonçalvo Medeiros. That same year he commenced the College at Coimbra; he opened it with twenty-five pupils; in August there were sixty; and in 1546, the notable year when the Jesuits began to take possession of their function as educators of Europe, or we may say of the world,[2] Coimbra was the first which admitted youths not intended for the priesthood; it became the most important of all the establishments the Society had in the peninsula. Ignatius, in accordance with his system, filled it with foreigners; he abolished all ties of country as well as of relationship: his disciples were to be citizens of the world, sons of our Lord and of His dear Mother only, and he thought they gained a useful knowledge of human nature by their being sent to distant places; everywhere they spoke the language of the country, even among themselves. The Portuguese, at first, did not like this; they were not well pleased with priests who came from cities where heresy prevailed, and the students had to retire; but Rodriguez and his associates soon vanquished all distrust and prejudice, and the Society was nowhere more popular and successful than in Portugal and Spain.

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[1] The church is still standing as in the days of Father Rodriguez.
[2] Lancillotti had taught Latin in Goa the year before.

When Ignatius bade Simon accept the charge of tutor to the King's son, he continued to practise the utmost humility of life and habits. Once when travelling with the Prince, he sent back the horse provided for him, and took an ordinary baggage-mule. A prelate who met him reproved him, and offered him a better mount: "You ought," said the prelate, "to consider the majesty of the King." "I strive to honour Him Who is my true Master," said Simon, "by that humility which belongs to my profession." He said the Court was a prison and a purgatory to him; that the two events in his life which had most displeased him were—when he was hindered from going to the Indies, and when he was forced to take up his abode in a palace. Once, in a time of great distress, he asked assistance of the King; he received immediately 50,000 crowns, but would not keep more than 17,000. Just then the Turks landed on the coast of Portugal. Simon Rodriguez considered that the King would need all that his treasury contained to equip his defences, and sent back nearly the whole gift; and King Joam accepted and used the money, but soon after settled a large and permanent endowment upon the college.

Rodriguez made it a strict rule that no one in the house was to be a day without doing something to improve or edify some fellow-creature; if any one had omitted this, he was to accuse himself before supper to the Superior, without whose permission he might not presume to eat with the rest.

Sometimes Simon sent out the Fathers at night, to cry out in the streets, "Hell is all ready for those who live in sin!" Others went in the evening to the places where two or more streets met, and declaimed in rhyme such truths as—"Death approaches, and yet the sinner does not leave off his sin. Alas, what folly!"

When the Fathers were going to preach in the open air, he would send out some previously to collect an audience; they went about saying, "God invites you even from the squares; let whoever would save his soul, come and listen!" And it was said they always caught some souls.

The incident which has been so often quoted in speaking of the "Exercises" occurred in Coimbra. One who had gone through them was questioned by persons who believed the Jesuits to be sorcerers. "Did they not show you monsters and demons?" said they. "Worse than that!" said the man; "they made me see myself!"

THE CASTLE OF FERRARA, FORMERLY DUCAL PALACE OF THE FAMILY D'ESTE.
*See p.* 230.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE CONSTITUTIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS.

UNTIL St. Ignatius had completed the Constitutions, which proceeded slowly, he thought it necessary to give written rules for the guidance of his children, and he caused his secretary to send to each of the Professed Fathers a copy of the nine following:[1]—

1st. The Fathers were constantly to occupy their hearts with God; whether in their cells or in the world, they were never to leave His Divine presence. The life of Jesus was to be their example. This Divine model must be impressed upon their souls.

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[1] Bartoli, *Vita di S. Ignazio*, l. iii. 1; another version in *Cartas*, t. ii. p. 476.

2nd. They were to see in their Superiors the image of God Himself, assured that obedience is a guide which cannot mislead; to reveal all their thoughts as well as actions to those appointed over them, knowing that we must ever mistrust our own judgment.

3rd. When conversing with their sinful fellow-creatures, they were to use such precautions as would be reasonable in regard to a drowning man, so that two might not perish together. The sinner should be dear to every one of the Society; not only as the child of their common Father, but each should love him as himself. In argument, the greatest vigilance must be used to banish all desire of triumph. There is but one rational end to be proposed in discussion, the establishing of truth; the spirit as well as the words must be guided by this only.

4th. They are to keep silence when necessity does not compel them to speak; and then no worldly, nor vain-glorious, nor idle talk must any way mix in the conversation.

5th. If it please God to work great things through their means, they must count themselves as nothing but a worthless instrument, such as was the jawbone of an ass in the hand of Samson. To be satisfied with our own judgment, or wisdom, or prudence, would be a folly. A Religious must consider himself best rewarded for what he does for his neighbour when he receives reproach and contumely, such as the world gave to the labours of our Divine Lord.

6th. If any Father should fall into an obvious transgression, likely to diminish the esteem in which the whole body was held, they ought not to be discouraged; but should thank God for having shown their weakness, so that they may walk humbly and carefully in future, and that their brethren may take warning; remembering that all are formed from the same clay, and praying earnestly for the defaulter.

7th. During time of recreation they must observe the moderation which the Apostle requires at all times, neither mirthful to excess nor too grave.

8th. They must never neglect an opportunity of doing good for the sake of some greater future good; for this is an artifice of the devil to turn away our minds from the common works which we might perform.

9th. Let each remain firm in his vocation as if its roots were laid deep in the foundations of the Lord's house. For as the enemy often inspires the solitary with the desire of living in a community, so he frequently makes those who are called to convert souls desire solitude, and would fain lead them in a path contrary to that which it is their duty to follow.

In framing the Constitutions which were to regulate his Society through

all time, St. Ignatius proceeded with the utmost circumspection and humility. He prepared himself before he wrote by prayer and meditation; then, after the example of St. Leo, he placed what he had written upon the altar, and offered his plans to God in the Sacrifice of the Mass. He deliberated on every point with extreme patience and caution. A fragment of the journal kept by him, which escaped the flames when he burned all his other papers, a short time before he died, refers to the question he long weighed—whether the churches and sacristies of the houses of the Professed should be allowed to possess endowments. He considered this point during forty days; he wrote down eight reasons on one side, and fifteen on the other, laying the whole as usual before God. Orlandini translates two days of his journal from the Spanish into Latin; he says it is difficult to preserve the spirit of the original. The following is an extract; he often speaks of himself in the third person:—

Saturday, the fifth Mass of the Trinity. During my usual prayer, though there was not much at first, after the second half, his soul felt great devotion, and was exceedingly consoled; it saw also a certain object, and a form of very bright light. While they were making the altar ready, Jesus presented Himself to his mind, and invited me to follow Him; for I am quite convinced that He is the head and guide of the Society, and that it is especially on this account that it ought to practise poverty and renunciation in the highest degree, though there are also other motives, which I have considered in coming to a decision. This idea disposed my mind to fervour and to tears, but also to perseverance. So that, if I had had no tears at this Mass, and those of the following days, the feelings of that time sufficed to support me through all temptations and troubles. While I thought of all this, and was vesting for Mass, my emotions increased. I saw in them a confirmation of the resolve I had taken; I had no other consolations. The Holy Trinity itself seemed to confirm my decision, as the Son communicated Himself thus to me, for I recalled to mind the time when the Father deigned to place me with His Son. When I was vested, the name of Jesus impressed itself upon me more and more; I felt fortified against all attacks. I wept and sobbed afresh. . . . When I had begun the Holy Sacrifice, I received many graces, and pious emotions, and gentle tears, which lasted long. As the Mass proceeded, many inspirations confirmed what I had resolved; and when I raised the Sacred Host, I felt as it were an inward suggestion, and a powerful impulse never to abandon our Lord, in spite of all obstacles; and this was accompanied by a new delight and fresh impressions. This . . . lasted the whole time even after Mass, and throughout the day. Whenever I thought of Jesus this pious feeling and this fixed purpose returned to my mind.

On one point he deliberated ten days, and after deciding passed four more in prayer. He consulted the other Fathers on everything; but usually not till he had well considered the matter himself, and had come to some decision; and it was a common practice of his to write down the reasons

for and against in parallel columns. He withdrew sometimes from all other business to carry on this work. When he was in his room, Benedetto Palma, a novice, was placed at the door that he might not be interrupted. He had read with great attention the rules of other Religious Orders, and employed Polanco to make extracts from them. But while he was writing his own rules, no books were before him, except the Scripture and the "Imitation." Perhaps Cardinal Sega knew this when he said that the art by which the Society of Jesus had been so aptly and admirably formed was Divine, not human, and that St. Ignatius had built it up rather by inspiration than by skill. The enemies of the Jesuits compared the Constitutions to music of perfect harmony, to which are set magical words, by which they said the Jesuits transform those who listen to them into monsters. Ignatius one day asked Polanco,[1] if he thought that God assisted the founders of Religious Orders in framing their rules? Polanco answered that he did believe it. "I think so too," said Ignatius; and this was taken for evidence that he had really received aid from Heaven. His mind was filled with the idea of uniting the active with the contemplative life, combining in some sense the aims of all the Orders then existing. The sentence which stands at the opening of the Constitutions defines his object:—"The end of this Society is not only, with the grace of God, to devote ourselves to the salvation and perfection of our own soul, but also, with the same Divine grace, to labour most earnestly for the salvation and perfection of our neighbour."

Therefore he enjoined mental prayer, self-examination, the study of the Holy Scriptures and sacred literature, frequent receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, spiritual retreats, living in the perpetual presence of God, and other practices of holy men.

But, since his aim was especially to make his disciples useful in the world, an army always ready to fight against the enemies of Christ and the Church, he also trained them to preach and catechise, to become missionaries in all parts of the world, whether among careless Christians, or heretics, or heathen; to hold disputations and controversies with the learned as well as edifying conversation with persons of the world; to visit prisons and hospitals, to receive confessions, to enlighten perplexed consciences and instruct youth.

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[1] Juan Polanco, a young gentleman of Burgos, holding office in the Roman court, with fair hopes of advancement, left all, in 1541, to follow Christ in the Society, and to the great grief of his family, who only knew the Order by the unfavourable stories about De Castro at Paris, whose conduct was attributed to St. Ignatius' influence. The Saint desired Araoz, when in Spain in 1542, to call on Juan's father and disabuse his mind. *Cartas de San Ignacio*, t. i. p. 114.

Education was particularly important in his opinion, as the best means of reforming nations sunk in luxury and unbelief.

He knew that the heretics endeavoured to pervert children, and that in Geneva the little ones were taught songs ridiculing the Catholic Church. But, foreseeing that he would not collect many pupils if his schools instructed in nothing but religion, and, moreover, that the Universities were daily becoming more and more inclined to admit the new doctrines, he endeavoured to form public classes, where should be taught all the sciences that were suitable to professors belonging to a Religious Order. Since astrology and alchemy were then counted among the sciences, this restriction was necessary. The resolution was not made immediately: during four or five years after his Institute was recognised by the Pope, the pupils were taught only the Catechism. The first Fathers, dispersed over the world, had no time for such local work, and the members who were gradually added to them had not yet gained experience enough to teach. St. Ignatius desired they should all perfect themselves, at leisure, in literature, philosophy, theology, and the Scriptures; but the earliest colleges of the Society were for those only who desired to become its members.

The vows are simple or solemn: the simple vows bind irrevocably to the Order; those who take them may be afterwards dismissed, but they cannot withdraw at their own pleasure.

There are various grades in the Society.

1st. The Temporal Coadjutors or Lay-brothers: as the duties of these are limited to helping the Society in temporal matters, they receive no scholastic training; when they are thirty years of age and have been several years in the Society, they may take their final vows.

2nd. The Scholastics, who are engaged in pursuing the course of study prescribed by the Society. After their course of Rhetoric and Philosophy many are employed in teaching Grammar in the Schools of the Society. At Rome the Scholastics lived in the Roman College.

3rd. The Spiritual Coadjutors; as their name implies, they assist the Professed in the duties of the Sacred Ministry. They may be admitted to all posts of authority in the Society except a few of the highest, and sometimes are chosen by preference in order to leave the Professed more at liberty to devote themselves exclusively to the arduous labours of preaching. They are not admitted to the final vows until they have been ten years in the Society and are thirty years of age.

4th. The Professed, who have attained the required standard in learning and virtue, and form in a special and restricted sense the Society. From these are chosen the General and his Assistants, and the Provincials. Their

probation lasts from fifteen to eighteen years, and they must be at least thirty-three years old when they take the four solemn vows.

The Professed of the three vows form an exceptional and so to speak honorary class among the Professed. This privilege, which is bestowed for signal services on those who otherwise would belong to the class of Spiritual Coadjutors, admits to the rank, but not to the special employments of the Professed of the four vows.

And that Jesuits may never degenerate, St. Ignatius gives precise directions how the Novices should be chosen and trained. Those who offered themselves are examined closely in respect of their circumstances. If born in wedlock, of honest parents who had other sons—for an only son Ignatius did not readily admit,—if they had no bad temper or disposition, no infirmity of mind or body, were not betrothed in marriage, nor bound by any obligations, nor had ever belonged to any other Order, they were admitted to their probation. And the Saint was well pleased when these qualifications were found, as so often happened, in young men of noble birth. He said the endowments which fit a man for eminence in the world are highly valuable in the spiritual life; and he welcomed such persons as best fitted to transact the business of the Society, and help on God's work, with sovereigns and men in power.

He allowed none to enter who were of illegitimate birth, or had worn the habit of another Order even for a day, or who had openly professed heretical opinions; all were to be at least fifteen years old, but not more than fifty. He inquired what relations each one had; if any were attracted to enter the Society through a friendship with some of its members; in which case, he desired they should have a longer time for reflection before entering on their novitiate; he demanded perfect openness on the part of the young men, and enjoined absolute secrecy on the Superiors. The Novices are warned that they must devote themselves henceforward exclusively to the service of God. They are asked if they were willing that not only those in authority, but also their companions, should remark their defects or misdoings, and report them to the Superiors; and if they also, in a spirit of charity and obedience, will do the same when required; and they are to promise to accept readily whatever grade shall be assigned them.

The Novices, when admitted, pass a month in retreat, occupied with the "Spiritual Exercises," during which they make a General Confession of their whole life. They were allowed then to assume the ordinary dress of the Society, unless St. Ignatius expressly enjoined them to retain their lay clothes. The Novices are placed in three classes: those designed for the priesthood; those for temporal service; and the Indifferents, ready to become

Priests or Temporal Coadjutors, as the Superiors judge proper. The first novitiate lasts two years. It is devoted wholly to spiritual things; the Novices are to learn something every day by heart, in order to keep the memory in exercise, but they are to abstain from all secular study. They also teach the elements of Christian doctrine to children and the poor. For a month at least they serve the sick in some hospital; for another month they make a pilgrimage of devotion, having no money given them, but subsisting on the charity they receive by the way. The persons who administer at the hospital, or see the pilgrims on their journey, are desired to say what was known or thought of them. Then, if they are destined to be Scholastics, they are removed to another house; there they enter on the course of study marked out by the Founder, but modified in the case of each Novice by the judgment of his Superior, according to his abilities or turn of mind. Besides theology and the Scriptures, each has to study philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, and languages. But Ignatius desired that he should first of all be well exercised in Latin and literature; scholastic theology was not to come till after logic, metaphysics, and moral philosophy. There must be a rigorous examination at each advance to a new study. In each faculty the safest doctrine and most approved authors are to be followed. In the sacred languages, it is not merely exegetical skill they are to acquire, but also the power of defending the version adopted by the Church.

In these suggestions Ignatius remembered how he had wasted his own time at Alcalá, for want of a regular system, and the danger he thought he had incurred in reading a stray work of Erasmus. He objected to his satirical and cynical style, and said that it interfered with a recollected and prayerful spirit. St. Ignatius saw that he had committed a mistake in allowing the works of charity and piety that he delighted in to divert his mind from hard and ungenial studies; he ordered that the Scholastics should not be employed outside, nor pass more than the appointed time in prayer. His kind nature provided also for their health and recreation: they were never to study more than two hours at a time; they were to be allowed at least seven hours' sleep; they had days of relaxation, and places where they might every week pass some hours in the country. As it was not fit that they should spend time in asking alms, nor the world be taxed for the support of persons not yet useful to it, nor again, that the youths should bear the frequent destitution which was accepted by the older members, each Religious retained during a certain period his personal property, if he had any, but not the disposal of it; nor was he to consider himself as absolutely possessing anything whatever, not even his clothes nor his

breviary; the expenses he caused to the Society were defrayed out of his own money; and what remained was restored to him, if after all he did not persevere.

But the colleges, differing in this from the Professed houses, were allowed to receive endowments or funds for their maintenance. These were often given liberally; but, as in the case of the German College, there were sometimes considerable difficulties to overcome.

The Scholastics, thus tenderly cared for and treated with all lawful indulgence, were nevertheless exercised unremittingly, and with extreme strictness; no fault was passed over, no indolence tolerated. The Rector of the college was to withdraw from study those who did not make reasonable progress. Some of these were dismissed; others employed as Temporal Coadjutors. Besides their fixed daily prayers, they were enjoined to communicate every week; to examine their conscience twice a day; to make the "Spiritual Exercises" once a year; but, above all, St. Ignatius attached importance to the custom of renewing their vows twice in every year, after three days' retreat, during which they declared in all Christian simplicity the state of their soul to their Superior, and made a Confession of the last six months.

The time of study was usually extended to ten, or even more years. Then came the third year of the novitiate; the year passed "in the school of the heart—in scholâ affectus," which has been called the masterpiece of Loyola's policy; when, having been accomplished in the schools, and ready now to enter on the holy and noble work to which he is destined, the Religious is enjoined first to steep his soul afresh in the living waters, renounce all worldly study, and spend day and night in prayer, or in the humblest offices of the Christian missionary, among peasants and children.

If, after all, the young man thus trained was not found capable of the highest work, he might still be useful; and Ignatius availed himself of all degrees of ability, where there was singleness of heart and good-will. Such members were considered in all respects to be on the same footing as the others, but they did not take the fourth vow, which related to missions and especial obedience to the Pope.

This is the vow taken by the Professed:—"I profess and promise to Almighty God, in presence of the Holy Virgin, His Mother, of all the Court of Heaven, and of all the persons now present, and to you, Reverend Father General, whom I regard as holding the place of God, and to your successors, perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience; and, in virtue of this obedience, particularly to instruct children, according to the rule of life contained in the Apostolic Letter granted to the Society of Jesus, and in the Constitutions."

The fourth vow, moreover, binds the person taking it "to go wherever the Pope should please to send him, whether among the faithful, or the heathen, without offering excuse, or asking money for the journey, and without, either directly or indirectly, seeking to persuade the Pope on the subject of their mission."

These vows cannot be annulled; the General must even obtain the assent of the Pope before he can dismiss a Professed Father from the Society.

The Professed houses can possess no funds; they must depend on alms only. All Jesuits must cherish poverty as a mother; they even declare that they will never allow any alteration of the laws of the Institute in this respect, unless to make the obligation more stringent. They receive no offering for masses, nor for any spiritual function; they have no box for contributions in their churches.[1] Every one must be willing at any moment to be sent out to beg, or to set forth on a foreign mission without money for the journey. They must accept no promotion or dignity out of the Society, nor seek any within it, and are bound to inform Superiors if any one be justly suspected of being guilty in this particular.

Cardinal Allen, after remarking how many priests of the Catholic Church were become suspicious to Protestants because their zeal appeared to be stimulated by their own interests, and by their care for revenues and dignities, continues:—"Therefore, it pleased the Lord to raise up new men, without money, place, bishopric, or abbey, humble in the eyes of the world, fearing none but God, hoping nothing but from God, looking on death as a deliverance; men who may be slain, but never subdued." By these new men, Cardinal Allen meant the Jesuits.

The General is elected for life by the assembled representatives of the Society.

He alone has the power of naming the Provincials, Superiors of the Professed houses, Rectors of the colleges and novitiates. His residence is always to be at Rome; he is never to be absent for long. But that he may be well acquainted with his subjects, the subordinates are enjoined to communicate with him frequently, and detail every circumstance relating to each member, and the minutest affairs of the province. These letters he receives weekly, or as often as possible; and at the times of slow travelling and infrequent couriers, it is surprising to see how close was the correspondence thus kept up.

Each Provincial is every year to send a general report to Rome.

[1] In England they are bound by Papal decree to conform themselves to the practice of the Secular Clergy.

Every three years the catalogue of each province, which contains the name of every member, his age, abilities, gifts of any sort, good qualities or defects, is carried to Rome by a deputy elected in the Congregation of the province, composed of the Provincial, Rectors, and senior Professed Fathers.

When it is proposed to admit a member to any charge or degree in the Society, greater diligence is used to procure information from which the General can form his judgment on the fitness of the choice. Three persons are then separately and confidentially to obtain and transmit all the information they can procure, and these testimonies, added to what the General possesses already, decides his opinion.

The Congregation, when it elects the General, names also the Assistants, each representing a nationality, who transact the affairs of that nationality under the General's direction, and are the agents through whom requests or applications to him are usually transmitted. But if any one prefer it, he may write to the General himself. Besides these, the Congregation names a Companion of their Superior, who is also his Admonitor, and is bound to represent respectfully to the General any bad result that the Assistants think likely to flow from any of his proceedings. All these are instructed to watch as well as assist the General. If they see in his conduct anything indiscreet or censurable—if he misapplies the property of the colleges, or falls into any error of life or doctrine, they must lay their observations before him; and in case of a great urgency or visible scandal, these Assistants can summon without his assent a Congregation of the Order, or even depose him themselves, after obtaining by word of mouth or in writing the suffrage of the various provinces into which the assistancies are subdivided.

Each Provincial has also his four consultors, and a companion who is his admonitor; it is a repetition on a small scale of the General's *Curia*.

Ignatius enjoined that the link of obedience and mutual charity should be carefully preserved throughout the whole Society. Each one is to regard his immediate Superior with the reverence he would show the General himself, and every one of the Society as his brother. All may write to the General at all times, as sons would address a father, in full certainty of a tender and fatherly attention. The same rule of life is to be observed as nearly as possible amongst all the members, in spite of differences of climate or national customs. All in a house are to speak one language, that of the country in which they live. They are to regard each other as children of one parent, united by the closest ties, anticipating one another in good

offices, ever courteous and kind; they must show especial affection to strangers. Those who break the rules, or have the disqualification of not possessing the spirit of the Society, or who are not likely to do its work well, must be dismissed at once. St. Ignatius never decided on this dismissal without good cause and sufficient consideration; but when he had clearly seen the necessity, he would even call up a member in the middle of the night, and send him away. In such cases the vows of any but a Professed Father are annulled, and he is free to follow any other calling; and if he has given money to the Society, it is repaid; the dismissal is made with as little injury to his repute as possible. "For," said Ignatius, "the Superior should use such caution and tenderness in this act, as a surgeon would in cutting off a limb."

The prohibition to accept dignities was so strict and comprehensive, that even the Pope's injunction was not sufficient, unless he commanded on pain of mortal sin. For the Jesuit must labour incessantly and pass his life in serving or teaching his fellow-creatures, with no reward but the favour of Christ; he works "for the greater glory of God"[1] alone; he absolutely refuses every earthly or personal recompense.

This outline sufficiently describes the Institute, but its laws were not strictly defined and fully written till a short time before Ignatius died. He always went on amending and completing, desiring the approval of his companions at every step.

As he concluded his work, he divided it into ten parts. The first describes the qualities which allow or forbid the admission of novices; the second, the causes and manner of rejection; the third and fourth relate to health, devotion, and study; the fifth explains the profession of the four vows and the inferior degrees; the sixth and seventh instruct the professed Fathers and spiritual coadjutors in their various offices; the eighth and ninth concern the General, his election, authority, and duties; the tenth, and last, gives several directions for the conservation and increase of the Society.

The General Congregation of the Society may be summoned under extraordinary circumstances. It consists of two delegates of each of the various provinces, elected by the professed Fathers, and of the different provincials. This Congregation is always called together at the death of the General to elect his successor, and the Assistants of the new General. The body has also legislative power, within the bounds of the Institute.

[1] The motto of St. Ignatius, given by him to the Society, is AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Ignatius wrote in Spanish; Polanco, his secretary, translated all into Latin. These rules were not absolutely inflexible, for Ignatius added to them these words:—"So far as the differences of time, place, and circumstances will permit." And the Congregations, but not the General, can make some modifications. The Bulls of Paul III. and Julius III. contain all that is fundamental and invariable in the Order.

In these Constitutions, six points are characteristic of the Society of Jesus, because either not practised by any other Order, or not so especially and prominently:—

The instruction of children and of the poor, which was so fallen into disuse, that the Council of Trent admonished the parochial clergy thereupon. In after years, several Congregations were established with this particular object.

Foreign missions; for though some Religious Orders had sent a number of missioners amongst the heathen, who had laboured with success, there was not one distinctly obliged to do this at the Pope's bidding.

The instruction of youth of all ranks, and to the highest extent of culture, without payment of any sort for tuition.

The "Spiritual Exercises," which first applied a system and method to the meditations and retreats always practised. They have never been superseded, and time has only established their efficacy.

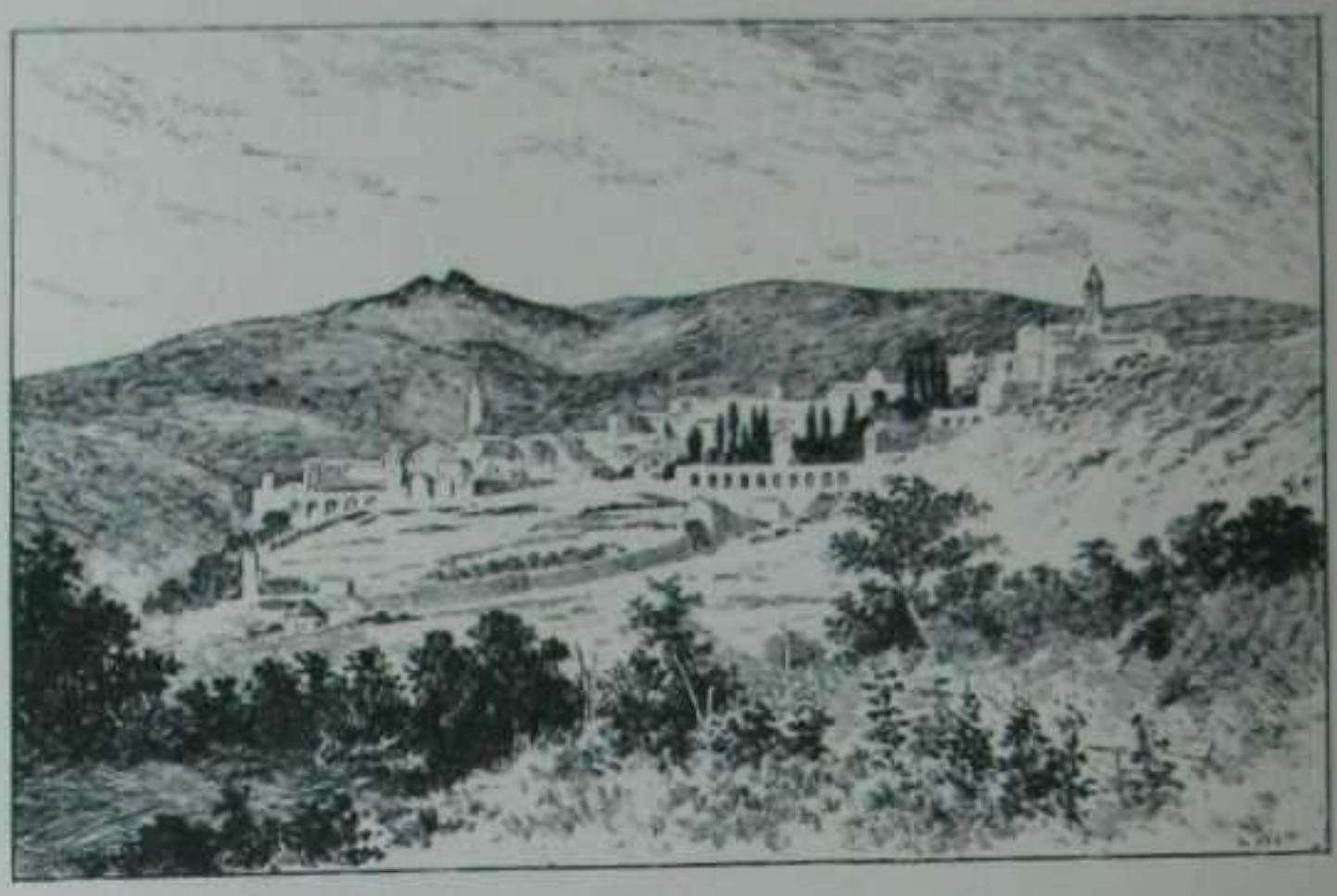
The ministering to the sick in hospitals and to prisoners, first included as a separate duty of any Order in the Constitutions of Ignatius. Since then, other Orders have arisen which devote themselves especially to this charity.

Lastly, the missionary work in country districts, preaching, instructing, hearing confessions, and commencing pious associations: which had been done, indeed, in all ages after the example of the Apostles, but Ignatius first made it a part of his Institute, and revived a zeal for these labours when their practice was neglected and almost forgotten.

The Spanish in which the Constitutions are written, like that of St. Ignatius's letters, is sometimes obsolete, and a passage here and there is not very easy to understand. But as the translation of Polanco was made under his eye, this is unimportant. His thoughts seem to have reverted occasionally to the laws of his own country; the "Freedoms" (*Fueros*) of Biscay were evidently in his mind. In some parts there is an appearance of abrupt transition, as if sentences had been cut out; the Latin shows that this is an appearance only, and that the sense is actually carried on.

Cardinal Richelieu's opinion of Loyola's system was expressed in these words:—"Avec des principes si surs, des vues si bien dirigées, on gouvernerait un empire égal au monde." He said he knew nothing more perfect than the Institute of the Jesuits; "et que tous les souverains pourraient en faire leur étude et leur instruction."

HOUSE OF THE PINE CONE, BRUGES, WHERE ST. IGNATIUS STAYED.—*See p.* 145.



TIVOLI.

# CHAPTER IX.

## MISSION TO IRELAND—1541–1543.

THE mission of Salmeron and Broët to Ireland took place in the first year of Ignatius' Generalship. Robert, Archbishop of Armagh,[1] a Scotchman, blind from his childhood, but singularly gifted, raised by his learning and piety to the primacy of Ireland, had taken refuge in Rome from the persecutions of Henry VIII., and asked Pope Paul III. to send a Jesuit Father into that unhappy country, with full powers to give the Sacraments, grant dispensations, and fortify the afflicted people.[2] Such a mission required great courage and judgment in the persons undertaking it; the state of Ireland was deplorable—almost all the nobility acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII., and the most cruel persecution awaited the common

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[1] Waucop.

[2] From a letter addressed by Paul to Con Baccagh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, it appears that an emissary named Raymond had been sent to Rome with the same petition. The Pope says he has sent two Nuncios, John (Codure) and Alonso; so that the delay in starting must have been occasioned by the death of Codure. Raymond is thought to have been Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Killala, and martyred in Elizabeth's reign.

people, who continued to profess the old faith. All intercourse with Rome became a matter of life and death; the exercise of Catholic service and religious practices was prohibited under barbarous penalties, and the country, wild and uncivilised at all times, now exhibited the fearful spectacle of a nation conquered and prostrate, under the despotism of men insatiable of plunder and rule, and irritated by all the fierceness of scorn and hate.

Codure had been named for this perilous mission; but he was called to his reward. Paschase Broët and Salmeron were sent in his place, bearing all the privileges attached to an Apostolic Nunciature; privileges which were to benefit the Irish people, not themselves. They were to travel on foot, unattended, without provisions or money, like the Apostles of our Lord's day; but Francis Zapata, a young nobleman, who had been a notary in one of the Pontifical Cancellarie, and long aspired to enter the Society of Jesus, obtained leave to accompany them, and to defray all the expenses of the journey. This expedition, in all ways full of peril, was a worthy entrance on his novitiate. The three left Rome on the 10th September 1541. Ignatius gave them instructions admirably suited to their necessities and their respective characters; Salmeron was somewhat impatient, Paschase had the sweetness of an angel in all his words and ways:—

(1.) "When you have to treat on matters of business with any one," says Saint Ignatius, "particularly with persons who are your equals or inferiors, you should speak but little and slowly, and not till the others have spoken, showing respect to the rank and distinction of every one; and listen much and readily, until he you converse with has finished. Then answer every point severally; and take leave when you have nothing more to say. If they reply, answer as briefly as possible. Let your leave-taking be concise, but gracious.

(2.) In order to make acquaintance with great personages and to gain their affection, for the greater glory of God our Lord, first study their character, and act accordingly. If, for example, a man be of a hasty temper, and speaks rapidly and much, then assume with him something of a familiar tone, adopt his way, but let it be about things good and holy, and be not too serious, nor reserved or melancholy. But with those of a more phlegmatic character, who are slow of speech, grave and measured in discourse, adopt a manner similar to theirs; this is sure to propitiate them. *I make myself all to all men.*

(3.) When two persons who are both of quick temper are engaged in any affair, unless they are entirely of the same mind, there is a great risk that they will not agree. So when any one knows that he is choleric by nature, he should if possible go well armed in every particular, in his intercourse with others, by a close examination of himself, and by a resolve to endure anything rather than quarrel with

another, particularly when he knows that person to be weak. If this person be apathetic and sad, there is less risk of his being irritated by inconsiderate words.

(4.) If we observe that any one is tempted and melancholy, be kind and good to him, converse much with him, and show him both at home and abroad much complaisance and cheerfulness. In order to edify and console such persons, it is desirable to assume a disposition contrary to their own.

(5.) In all conversations, especially those which concern spiritual things, or when trying to reconcile people, be on your guard that everything that is said may be, or really will be made public.

(6.) In expediting business, be liberal as to time—that is to say, give a promise that the thing shall be done soon, the same day if possible.

(7.) If you have any superintendence to exercise, it is best that Master Francisco (Zapata) should be charged with it, that you may the better fulfil your obligations to every one; yet none of you three should touch any money; let it be rather deposited with some one. Let whoever asks for a dispensation himself remit the price to this depositary, and receive from him a regular receipt, after which the dispensation or expedition may be given; or take other means, which you find more suitable; only take care that each of you may be able to say he has not touched any, even the smallest, sum in this mission.

When you have to speak to persons of high rank, let Paschase Broët do it. Consult together on all points on which you do not agree; let the advice of two out of the three be adopted. Write often to Rome during your journey, as soon as you arrive in Scotland, and when you have reached Ireland; then every month give an account of your mission."[1]

Ignatius, in these instructions, avoids touching on the duties for which they had been commissioned and instructed by the Pope.

War had broken out afresh in France when the two Nuncios with Zapata crossed it to reach Scotland; they repaired immediately to the court of King James V., then at Stirling Castle, to whom they bore a letter from the Pope. James promised to resist all the influence of his uncle, King Henry, and to remain faithful to the Church. The King wrote a letter, dated February 1, 1542, recommending the missioners to the people of the isles and to all his allies and friends. The Fathers had thus possibly the happiness of visiting Iona, the holy island of Columba, before the hand of the spoiler had ruined its thrice sacred buildings.[2] They reached

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[1] From the original Spanish. See *Cartas de San Ignacio*, t. i. p. 434.

[2] See F. Hogan's valuable paper on the subject, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April 1870, *et seq.*

STIRLING CASTLE, WHERE KING JAMES V. HELD HIS COURT ON THE OCCASION OF SALMERON AND BROËT'S VISIT.

the shores of Ireland in the beginning of Lent, 1542, without difficulty, but their movements were beset with dangers, and they saw sights of greater woe than they supposed possible. The people were filled with terror; the orders of Henry VIII., constantly disobeyed, were cruelly enforced whenever an unhappy Irishman was detected in the practice of his religion, or when any priest, lingering incautiously among his flock, was dragged from his hiding-place. Those who refused to swear allegiance to Henry as the head of the Church, were denounced, imprisoned, and savagely punished. Salmeron and Paschase landed in disguise. "All the chiefs save one, who is on the point of gaining the others, are confederated with the King of England, swearing allegiance to him as spiritual as well as temporal sovereign, and engaging to commit to the flames the apostolic briefs which have arrived, and to put in chains and deliver to England and to the Viceroy any person who may fall into their hands."[1] Such was the information St. Ignatius received from his sons when they had been forced to return to Scotland. They found that their approach filled the Catholics with consternation; but by degrees they pacified these fears, and inspired something of their own courage into the oppressed people, who gave them hospitality at the risk of life and limb. They were forced to change their abode every night; they dared not peril the friends who sheltered them by sleeping twice under the same roof. In this way they passed through Ireland, carrying everywhere strength and consolation; using the powers entrusted to them to confirm and excite the faith of the poor Irish, living amidst such terrible trials. They brought inestimable comfort to the clergy, whom they assisted and encouraged in their life of dread and concealment. They refused to receive from the people any sums for any reason whatever. And if paid as lawful fines, this money was entrusted to persons chosen by the Irish, usually their bishops, whom they had at that time the right of choosing, as well as their pastors of the second order.

In thirty-four days Salmeron and Broët had traversed the island, not unsuspected. The Viceroy learned that something unusual was going on; it was known that emissaries had arrived from Italy; a price was set upon their heads; death and confiscation of goods were proclaimed against any person or family who harboured them. Paul III., apprised of the state of things, sent them an order to return. They obeyed, and returned to Scotland. They found that country in a worse state than before; the emissaries of Henry VIII. had set the country in a blaze. Many Scotch nobles saw a

[1] Letter of St. Ignatius, June 1, 1542. *Cartas de San Ignacio*, t. i. p. 126.

large confiscation of church property offered in reward, if they aided the English interests. The Jesuits soon found that their mission in Great Britain was closed.

King James gave them a passage from the west coast to Dieppe; thence they went to Paris, where they found orders awaiting them from the Pope to visit Scotland with the same powers that they had possessed in Ireland. However, when Paul III. learnt the state of the northern kingdom, he bade them return to Italy; and having left Zapata to complete his studies at the University, they pursued their way on foot as before. At Lyons they stopped. France was at war with Spain, and Salmeron was a Spaniard; their travel-worn garments and humble ways, quite at variance with their language, caused them to be taken for spies. They were imprisoned; they appealed to two Cardinals then at Lyons—De Tournon and Gaddi—who recognised them, caused them to be treated with the honours due to Legates of the Holy See, and sent them on their journey, provided with money, horses, and guides.

They reached Rome in November. When the Archbishop of Armagh heard of their successes and disappointments, blind as he was, he resolved to return to his flock. "Now," said he, "I perceive that unless the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd, I shall do little good." But the Pope would not consent to this; he sent him, confiding in his remarkable endowments, to Germany with his Legate; and afterwards Waucop assisted at the Council of Trent. He must have been a man of rare ability, since his blindness had not hindered him from professing divinity at Paris. He ever loved and venerated the Society of Jesus, and died at Lyons on November 10, 1551, in their college.

Francis Zapata completed his studies at Paris, returned to Rome, and entered the novitiate of the Company there. But it was not his fortune to remain. Perhaps something too much of pride and independence had been discovered by Ignatius in his character; for one night he was called out of his bed, and told that he must leave the house at daybreak.

Yet his offence did not seem very heavy: he was disgusted by the excessive and public humility of Jerome Nadal, who had taken to preaching in the open air at Monte de' Banchi, near the Ponte Sant' Angelo. This was a sort of market-place, surrounded by stalls or *banchi*, which the common people much frequented, and therefore jugglers, improvisatori, story-tellers, and the other accompaniments of an Italian crowd, were often

ISLAND OF IONA, WITH RUINS OF CATHEDRAL, SCOTLAND.

found there.[1] Zapata laughed at him, and called him "Monte Banchino." This was related to the General by the Father Minister, when he came as usual, at night, to report on the state of the house and the occurrences of the day. Ignatius instantly sent for Zapata, though it was long after the hour when the novices went to bed, and, in spite of his earnest entreaties and many tears, he was made to depart at daylight.

Zapata was, nevertheless, learned and good; he afterwards entered a convent of Franciscans, and ever spoke of the Society of Jesus with respect.

Paschase Broët and Salmeron on their return from Ireland were sent for to Foligno by Blasio Palladio, its bishop, at the request of Cardinal Cervino. There they revived discipline and fervour in the convents, knowledge and letters in the clergy, and piety and morality among all. They sometimes had to teach ecclesiastics the first rudiments of grammar. Broët produced, says Orlandini, such a reform as seems miraculous, and he had been no less successful at Montepulciano, whither he had gone on his way to Foligno, at the request of the Cardinal, who loved it because it was his birthplace. Strada had been there, and his brilliant eloquence obtained extraordinary influence over the people; they followed him from door to door as he went through the streets asking alms for the poor; the money given him was received by these citizens and spent in public charity. Broët preached there for thirty days, and made acquaintance with the Cervini, one of whom was the mother of the famous Bellarmine. Thence, invited by Cardinal Carpi, Broët went to Reggio, and undertook the reform of a nunnery, whose inmates had wholly lost the spirit of their Order; then to Faenza, where he found Le Jay combating with success the hostile influence of Bernardino Ochino. The Jesuits began with charity to the poor, persuasion to the rich, a great zeal to inspire the love of Christ in all; afterwards they came to controversy, and publicly discussed the arguments of the new teachers. Broët thought the people had something noble and generous in them, in spite of their wanderings; he proceeded amid such difficulties with characteristic caution. He sought the higher minds first, then descending to the ignorant, he taught them with the patience of one instructing children, and procured from the wealthy the means of accompanying his lessons with relief to all who were in want. He found Ochino a formidable antagonist, for he possessed great powers of oratory; his long beard and coarse habit, the fame of his

[1] The name is retained in the "Via de' Banchi," a small street still remaining near the river. Our word "mountebank" is an obvious derivation.

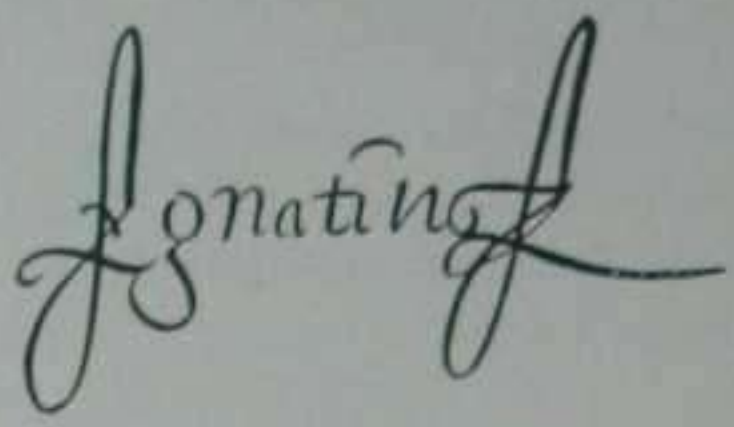
austere life, disposed his hearers to respect him; his elocution, clear, rapid, and impassioned, gave an immense force to what he said. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I might have done to Christ Himself. I felt as I looked at him that I had never beheld a holier man." Charles V., when he heard him, said, "Truly this man would make the stones weep." Ignatius earnestly desired to win over one so highly gifted; he wrote on December 12, 1545, to Le Jay, then at Dillingen, enjoining him to take the greatest pains to gain the friendship of Ochino, and bring him back to the Church. If Ochino would only write a letter, or at least if Le Jay could get him to say a few words of repentance, Le Jay was to assure him that Lainez and Salmeron, whose interest was great with Paul III., were then with Ignatius in Rome, and all would protect him and his, as men who had but one soul with himself. But it was long ago too late. Ochino had openly apostatised and fled to Geneva in 1542. He was for a short time in England, summoned thither in 1548 by Cranmer, to help him, along with Peter Martyr, to work out the reformation in England; afterwards he returned to Switzerland, became, it was said, a Socinian, married, preached polygamy, and died in old age without any return to the ancient faith.

The Jesuits were more successful with the opulent and educated townspeople of Faenza. They established a Sodality among them, which was to carry food and medicines, as well as spiritual aid, to the poor. These persons chose for themselves a physician to attend the sick, and a lawyer to plead for the oppressed. The plan answered well: the Sodalists, guided by Paschase, spread a salutary influence through the city, and prepared it for the instructions which he gave in the churches, in schools, in public exhortations, in private conferences and conversation. Among the young he was so successful, that in a school of 400 not a single evil word was ever heard. He brought peace into families long disunited by the eternal quarrels of those Italian towns; he appeased enmities so well, that hundreds at a time were seen assembled to offer friendship to one another, and to receive the Jesuit's blessing. Paschase stayed at Faenza two years, the time commonly appointed by Ignatius for these missions.

Salmeron was sent, very shortly after his arrival from Ireland, to encounter worse hardships at Modena, whither Cardinal Morone had invited him because the free-thinking spirit of the day was powerful there; and it revenged itself on the attacks of Salmeron by accusations of the bitterest kind, both against his orthodoxy and his morals. The dissentients of Modena even went so far as to carry these to the court of

Rome. Ignatius, knowing well the innocence of his friend, summoned him to vindicate himself personally at the Papal Court. Salmeron did this so effectually, that the Pope bade him return to Modena; he remained there two years.

SHRINE OF ST. DOMINIC, SAN DOMENICO, BOLOGNA.



ST. IGNATIUS' SIGNATURE.
(*From the Bollandists.*)

# CHAPTER X.

## ST. IGNATIUS' DAILY LIFE.

IGNATIUS now entered on the course of life which was never afterwards interrupted, except on three occasions when he was absent from Rome on errands of charity; once to Montefiascone, where he went to see Paul III., in 1545, when the Pope was in that town, on the subject of the Portuguese Inquisition, and again when, in 1548, he went to restore peace between the inhabitants of Tivoli and their neighbours of Castel Madama; Ignatius interfered at the Pope's desire. The people of Castel Madama and of Tivoli had long quarrelled, and now broke into open war. Ignatius treated with Margaret of Austria, wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma (she was the owner of the place), and with the magistrates of Tivoli and of Castel Madama. He persuaded the contending parties to refer their differences to the Cardinal de la Cueva, a great friend of St. Ignatius, and meanwhile to lay down their arms. The villagers of Castel Madama, trusting in the protection of their imperial mistress, had endeavoured to evade the tolls levied by Tivoli on the road to Rome. And hence the continual fights, which ended in terrible bloodshed. At this time the Saint lodged at Tivoli with Luis de Mendoza, a dignitary of the Cathedral of Segovia, who offered him a house in that town, with gardens attached, and the Church of the Madonna del Passo, amidst the so-called ruins of the palace of Mæcenas. The gift was accepted, and this new establishment of the Company was opened on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The house and gardens remain; they belonged to the Jesuits until our own days. The place where Ignatius resided with Mendoza is now the property of Signor Trinchies, whose family show with pride a room looking over the Campagna towards Rome, which the Saint is said to have occupied; they show also a large press, considered the only relic of the furniture of his time, now filled up with an altar.

It is the end house on the north side of the street as you enter Tivoli from Rome.

In Castel Madama the Farnesi had a mansion—still standing—where Ignatius lodged when he visited this romantic town. The people still remember him as a benefactor, and a bust of him remains in their church.

The Bishop of Tivoli, Monsignor Croce, was displeased at his favourite nephew, Lucio Croce, joining the Society. St. Ignatius wrote to Geronimo, the young man's father, showing that Lucio had made up his mind entirely of his own free will, and that he himself had urged that he should leave for Sicily to rid himself of the well-meant exigency of his friends. The Bishop forbade the Rector of the College at his town, Michaele Navarro, to use the privileges granted to the Society by the Pope. Ignatius appealed, and an order was issued to the Bishop and Vicar to desist from their opposition. Yet Navarro had displeased Ignatius, and received a reprimand for having maintained his rights with too little humility.

On his third absence Ignatius travelled in the winter of 1552 to Alvito, a village on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, to reconcile Ascanio Colonna and Juana de Aragon,[1] his wife, and sister-in-law of Vittoria Colonna. On the day fixed for starting it rained in torrents, and F. Polanco begged Ignatius to think of himself, and put off his journey. "It is thirty years since I put off anything I undertook in God's service, in spite of any occurrence," was the answer, and off he went through rain and wind with poor Polanco.

Commonly even sickness made small difference in the habits of Ignatius. He said Office every day, until Paul III., at the request of some of the Fathers, dispensed him (1539?) lest the tears he shed should injure his sight. He made an hour's meditation each morning, and always said Mass save when prevented by illness. Before he went to the altar, he used to read over with care the Mass for the day in the missal. He could seldom get through the Mass in less than an hour, because of the emotion it caused him. But he said that, for priests generally, half an hour was enough. After the Holy Sacrifice, he passed two hours alone. He had in the wall of his chamber a little window looking

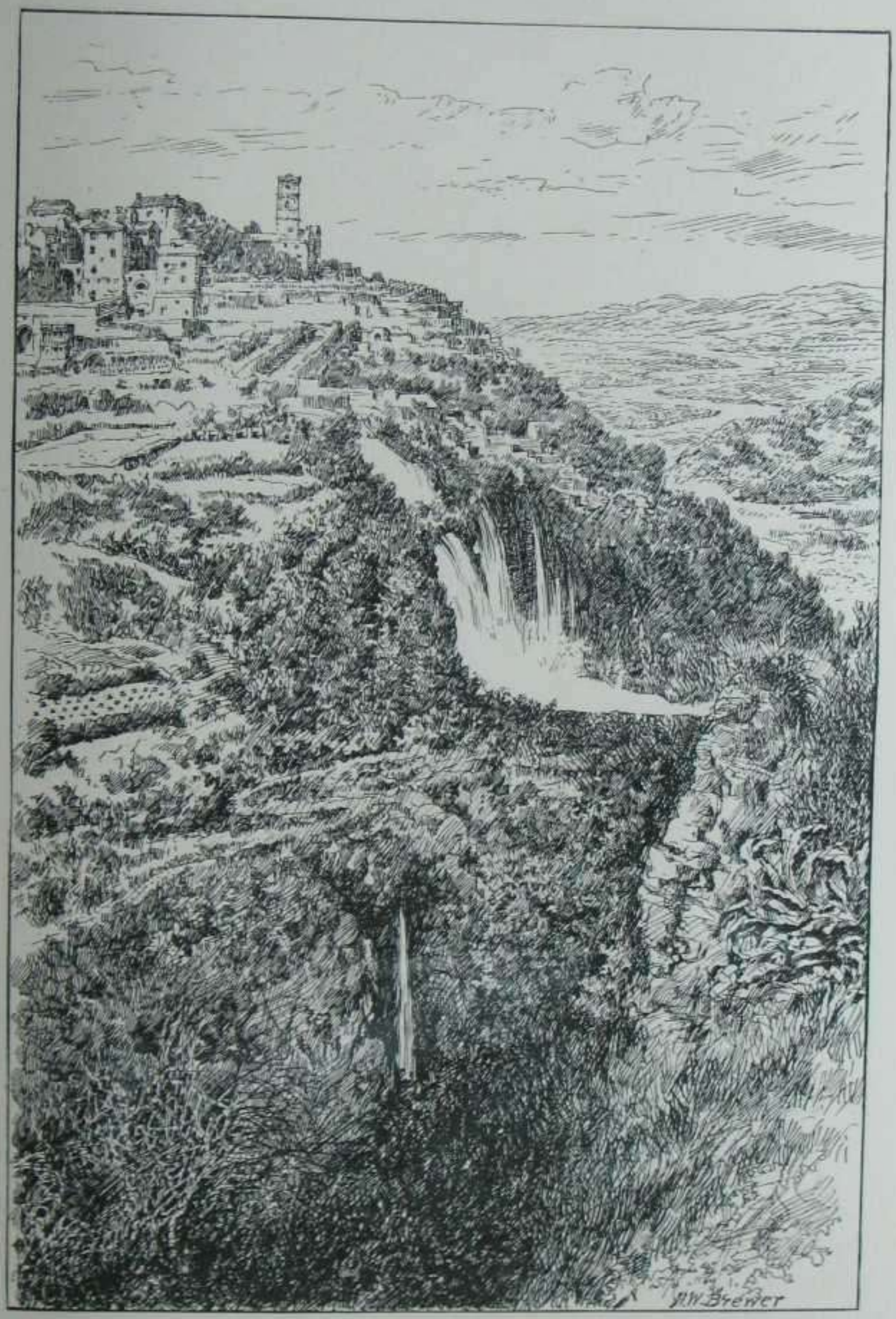
[1] St. Ignatius wrote to the lady a letter, straightforward and earnest, yet full of consideration and respect, urging her by twenty-six reasons to put an end to the quarrel, by going to her husband and confiding herself loyally to him. See *Cartas de San Ignacio*, t. iii. p. 136, and p. 143. The journey is described later on.

into the church of Santa Maria della Strada, whence he could see the tabernacle, and there he delighted to kneel and meditate. Luis Gonçalez, minister of the house, says he was sometimes forced to interrupt him to ask directions, and saw on his countenance the radiance of one who, like Moses, had been communing with God. Then, if any matters called him abroad, he went out with one companion, according to the rule of the Society. This at first was frequently young Ribadeneira. If at home, he received persons who called on him; he was accessible to all, acting on the principle enforced by him on all his Community, that there must be no time, place, or circumstances when the servant of God is not ready to assist the smallest of His children.

They dined at noon, in a room almost completely dark, because their next-door neighbour built out their windows; and Ignatius would not take any steps to remove this grievance, as he might have done, but bore it for eight years, when the man was induced, by an exorbitant price offered for his house, to sell it to them.

After dining they went to another room, where they conversed for an hour. Ignatius usually talked of the undertakings in which they were engaged; it was the duty of all to be communicative and free of speech at this time; it was called the hour of recreation, and charity enjoined that each should help to make it pass as a relief and restoration with useful interchange of ideas. This time was spent in talking over matters of business. The brother who had served at table put out an hour-glass, and each Father brought a note of what he had to say. Ignatius' memory was so wonderful that he never required any artificial aid, but constantly reminded others of what they had forgotten. He asked each in turn what he had to say, and never allowed the discussion to wander out of the subject in hand. As soon as the glass had run out he rose to go. But no particular friendships were tolerated; fraternal love forbade an obvious preference of one man's conversation to another; all were brothers, and loved each other for Christ's sake. One of the early Fathers writes:—"If any one were to say, This man is my friend, or Such a one loves me, such worldly language would be regarded as strange, and heard with astonishment; for where all love each other as themselves, all are friends." After this hour of conversation, Ignatius returned to business, read and answered letters, and dictated to his secretary. But the Saint himself wrote much, and with so great care that he would copy a letter three or four times rather than let it leave the house incorrectly written.

After supper, all who had any charge in the house came to him, gave him minute information as to all that concerned their respective departments,




VILLA MECENATE, TIVOLI, AND THE CASCATELLE.

and received his directions. He questioned the infirmarian with extraordinary solicitude about the sick, whom he took under his especial charge. Once, the minister having owned that he had not procured for a sick man some soft skins that had been ordered to wrap round him, Ignatius sent him out, though it was night, with two companions, to buy and bring the skins. Another time, both infirmarian and steward had omitted to send in good time for the physician; when midnight came, but no physician, Ignatius sent them out to fetch him, telling them they should not enter the house again without him; and as he was not then to be found, they took refuge in a hospital till morning dawned. He never relinquished his care of the sick, even when his own health obliged him to leave other charges to his officials; he went to see them frequently, visited and watched them during the night, if their illness was serious, and comforted them with kind words. When any one of the community was bled, Ignatius went to him many times to see that the bandages had not moved. He would have the infirmarian called up for this reason during the night, and often got out of bed himself to see that all was right. He sometimes said he thought God had sent him so much ill-health that he might feel for it in others. He wrote comforting letters to the Fathers who were ill during his absence. One of these is now placed on the wall of the room he occupied at Rome, written in Italian with his own hand. Ignatius would often wait upon the sick, make their beds, and shunned no menial work in the house for them. He respected such afflictions; he was greatly displeased with a Father who had thoughtlessly repeated as a jest the sayings of a poor brother who was delirious. Over and over again in his letters we meet with this tender anxiety about the health of his brethren, proposals to send them to healthier places, and orders to this effect.

Sometimes it happened that when food or remedies were needed for the sick, the funds of the house were very low. Once, when some delicate food was ordered for one of the lay Brothers, there was no more than three pauls in the hands of the steward. "Spend them over the sick man," said Ignatius, "we will dine on bread." Another time he sold the pewter plates and dishes, and the coverings from the beds, to obtain things asked for by the infirmarian. In a letter to the Superior he directed that the doctor's orders were to be strictly obeyed as to sleep, food, and clothing; and if the house were too poor to provide what was prescribed, then the number of the community was to be reduced or they were to beg in the streets. But what is needful must be procured. (Letter of Nov. 2, 1552.) He threatened to remove F. le Pelletier from his important post as Rector of the College at

Ravenna because he did not take enough care of his sick (July 22, 1553). There was a patient whose sufferings were increased by a melancholy that even Ignatius could not console; he sent some novices who sang well to cheer him with music. It was a remedy that formerly had often appeased his own maladies and soothed his pains; but he thought this an indulgence, and would seldom allow the experiment to be tried on himself. But God often comforted him with angels' songs; he said he heard music in his heart without voice or tunes. Those who were convalescent he retained under his particular direction, that they might not be overburdened with duties till they were quite strong.

Once, at a time when the house was very crowded and very poor, two lay-brothers were admitted—Guillaume, a Frenchman, and Alfonso, a Spaniard; they fell ill immediately. Some of the brethren were of opinion that they should go to the hospital. They had no friends to recommend them, but Guillaume, before they entered, had nursed Alfonso very tenderly when he had been ill; they both desired to lead a religious life. Ignatius said, "Can we not find room in God's house for men who have quitted the world for His sake?" And he kept them both.

When, at night, Ignatius had dismissed his ministers, he talked for some time with his secretary alone; he did not then go to rest, but usually walked up and down his room leaning on a stick, often praying aloud. He allowed himself only four hours for sleep, and these were often disturbed. Brother Giovan Paolo, who was attached to the service of our saint, and slept in the room next to him,[1] sometimes heard groans and sounds as of blows, and at first went into the room; but was forbidden to return. Those about him believed that he was attacked in the darkness by evil spirits; they did not dare to ask, and Ignatius said nothing.

When he went with his companion into the city, he wrapt himself in a cloak commonly worn by churchmen in those days, the same that we see now in Spain; on his head he carried the sombrero, a large flapping hat: when in the house he had the curiously folded cap which has developed into the *biretta* of the clergy of our days. His eyes were habitually cast down; it was said he never looked at any woman, though many frequently came to speak to him. When he raised those marvellous eyes, they uttered his whole soul, and could command, persuade, or comfort as he willed. Strangers who saw him at Rome in his old age for the first time, said that

[1] This room is now the Sacristy to the room where St. Ignatius died, which has been made into a chapel. These, with the Saint's study, were naturally preserved on the destruction of the old house and the building of the modern Gesù. The brick floors, the low wooden ceilings, are as in Ignatius' days.

when he spoke to them his countenance seemed divine. But usually his look was simple and grave; nothing, when out of doors, was visible of him but his face, unless he raised his hand to his head in salutation. He limped slightly in his walk, but he appeared to conceal this, and it was not often perceptible. The limb, wounded at Pamplona, continued always weak and painfully sensitive to the touch, yet he went about much with the aid of his stick, and on the last-named journeys travelled a long way on foot. He had long laid aside the sackcloth and rags of Manresa, and enjoined on his Society a particular neatness and an abhorrence of all personal neglect. They were to take care that their dress was decent, conformable to the customs of the place where they lived, but not unsuited to their profession of poverty. To this last condition he seems to have attached great importance, since he suffered Lainez and Salmeron to appear at the Council of Trent in garments which, though clean, scandalised the clergy present, and especially the Spaniards their countrymen, by being worn and patched. He thought neatness and care in the dress of old men a proof of a composed and well-governed mind; in young ones he desired indifference in externals, yet would not suffer the absence of cleanliness and order. For, like St. John of Kanty, he considered that the livery of Christ's service should be worn joyfully, and should repulse none who looked on it.

When time and the Pope's favour brought him into much notice, and his assistance was frequently asked, he kept himself aloof from all merely worldly transactions, and would never advise or aid even his own kinsfolk in such matters; and he was the more obliged to make this rule, because his worldly sagacity was known to be so great. Diego Mendoza, when he was ambassador from Spain, said the affairs of his master always prospered when he followed the advice of Ignatius; but never in the opposite case. He was kind, gentle, and accessible to all whom he could in any way influence for good. His manners were most noble and courteous. Among strangers he made his way to each one's confidence by speaking at first of the subjects in which they were interested, saying a few words of commerce to the merchant, of war to the soldier, and so on; but if they had no serious purpose, he broke off at once from all lighter subjects, and spoke of Heaven and the saving of souls. It was almost an unknown thing that any should leave him not impressed by his fervent words and by that ineffable charity which made the mere sight of his countenance a consolation to sad hearts.

All the temporal wants of his children he attended to, and took the greatest interest in the very smallest details about them, whether at Rome

or elsewhere. But he was displeased at any solicitude for creature comforts; and when Bobadilla, much beloved by him, asked leave to occupy a larger room, Ignatius not only refused, but bade him prepare to lodge two more with him, to which Bobadilla assented with perfect readiness. For he had learned well the rule of poverty, "cherishing it as a mother." He used to mend the rents and patches of his garments himself, and he would kiss them, saying, "These belong to my Master's livery."

Ignatius reproved with sternness, and during many months, the self-indulgent and repining spirit of Silvestro Landini, a priest of Margrado, in La Lunigiana, who obtained admission into the Company.[1] During a long illness, he bore his sufferings with little patience, and showed a wilfulness unheard of in the rule of the Society. No notice was taken, and he was waited on as usual, with the utmost tenderness, till he was able to travel. Ignatius then sent for him, and bade him return to Margrado; he spoke with a gravity which prohibited all answer, and Landini did not dare to ask if this exile was meant as a dismissal from the Order. He had so great a love for Ignatius and his Society, that this idea filled him with terror; he now set himself to toils and austerities. In all the country round Margrado he went about combating all evil customs, and the heresies which were then spreading over Italy; he wrote repeatedly to entreat forgiveness; nine letters to Ignatius, full of contrition, were left unanswered. But meanwhile some of the other Fathers, by desire of Ignatius, consoled and encouraged him, and at last advised him to ask the intercession of Codacio, the new minister of the house, to whom they said Ignatius could refuse nothing. Ignatius, willing to be entreated, upon this wrote to Landini, and told him he was still a member of the Society. When he received the letter, Landini threw himself on his knees to read it, kissing the signature repeatedly, and the vows made by him in thanksgiving on the spot he amply fulfilled, labouring diligently in several Italian cities, and in Corsica, where, during the last seven years of his life, he effected a wonderful reform, and was believed by the people to have had super-natural powers of healing and of prophecy.

As Ignatius became better known, and gifts poured in upon the Society, his vigilance increased in watching over its precious profession of poverty. The colleges or charitable houses received whatever was offered, but the professed Fathers and others who lived with him at Santa Maria della Strada were not allowed to be supported out of these donations; they were

[1] Landini was received by B. Favre at Parma.

to receive their daily bread as an alms. Nor could any accept recompense for masses, sermons, or any other ministry, even if offered as charity. Not only could they inherit nothing, but the Society could not inherit in their name.

They were not to dispose of anything, nor use anything without permission, nor even to remove an image or picture in their room. He adhered so strictly to the rule which forbade the colleges to assist the Professed, even with their superfluities, that he would not keep some wax which was sent by the College of Palermo, but transferred it to the Roman College; and he would very seldom, in later years, allow one of his own house to share any meal at the Roman or German Colleges.

Those who took an apple from the garden or dispensary, or even picked it up from the ground when it had fallen, highly displeased him. He even bade the offenders accuse themselves of this before any other sin in the confessional; it was equally prohibited to pluck a flower; it was appropriation, and this was against the spirit of the Order.

It was his custom to be slow in coming to any decision; he wished, as well after as before he had become General, to make the other Fathers participate in the wisdom of every measure; he sought all means of information, then summoned those who could best advise him. When they had discussed the matter at great length, he would not even then decide immediately; he used to add, "Now it remains for us to retire to rest, and in the morning carry this matter to God in prayer." Such as gave an opinion off-hand, and decided without deliberation, greatly displeased him; he called them "*decretalisti*."

Those who were about him said his words were like laws, they were so well weighed and considered, never more nor less than the occasion demanded. Gonçalez said, "To see and hear Father Ignatius was like reading a chapter in the 'Imitation of Christ.'" He praised little; he very seldom blamed; he never spoke of faults if he could avoid it; he disapproved of others doing so. If possible, when such things were mentioned, he excused at least the intention. He would sometimes go as far as saying, "Truly, I would not have done it." He thought that to reveal faults was a great sin. Once, having spoken to three persons of a slight fault in a brother, when two would have sufficed, he immediately went to confess this with great contrition, though it was not a matter which could touch the good name of the offender. He was accustomed in conversation to speak less than he listened; he never interrupted the speaker, nor went from one subject to another without cause; he thought it a fault if any of his brethren did this, and would remain silent. No word of contempt

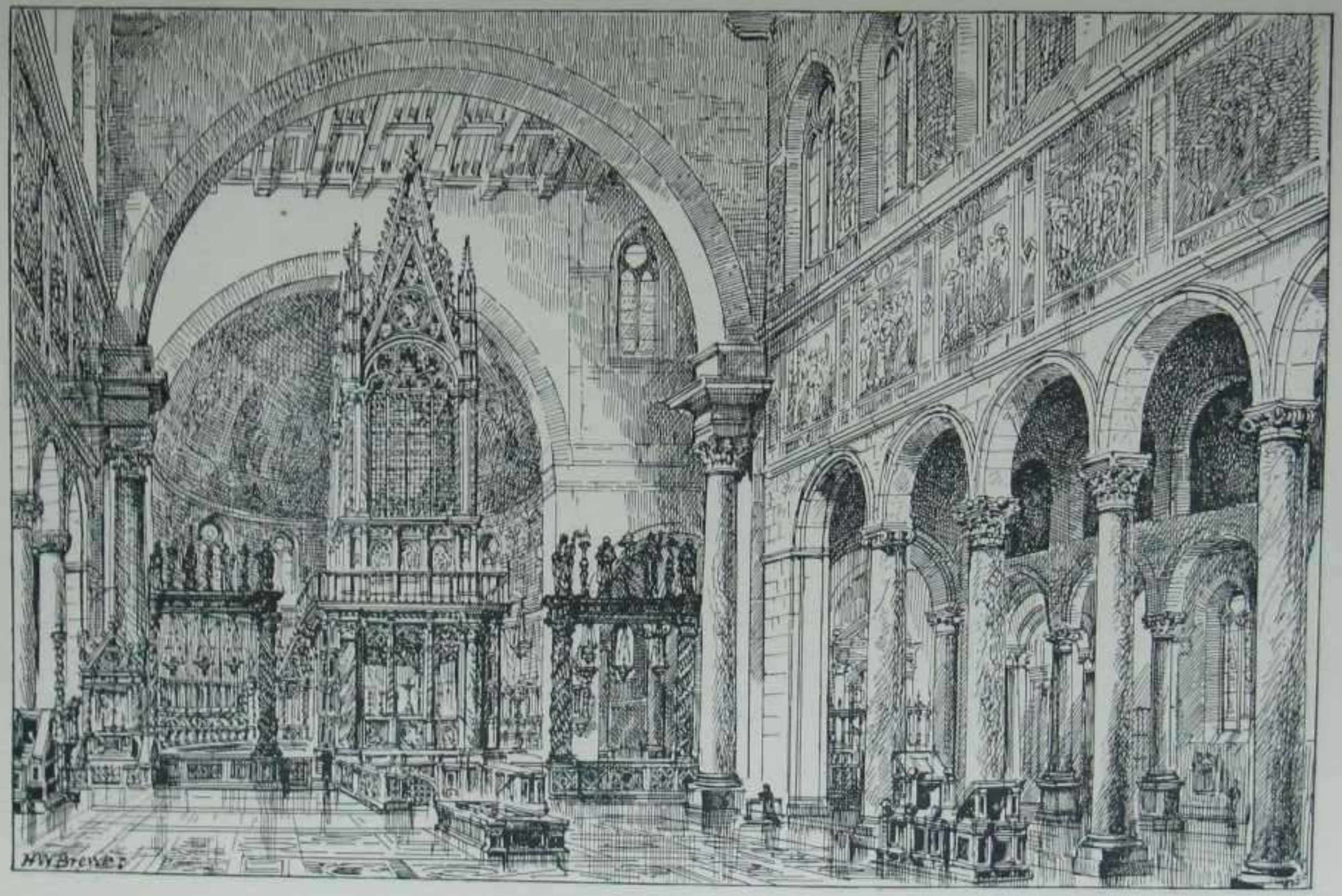
or passion ever fell from his lips. His manner of expressing himself was very plain, and he never used superlatives. When he told a story, or wished to convince or persuade, he put what he wanted to say in simple and natural words, making no comment; that he left to his hearers. He was so accurately true, that when he once related to Gonçalez a story he had told many years before, he repeated not only the exact facts, but all particulars, in nearly the same words. Usually his discretion was perfect; once in 1545 he incautiously made a promise of assistance in some affair, in which he afterwards thought it better that he should not interfere. He was greatly distressed; he said to Gonçalez, "I do not think for these eleven or twelve years past to have been so thoughtless as to what I said, or to have promised what I could not fulfil." He was so accustomed to find charitable extenuations of all that appeared wrong in others, that in the house "the interpretations of Ignatius" was a proverb.

The same or still greater care he gave to his letter-writing. He told Blessed Favre in a letter which he addressed to him for the whole Society on Dec. 10, 1542, that he always wrote the principal part of his letter twice over to remove any expression or statement which might in any way be undesirable. And he wished that all his sons should take like pains, especially as he had to write to so many, while they had only to write to him. And he adds that he had calculated a few days before that he had to send as many as 250 letters regularly to different parts of the world—"and if some are very busy in the Society, I am persuaded that if I am not very busy, I have not less to do than any one else, and with poorer health than most."

What St. Ignatius calls the principal part or the body of the letter is that which might have to be shown to others, while he wished that all private news, as of illness, acknowledgment of letters received, exhortations to virtue, be written in separate sheets, as postscripts.

Father Bobadilla did not relish the rebuke, and wrote a letter in which, among other amenities, he said that such a plan involved a waste of time, which he could not spare. The Saint's reply is charming in its modesty and gentle patience with his too hasty disciple. He told him in conclusion how earnestly he wished to be relieved of his burden of Superior, and promised him if only the Society or half of it would consent to a fresh election to give his vote for him, as his successor, or to any other whom Nicholas might choose in his place.

The building which Codacio obtained for the Society had a garden, in which Ignatius delighted to walk. He loved plants and flowers, and everything on earth or in heaven was full to him of God. When he went




ST. JOHN LATERAN.

to this garden, and sat or walked, rapt in contemplation, the Fathers drew edification from his attitude and countenance, while watching him from the windows. There was a balcony at the window of his study where he loved, on the summer nights, to sit and gaze on the stars. Lainez once heard him say, "Oh, how vile does earth appear to me when I look up to heaven!"[1]

The eventide was to him an especially solemn and sacred time. He would then always be alone with God for an hour. If any came to see him, his assistant lay-brother was ordered not to knock, but push open the upper part of the door, which was in two panels, and say what was wanted at the outside. In going about in the country, he was much used to look fixedly up to heaven; so that some one described him as "that Father who is always looking upwards, and talking with God."

When Lainez asked him his method of prayer, he answered, "that in the things of the Lord," he proceeded rather "as those who receive than as those who work."

In the early years of his priesthood, when saying Mass in the Lateran Basilica on Christmas Day, at the altar of the relics, he was filled with such joy that it found vent in tears and moans. A man whispered to Francis Strada, who had acted as acolyte, "That priest of yours must have been very wicked, for his conscience smote him so at Mass, that he wept all the time."

He would not be called in the house by any title, but simply Ignatius. Lainez ventured to ask him one day, if it were true that he had an Archangel for his guardian. He answered nothing, but blushed like a young girl, and turned away his face.

Our Saint was very grateful to benefactors, prayed daily for them, visited them in their houses, received them at all hours, and talked freely with them on the concerns of the Society, especially of the news from India, about which all were curious. His letters of condolence with those who were in sorrow, though intensely religious in their matter, are full of a deep and tender sympathy.

He practised self-examination as strictly as he enjoined it. He once asked a Father, how often he had examined himself that day. The Father answered, "Seven times." "Only seven times!" said St. Ignatius, and yet it was not much past noon. At mid-day and at night he made what he calls the "particular examination," which referred to some besetting fault. He gives detailed directions in the "Exercises" how to practise it, and these he followed faithfully till his death.

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[1] The balcony is still shown. See B. N., c. iv.

A Father asked him how to obtain perfect humility. "This is the way," said Ignatius; "do exactly the opposite of what is done by men of the world—hate what they seek, and seek what they avoid." He gave copious instructions on this subject to novices; impressing on them that "humility is truth." He had absorbed this, as it were, so thoroughly into his mind, that he said he feared vainglory less than any other sin.

But charity—that is, the love of God, and of man for God's sake—was his passion; it engrossed his whole soul and stamped his character. He saw God in all, and this is the key to his life. From this came his thirst for souls, his pity for the poor, his courage before the great, his being all to all to gain all, the firmness and gentleness at once of his rule. He tried ever to act towards others as God acted towards him. All his instructions ended with these words, many times repeated—"Love God with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your will." He said that if he could go to hell without sin of his own, he should suffer more from the evil tongues of the damned, who blaspheme God, than from the torments of hell-fire.

He thought that to endure affliction for Christ's sake was the greatest security and the highest privilege that a Christian could desire. He said, "If God sends you great sufferings, it is a sign He will make you a great saint; and if you wish Him to make you a great saint, pray that He may send you great sufferings." Again: "All the honey which can be extracted from worldly pleasures is not so sweet as the gall and vinegar of Christ." One day he told Ribadeneira, with joy, that our Saviour had granted him a favour long asked, that the heritage of the Passion should never fail the Society.[1]

His habitual self-control seldom allowed any outward expression of joy or sorrow to be seen in his countenance, but sometimes the news of a calamity made him look glad and thankful. And when the favour both of Court and people everywhere surrounded the Jesuits in Portugal, and nothing reached his ear but successes, he one day told Gonçalez that he feared lest the zeal of the Fathers had diminished, and that this was why Satan was less hostile.

He particularly detested laziness; he asked a lay-brother who seemed loitering, "Dear brother, for whom are you working?" "For God and His love," answered the brother. "Then I assure you," was the reply, "if you do no better hereafter, I shall give you a heavy penance; if you were

[1] A prophecy fulfilled up to this time, for its members are still, as for three hundred years past, indefatigable in saving souls; stupidly misunderstood and perversely misrepresented.

working for men, it might be no great fault to do it with so little pains; but working for God so carelessly, is without excuse."

One day the Fathers discussed the question, whether they would prefer being made safe at once in heaven, or remaining on earth to serve God for a longer time? Lainez confessed that he would gladly accept such a security. "And I," said St. Ignatius, "would choose rather to remain, and work on for the glory of God; for I am sure that He is a generous Master, and would not allow a soul to suffer damage that had postponed its own enjoyment of heaven in order to increase His glory here."

He strove so to live as to keep the resolution he had made, ever to spend the present hour better than the last.

He thought that a confidence in God's assistance, beyond what the world deemed prudent, was agreeable to Him. "Whoever," he said, "would do a great work for the glory of God must not be over-wise, nor act only in accordance with his means." And during the latter years, when misfortune often seemed impending, his trust was greatly exercised, but never deceived him. Probably, however, he would not always have counselled the same conduct to other persons. For his prudence equalled his zeal; and in the exercise of his extraordinary gift of guiding and governing, he never made his own experience an exact rule for any other person.

About the time of Ignatius' arrival in Rome, much was said about the extraordinary visions and raptures of a nun, named Maddalena della Croce, who was believed by many to be a great saint. Father Santa Cruz spoke of her to Ignatius with unbounded admiration; he thought her inspired. But the Saint reproved him: no member of the Order of Jesus, he said, ought to speak thus, or draw any such conclusions. And it turned out that she was an impostor, and she was afterwards silenced by the Inquisition. Another Father had spoken to some novices about visions and such-like miraculous favours. Ignatius found much fault with him, and forbade such talk. The care with which the Saint enjoined extreme humility, temperance, and moderation, on all whom he had to guide in the spiritual life, is very remarkable in one who, from the beginning to the close of his career, felt himself to be under the influence of supernatural communication.

Excess in anything, or the presumption that often accompanies great zeal or uncommon efforts, was an evil that he seemed particularly to dread. He repressed unreasonable scruples, and when Brogelmans, a Flemish priest, tormented by an extreme anxiety in saying his Office, spent almost all day over it, he bade him not exceed an hour by the glass—if he had not

finished then, he was to leave the rest unsaid.[1] This cured him. A lay-brother, a Spaniard, obtained leave to fast on bread and water during Lent, but on Good Friday Ignatius bade him eat as the rest did at the common table. When he heard that Araoz was bidden by the physician to return to his native air, because he had reduced himself to great weakness by over-exertions and privations, he wrote to him:—

"They write to me what need you have to take great care of your health; this, in part, from the fact, that though it is very feeble, you allow yourself to be carried away by charity to undertake labours and undergo grave discomforts. On account, then, of what you may bring on yourself, and because I judge before God, Our Lord, that it is more pleasing to His Divine Majesty that you use more moderation in this matter, so as to be able to work the longer in His service, it has seemed good to me in the Lord to give you an order as to your food, the arrangement of your time, and, as to your sleep and the number of hours, that you follow in all the Doctor's advice. For these next three months until September you must not be prodigal of yourself, but take care of your health, if it has not seemed right to the Duke (of Gandia) and Don Juan (his son) that once a month you may do it without harm to yourself. To prevent any explanations which may hinder this, and that you may see I feel this in the Lord very much, I order you, in virtue of holy obedience, to do as I tell you."

ROME, *June* 1, 1551.

Ignatius kindly comforted the despondency of a lay-brother, Giovanni Milano, who had great mistrust of himself, and who thought that he should be forced to leave the Gesù. "Be sure, Brother Giovanni," said Ignatius, "if I continue in the Society you will do the same." It is remarkable that he frequently checked the zeal of his brethren in laudable things, almost always leaning to the side of indulgence. He was urged to enjoin a fast every Friday, but he would allow nothing more than the customary abstinence. At Venice, the Rector of its College, Andrea Galvanelli, gave exhortations during an hour daily, and on festivals these lasted two hours. But Ignatius bade him return to the rule of one hour weekly, as before.

He always detested language of double meaning, anything ambiguous or designed to mislead or conceal; regarding this as almost falsehood, and therefore injurious to society, unworthy of well-born and cultured men. He was himself eminently truthful, and showed in his own example how

[1] By the same spiritual industry he had cured B. Peter Favre of scrupulosity in reciting the Divine Office, when they were living together in Paris.

wide is the distance between prudence and cunning.[1] He would have approved doubtless that opinion of his disciple, and almost contemporary, Suarez—that God Himself cannot excuse a lie; and of St. Augustine, who said that "a lie must not be told even to save the life of a parent," and would not have any one seem to agree with the Priscillianists, in order to ascertain their tenets and hidden practices, because this would be attaining a good object by dishonest means.

Something like this seems to have been done by Olivier Manare. Doubtless, if we possessed the details, we should find Ignatius as scrupulous in this case as in every other; but Olivier does not tell the story quite to his own credit. He says he learnt, when Rector of the Roman College, of some private and unauthorised devotions of several of the Community, led by Father Antonio Soldevilla. "And I pretended," says he, "to favour these proceedings, and to wish to be present, and accordingly I went." They assembled in a room after the hour for going to bed, and gave themselves up to extraordinary practices of penance. Pietro Silvio, a very promising student, was nearly driven mad, and others manifestly injured by these extravagances. The use Manare made of his knowledge was to report the whole to Ignatius, who was exceedingly angry, and sent Soldevilla away immediately to Naples, after a public discipline.

Ignatius showed the tenderness of a true father in his solicitude for the young, or for those who were new in the religious life. These he kept near him; they were lodged in the house under his own eye; he became intimately acquainted with each, adapted himself to the character of every individual, "so that he seemed," it was said, "to be the Superior of each separately, more than of the Order." He understood and sympathised with his children so entirely, that all of them, the young novices and the mature Fathers, were willing to open to him their whole hearts. He had no partialities. It was believed that Favre, the earliest of his companions, was also the dearest to him, but he never betrayed this. When he was obliged to reprove, he did it in such fashion that it was said he so healed the wounds he inflicted, as not to leave a scar. And Ribadeneira says all had such love for Ignatius, that none resented a reproof from him. Bartoli relates that, except one man, whose name he never heard, there was no heart in the Society not devoted to him.

[1] Suspensa, vel ambigua, vel obscura verba, perplexum de industria incertumque sermonem, uti barbaras artes, et subdola mendacii tegumenta, fideique ac societati humanæ perniciem, semper est detestatus; ac suo monstravit exemplo, veritatis cultor eximius, quantum inter prudentiam et calliditatem intersit.

Among these men, Ignatius would have no distinction of country and language, except, he said, "that we should show particular friendliness to foreigners—as the mountain streams, when they leave their source, seem to seek and unite to themselves waters from other springs, till they reach the ocean together." All were ordered to speak the language of the country they were placed in; he renewed this injunction shortly before his death. Miron remarks, that in the Roman College no tongue but the Italian was ever heard, though they had natives of sixteen countries. He forbade any talk of the public events of distant places, as of wars, battles, and such-like, lest this should excite feelings unfavourable to a perfect union.[1]

If he perceived a novice inclined to a particular fault, he bade him preach and exhort others to the opposite virtue. He strove to keep their duties quite within the bounds of their powers and attainments. When Bernard, a Japanese Christian, sent him by St. Francis Xavier, asked for difficult things to do, Ignatius for a long while would not comply, and then made Bernard promise that he would inform him whenever he experienced any distaste or weariness.

Lorenzo Mazzi, a young nobleman of Brescia, revealed to Ignatius that he was tempted to quit the Society. "If our way of life be too strict for you," said Ignatius, "I will not oppose it." But first, he begged this of him—"When you wake to-night, stretch yourself out as if you were dead, and think to yourself how you will wish to have lived when that time really draws near." The young man remained and became a good priest.

Another, a German novice, had the same impatience of restraint. Ignatius requested him to remain only four days longer, but at perfect liberty, and not obliged to observe the rules of the house. The novice agreed to this, and he continued in the Society.

Once, at midnight, Ignatius sent for a young novice who was so displeased at a duty imposed on him that he could not rest, and was thinking of returning to the world. The Saint asked him what advice he would give to any one afflicted by such and such temptations, and so ingeniously depicted the young man's mind to himself, suggesting fit remedies, that the youth, touched and convinced, remained willingly in the house.

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[1] "This seemed wonderful on our being first established, and is in fact a kind of continued miracle in our Society, in which there is so great harmony and close union between men of many nations, differing in birth, education, minds, and tempers; so that, whatever diversity nature had made between them, grace gives them a perfect conformity of inclinations and will. In this the mercy of God appears so great, that we not only enjoy this blessing, but it spreads its sweet odour abroad also, to the extreme edification of our neighbour, and the greater glory of God. Whence many, when asked why they wish to enter the Society, say, that it is the union they see between the brethren which moves them most."—*Christian Perfection, by Father Alphonsus Rodriguez.*

A young man, after being withheld for a time from deserting the Society, at last quitted it. He had been sent out to beg alms in the streets; a kinsman met him, remonstrated on what he thought a disgrace to their family, and promised to procure him a benefice if he would take orders as a secular priest. When Ignatius saw him disturbed and unhappy, he never suffered him to be left alone, gave him a companion in his cell, whom he made to promise that he would rouse his friend and speak to him as often as he lay awake himself. And the Saint begged the discontented novice to postpone his departure for a fortnight, during which time he was released from all rule. Then as he still wished to go, the Fathers who were in the house were summoned to speak to him, and hear his reasons for leaving them; for Ignatius thought that perhaps God might put words into the lips of some present that would alter his purpose. And this actually happened. But some time after the young man relapsed and went away.

Ignatius did not always attempt to retain unwilling novices; on the contrary, he was sometimes more inflexible than his Brethren quite approved in the matter of expulsions. He once dismissed nine at a time, and soon afterwards ten more, seemingly because he thought that they wanted the spirit of the Order, and that they might be better trained and made serviceable elsewhere, than for any grave offence committed by them. One of these had done no more than give a blow to a companion in sport. Ignatius was observed to appear relieved and cheerful when he had been thus severe; doubtless he had long seen the riddance must one day come. And in a letter written late in life to Simon Rodriguez, he enjoins an unsparing conduct in this respect, insisting that no insubordination should be passed over, or any wilful offender suffered to remain.

Many times when Ignatius saw that some young person was struggling against temptations, he renewed the humble artifice which had been successful in Paris, and related how he himself had been tried, and often defeated, before the final victory over Satan and his own nature was won. Baldoino d'Angelis, a young novice, who had left behind the little son of a dead brother, grieved over his orphan nephew, and was on the point of returning to the world for his sake. Ignatius spoke to him of his old reluctances to quit his own family, whom he loved; and told him that at one time a picture of the Holy Virgin, in a book he made use of, always recalled to him so vividly the face of his brother Martin's wife, that he was disturbed by it, and pasted some paper over the page. He told Baldoino that God would make up to the child fourfold for the kinsman who left him in His holy keeping; and this so satisfied the young man, that he had no longer any solicitude. He became a learned and pious Father, and on

the installation of the Society at Naples he was one of those who were sent there.

A young Jew named Isaac, whom Ignatius hoped to convert, and had received into the house of Santa Maria della Strada, suddenly declared that he would leave it. Ignatius sent for him, and merely said, "Isaac, stay with us." The charm of his countenance and voice had the effect which it often had, and the youth stayed, and was baptized. The house, in fact, was a sort of refuge, and the Saint tells, in one of his letters,[1] of a Mahomedan, of a little Protestant boy, and of an apparently hopeless good-for-nothing, who all after a short stay were converted, the last one becoming like "a little lamb, in whom no fault could be found."

Ignatius strove always to impress on the mind of each this precept of the Scripture—"Do *all* to the glory of God," so that every one might understand labour to be an act of worship, and most acceptable to our Lord. An answer to this effect, which he gave to a student who put the question to him, is preserved at Rome in his handwriting.

He bids those who are occupied in study "to exercise themselves in seeking after God's presence in everything, as in conversation, in walking, looking at things, taking food, hearing, reading, and the like, for it is most true that the Divine Majesty is present in all things . . . and this manner of meditation, which discovers God in everything, is more easy than that other which elevates the mind to Divine objects . . . and this will prepare you to receive great favours from God. Besides this, students should make frequent offerings to the Lord . . . of their labours, and studies, accepting all out of love to Him, proposing to themselves to do Him pleasure, and serving Him by assisting those for whose life He was pleased to suffer death. Examine yourselves on these two points."

And with that sagacious and cool judgment, which comes out very remarkably in a character so full of fire and enthusiasm, he bade his sons rather to dread, than to desire or welcome, visions and raptures, which often puff out the soul with pride, and disturb weak minds. He thought there was even a danger in prayer, lest those who gave much time to it should fancy themselves spiritual, and become obstinate and too attached to their own opinions. The remedy he enjoined was not to pray less, but to strive more for humility, charity, and mortification. He would have them constantly remember, that a humble and true Christian submits his judgment and inclination to those who have received authority from God, and that he mistrusts the suggestions of self-love. "Conquer thyself"

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 208, Jan. 20, 1550.

was his perpetual injunction, the subject of his discourses in public and his exhortations in conversation.

When he heard Gonçalez say that some one was "a great man of prayer," he added, as if correcting him, "He must be a very mortified man." Nadal entreated him to allot more time to prayer in the rules of his Society. The answer was, "It needs much prayer to vanquish the passions, but when victory has been obtained, a quarter of an hour will suffice to unite the soul closely with God; the spirit, unmortified, would hardly attain this in two hours;" and when Nadal insisted, Ignatius was displeased, and even removed him from the place in the Society which he had lately given him.

He had the utmost patience with fiery and daring characters, because he thought that they had more merit than others in subduing themselves to a Christian moderation, and would do more and go further in God's service.

There were two lay-brothers at Rome, of opposite dispositions. St. Ignatius always encouraged and praised the one who was hasty and choleric. He often said to him, "Take courage, brother; conquer yourself, and you will have greater merit than another, who has no difficulty in being tranquil and mild."

One young man, who could not easily restrain his temper when others irritated him, avoided his companions during the hour of recreation, and went into the garden. Ignatius found him there alone. "You are wrong," said he; "these temptations should be combated, not shunned; solitude can only hide your impatience, not cure it; you will please God more by subduing this irritation, than you would by burying yourself in a cavern for a year."

Even in those who had been long in the Society, he was patient of much imperfection in this point, if he saw a sincere desire to amend. Two Fathers had displeased him; when he reproved them, one burst into angry words, the other kept a sullen and resentful silence. Ignatius dismissed the latter from the Society, and retained the culprit whose fault was more open and honest.

Emond Auger, afterwards so illustrious in his work, so remarkable by his escape from death, when he had actually mounted the scaffold, was one of the daring and decided tempers which Ignatius liked to cultivate. He told the Fathers that Emond had advanced more in piety during the novitiate than two who were admitted at the same time, who had a sweet disposition, and gave no trouble; but Ignatius was strict with him, and once kept him standing all day before the door of the infirmary because he had

carelessly left it open, which was a great offence against order and recollectedness.[1]

St. Ignatius was solicitous that the constant work or studies of the young men, and their frequent hardships, should be interrupted by times of recreation. This was always done, and shortly before he died he bought the villa of Sta. Balbina for the purpose of giving country air to the students and novices, at least once a week, sometimes oftener.[2]

When his young kinsman, Antonio Araoz, followed him to Rome, and there entered the Society, he ordered him to retain the garments of velvet and gold worn then by the nobles of Spain and Italy; probably, long before the two years were ended, this was a greater mortification than the humblest garb could have been. Antoine des Freux (Frusius) was another who wore his former dress till he had passed through the novitiate; Don Juan Mendoza, Captain of Sant' Elmo, a third. In the same spirit, Ignatius was accustomed at first to use all the ceremonies of common life with men distinguished by any rank, and called them by their titles, till they themselves begged him to desist.

Like St. Philip Neri, he would tolerate no lack of cleanliness in personal habits, nor in the furniture and keeping of the house. A novice was once reported to him as uncommonly addicted to washing his hands, which appeared, perhaps, an effeminacy to the Novice-master. Ignatius bade him observe if the novice showed any vanity in other ways, but otherwise not to find fault.

He took pleasure in seeing the signs of health and youthful vigour among them. He once called to him Benedetto Palmio, who was eating his dinner with high satisfaction, and said, "Now continue to nourish yourself well, and grow strong to serve God and our Society."

Francis Coster, a Fleming, was much given to laughter, "as it often happens," says Mariani, "with those who have newly entered into Religion." Ignatius met him in the street, and said, "Francis, I see that you are always laughing," the novice bent his eyes on the ground, and awaited a reproof; "I am glad of it, and while you are docile and faithful to your rule, I do not think you can be too gay. But remember, you must not be depressed

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[1] Auger, preaching at Valence, and making the utmost efforts against the Huguenots, who were then in power there, was seized and imprisoned and condemned to death. When he mounted the scaffold, with the rope round his neck, he spoke of the joy with which he would seal his faith by his death, and the crowd around was so moved with compassion and reverence, that he was reprieved by his captors, with the vain hope of gaining him over to their side.

[2] The rooms are still to be seen which Ignatius inhabited when there. The ruins of the Baths of Caracalla enclose the vineyard on one side.

by things that do not please you; I think I see in you talents above the common standard; if they are not available because you want humility, you will be sorrowful. I perceive the air of Rome disagrees with you; I shall send you into Sicily, though, perhaps, you would like Flanders better. Now, if you have preferences, and they are opposed by obedience, this will make you sad. Therefore keep yourself humble, that you may always rejoice." Coster had come from Louvain, where the Order had obtained great successes under Adrian Adriaenssens (Adriani). He followed the "Spiritual Exercises," and then, at the same time with Theodore Canisius, half-brother of B. Peter, who was already so distinguished, he entered the Society, when very young, in 1552, and his after life more than realised Ignatius' anticipations.

A frequent interchange of duties was part of the system of the house. Once Ignatius asked a young novice who was working in the kitchen if he could write him a copy of verses? "I can try, Father," said the young man; and he brought Ignatius some lines addressed to himself, and highly complimentary. Perhaps Ignatius meant a reproof when he said, "But these lines describe a saint. Do you really believe I have all these virtues?" "I do not know that," answered the novice adroitly, "but I know that you ought to have them."

Ignatius tried always to obtain the confidence of these young men, encouraged them to communicate to him all that passed in their minds, and never repressed their openness by reproof; that he left for others, or for another opportunity. He frequently desired one of the two Superiors in each college to treat the students with great tenderness, while the other in command appeared strict and severe; this was intended to prevent their being discouraged or unhappy, while at the same time their virtues or abilities were exercised to the utmost. At Rome he commonly reserved the indulgent character to himself, and left severity to the Master of Novices. While Luis Gonçalez filled this office, Gaspar Loarte, a clever Spaniard, whom the holy Juan d'Avila had induced to enter the Society, was admitted to the novitiate. Ignatius bade Gonçalez try his patience to the utmost; himself meanwhile showing him the most paternal affection. "I explained to him," said Gonçalez, "that our piety is like a beam of wood; we cannot tell whether it be safe to trust to it until we have laid great burdens on it, to test its strength." "Alas!" said poor Loarte, "I see that I must prepare for more austerities." Gonçalez asked him one day, what he thought of Father Ignatius? "He is all kindness," said Loarte; "he is like a fountain of oil." "And what do you think of me?" said Gonçalez. "You," answered the novice, "are like a fountain of vinegar."

Doubtless, the answer was meant and taken as a not discourteous jest, for Ignatius, when he heard of the conversation, was well pleased with it, though he bade Gonçalez be more indulgent for the future.

Sometimes Ignatius invited the novices to come into his own room, where he would give them fruit, peeling it for them himself. He disapproved the custom men have in the south of kissing each other, and forbade any such salutations, except an embrace when they went or returned from a long journey. He reproved an old Father who patted the young Jacopo Croce on the head; this youth was but eleven years old, and seems to have been a favourite in the house. The schoolmaster brought him on holidays to Ignatius to kiss his hand. One day the boy came gaily dressed, with a purple band round his collar. Ignatius pretended not to recognise him, and asked the master where Jacopino was? The boy understood the reproof, and came back again, dressed in his ordinary way. Ignatius, with a grave smile, gave him his hand.

We read, however, in the evidence of two sworn witnesses that the Saint was not always so severe. Gaspar, the son of one of his benefactors, says he constantly saw Ignatius, who frequently caressed him. "My father," says Alexander de Cancellariis, "always took me with him when he went to see Father Ignatius. I would kiss his hand, and he pulled me lightly by the ear, and questioned me on the Catechism, and he used always to hear my confession, and he caressed me as if I were a little child."[1]

Once during Ignatius' life, a disciple of the Calvinists had nearly obtained admission into the Order. He was a young Calabrese, named Michele, who offered himself for the novitiate, and was, in due course of time, allowed to enter on its duties. He was intelligent, assumed an appearance of great devotion, and received the Sacraments frequently. The care of the refectory was his share of the household work, divided by custom among the novices, and his companion was Olivier Manare, to whom he soon began cautiously to impart doubts whether the images on the walls could be venerated without idolatry; he had heard a German doctor quote a text from St. John, "Beware of images." Another time, he asked Manare to explain the words, "Salute the brethren who are in Babylon." Manare answered, "St. Peter spoke of Rome, which he called Babylon, from its wickedness." "The preachers in Germany," said the novice, "also supposed that Rome was meant, but with a prophetic allusion to the corruptions of the Papacy." This put Manare on his guard, and suspecting an accom-

[1] Clair, pp. 229, 230.

plished traitor, he drew him out to express his opinions in writing on three points, which he then showed to Ignatius. It was impossible for Ignatius to do other than expel him, and inform Cardinal Caraffa, then chief inquisitor. The young man was taken and tried. Considering the horror entertained of German heterodoxy at that time, and the aggravation of this attempt to introduce it into a Religious Order, with what would be called a malignant conspiracy—for Melanchthon and another were believed to be its authors—it seems a proof of what has been alleged respecting the aversion of the Roman Inquisition to capital punishment that Michele was only condemned to the galleys for life.

Another attempt was made soon after in the same direction. A box of books, containing those of the German controversialists, hidden under a layer of unexceptionable Fathers of the Church and manuals of devotion, was sent as a present. Manare was again the discoverer. The box was left open, but the books had not been touched, when he chanced to examine them, and found, beneath the orthodox layer, those that were really the object of the insidious gift. He brought them to Ignatius, who threw them all into the fire.

A young man of large fortune entered the novitiate; he had a valuable crucifix with the Madonna carved standing at the foot of the Cross. The youth was much attached to this work of art. Ignatius left it in his possession, though one of the most stringent rules of the Society forbade property in anything. The novice advanced rapidly in self-renunciation. Ignatius observed this, and said, "Since our brother has learnt to renounce himself, and has the image of Christ Crucified in his heart, we may take it out of his hands." And the novice gave it up without reluctance.

One night he visited a Brother who was strongly tempted to return to the world. His remonstrances touched the young man's conscience, and he threw himself at Ignatius' feet, offering to perform any act of penance that might be imposed. Ignatius embraced him and said, "Half of your penance shall be, that you must never again regret having promised to serve God; the other half I will take upon myself—my sufferings when I am ill shall go for that."

Ignatius made another, whose room was disorderly, put all his things into a sack and go through the house with it on his shoulder, telling every one whom he met of his offence; for the Saint was displeased if, when he visited the rooms, he did not find the bed neatly made, the nightcap, the shoes, the candlestick, in their proper places, the broom put out of sight, and all the small remainder of each one's scanty furniture well arranged.

Sometimes Ignatius caused a circle to be drawn on the floor round an offender, who was not to leave it without permission, but he might sit down if there was room. He would send a culprit to pray before the Blessed Sacrament for a certain time, or till he was sent for; in which case he used to add, "Pray that I may not forget you."

Some of these penances have an odd facetiousness that reminds one of those grotesque figures which the monks used to carve on the columns of their churches. Ignatius made a novice, whose offence was presumption, stand in the refectory with wings fastened to his shoulders, probably such as had served in the procession of Corpus Christi, while another admonished him thus—"Do not attempt to fly till your wings are grown." Another time the offender was placed at the lower table in the refectory, while some one, who was doubtless the wit and jester of the house, was charged to ridicule him, and reproach him with having made no greater progress.

A Jew, whom Ignatius had converted, sent his young son, Alessandro de Franceschi, to be brought up in the house. The boy on one occasion, being very angry, uttered a malicious wish[1] against the person who had offended him. St. Ignatius sent out to buy a live crab-fish, tied the child's hands behind him, and ordered it to be fastened round his neck, where it nipped him terribly, while to point the moral he told him "it was fitting that he should feel pain, since he had wished it for another." The lad cried bitterly, and promised never to say such words again, and was at once released. The boy lived to become a priest. He joined the Dominicans, and was afterwards Bishop of Forli, where he was known as l'Ebreino, the little Jew. He told this story himself.

Brother Borelli had served with great virtue for many years, but once he owned spontaneously that he had taken out a blessed chaplet from a casket and put another in its place. Ignatius only reproved him, but told him for the next offence he should be expelled.

Father Juan d'Avila, the well-known spiritual writer, had led many besides Loarte and F. Antonio de Cordova to enter the Society, of which he had the highest admiration. He said the end it had in view was the object he had desired to attain during many years; he thought Ignatius was sent and instructed by Heaven to accomplish an immense work; and he compared himself to a child striving to roll a heavy weight from the bottom

[1] *Ti mando un canchero! May you have a cancer!* St. Ignatius' punishment was a practical play on the word.

to the top of a mountain, when a giant comes, who lifting the burden easily, carries it to the top.

When Nadal communicated to Ignatius the regrets of Juan that his age and infirmities prevented him from entering the Society, Ignatius replied, "If he would only come among us, we would bear him on our shoulders as though he were the Ark of the Covenant."

CASTEL MADAMA, RESIDENCE OF JUANA DE ARAGON.—*See p.* 320.

# BOOK III.

## The Work of the Society in its First Years.

RATH-HAUS, SCENE OF CONFERENCE, RATISBON.

# BOOK III.

## *THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY IN ITS FIRST YEARS.*

## CHAPTER I.

### THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN GERMANY—BLESSED PETER FAVRE AND LE JAY—1540–1550.

IN the winter of 1539 a document of remarkable significance was signed at Wittenberg. It was not then, indeed, made public, but soon became notorious and undisputed. It was a formal permission to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, to have two wives, granted "for the saving of his conscience," by Melanchthon, Luther, and Butzer, leaders of that sect which denies the authority of the Church, and declaims against the domination of the Catholic priesthood. Yet no priest, and no Pope, has ever dared to assume an autho-

rity such as this. As Lainez, when he sat in the Council of Trent, said on the subject of marriage, "*It will never be granted by the Church to diverge from the law of God*, or to restrict where God allows." It was in 1540 that St. Ignatius first sent his companions to labour in Germany wherever there seemed the best chance of success.

Mariani gives from a MS. of Blessed Canisius, then kept in the archives of the Gesù, "The Viaticum of the holy Father Ignatius, containing five things to be kept in mind by those who go to foreign countries:—1. Remember, my brother, that you are sent by Christ on a pilgrimage; that you are His steward, and a labourer in His vineyard. 2. Take care of yourself, and be always on your guard, because you are surrounded by dangers and enemies. 3. Especially watch over your senses, above all over your eyes. 4. Be the same at all times, and keep an even mind amid prosperous circumstances or adverse; be not disturbed by joy or by sorrow. 5. Never let your soul starve for want of holy thoughts, but lift it up to God when you are journeying, and when you are transacting business; at your meals particularly, and in conversation, try to keep a quiet mind and a collected spirit, so that you may never lose a right intention nor a wise foresight in your labours."

In 1540 the Emperor Charles despatched Ortiz to Worms, where another Diet was convened. He asked the Pope and St. Ignatius to send with him a priest, competent to meet the exigencies of the times, who should be at once an irreproachable character, an eloquent speaker, and a consummate theologian. They both chose Favre. On October 24 he arrived with the ambassador at Worms—the first Jesuit who entered Germany. It was soon seen that the Lutherans had no real intention of yielding to argument. But Favre discovered greater danger to the Christian faith than could come from its open enemies. His letters to Ignatius of this time convey a fearful picture of the dissolute lives of all classes, beginning with the clergy. On New Year's Day of 1541 B. Peter writes to St. Ignatius and to Father Codacio:—

I wonder there are not twice or three times more heretics than there are, because nothing leads to errors in belief so rapidly as a disordered life. It is not the false interpretation of Scripture, nor the conspiracies of the Lutherans, that have caused so many countries and so many towns and provinces to revolt against religion. All the mischief is done by the scandalous lives of the clergy. . . .

Would there were in this city of Worms at least two or three churchmen who were not living openly in sin, or guilty of some other notorious crime, and who had a little zeal for the salvation of souls! They might do anything they pleased with this simple people; I mean, in the towns where they have not

THE CATHEDRAL AND RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE DIET, WORMS.

abolished all the laws and practices of religion, nor entirely thrown off obedience to the Apostolic See; but those whose duty it is to lead the faithless into the fold are precisely the ones who drive the Catholics to become Lutherans, by the spectacle of their dissolute lives.

In Worms nothing but the strong arm of the Elector Palatine had wrested the city from the Protestants. Favre sought for the help of a few priests who were unimpeachable, but found only one, the Dean, who exercised the functions of Vicar-General and Inquisitor. He had been alone, quite unsupported, till Favre came; and was on the point of renouncing the hopeless attempt to restrain the people from rushing, as he said, "down the wolf's throat." Favre persuaded him to remain, and Worms was almost regenerated.

Charles V. still hoped to succeed by negotiation. A Conference was to be held at Ratisbon, which seemed to open under the happiest auspices. The Emperor at that time was very strongly interested in obtaining a peace, which would leave him free to carry out his ambitious projects elsewhere. The utmost pains had been taken to collect persons least offensive to the Lutheran party. Chancellor Granvella, and Frederick, Count Palatine, known to favour the Protestants, were to preside. Philip of Hesse, who was there, appeared friendly to Austria; Joachim of Brandenburg declared he was willing "under conditions" to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy; the Protestant speakers, Pistorius, Butzer, and Melanchthon, were the most gentle and amiable of their party, and were known to condemn the ebullitions of Luther. They were again to be encountered by Eck, Pfug, and Gropper, chosen by Charles for their extreme moderation; and Pope Paul III. sent, as his legate, Gaspar Contarini, the prelate of all Italy best fitted to understand and reconcile the tempers and interests of both sides. He was well known to be as earnest to reform within the Church, as for the return of those who had left it. The authority of his talents, the dignity of his character, gave him a weight eminently serviceable to the Papal cause; and on one great point he would have found no insuperable difficulty—the separation of the spiritual from the secular power in the bishops of Germany, who were far more princes than priests. Many Catholics desired to see this.

Contarini had received only a limited authority from Paul III.; but his first step was against the instructions Paul had explicitly given: he placed the Papal Supremacy last instead of first on the list of questions to be discussed. He consulted on every point with Morone, Bishop of Modena, who was afterwards obnoxious to Paul IV. for his supposed Lutheranism,

and with Fra Tommaso di Modena, Master of the Sacred Palace. The Conference at last got safely over the terrible stumbling-blocks of Original Sin, Redemption, and Justification. Butzer went the length of saying, "that, in the points agreed on, all was included that was necessary to a pious, upright, and holy life before God and man."

When the Emperor saw these symptoms of reconciliation, he declared that he would not leave Ratisbon till all was adjusted. Reginald Pole wrote to Contarini, "that these consenting opinions had delighted him as with a celestial harmony, because he foresaw the coming of peace and union;" he wished his friend joy, and he thanked God.

But, before long, all these pleasant prospects disappeared.[1] Charles was impatient now to hasten to Algiers, and wanting peace at any price, resolved secretly to promise the Lutherans a general council in their own country, or, if that were not attainable, at least a national council. Contarini guessed this intention, and imparted it to Paul III., who immediately announced that he would convoke a General Council without delay. Charles caused a report of their proceedings to be presented to the Diet; but Contarini gave his opinion that it should be referred unconditionally to the Pope. The Catholic princes sided with the Legate, the towns with the Emperor; the Protestants were exceedingly discontented, and declared that they would not attend any council presided over by the Pope or his Legates. They had at last thrown off the mask, and showed an opposition which baffled argument or intercession. The Archbishop of Lunden and others had all along represented that it was for the Emperor's advantage to keep Germany divided, so that it might be always under his control, and these were now clamorous in warnings which had much effect on his mind.

Francis I. took exactly the contrary view, and feared that Charles would become too strong if the insurgents were satisfied and the country at peace. He affected great indignation at the concessions granted by the Legate, and "became every day," said the Pope's ambassador at Paris, "more earnest about Church matters," while at the same time Granvella swore to Contarini that Francis had sent letters to the Protestant chiefs, exhorting them to persevere, and desiring to be further informed concerning their doctrines, which he was not unwilling to examine. He even invited Melanchthon to Paris, but Cardinal Tournon persuaded him after all to forbid his coming.

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[1] On the subject of the "Real Presence" it became evident, even to Contarini, who had been so sanguine, that all possibility of conciliation with the Lutherans was utterly hopeless.

Charles at last closed the meeting by deciding that everything should remain as before, until the promised Council was summoned, except that the reforms agreed on among the clergy were to be carried out immediately. None were meanwhile to be disquieted on account of their religion. The request urged upon the Pope for a General Council was not accompanied by a distinct admission that he alone had a right to convene it, the Emperor even tacitly appeared to think he might do this himself. This silence, with the example of Henry VIII. of England before him, was enough to alarm the jealousy of Paul and his stern adviser Caraffa. The Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Mainz declared against any reconciliation not preceded by submission on the Lutheran side; and at last, "the devil," according to Beccatelli, Contarini's secretary, "contrived to sow tares among the divines themselves." Contarini had to return to Italy, defeated, disappointed, and, what was worst of all, misrepresented and disapproved at the Papal Court.

Favre, who had seen all along that the Diet was powerless, set himself to work independently. On April 5, 1541, he wrote:—

> It is an insupportable cross to me to see so large a part of Europe, formerly the glory of our religion, now falling away, and that neither all the Emperor's power, nor the skill and talents of his ministers, nor all the great men assembled at this Diet, can devise or do anything to hinder the ruin of the faith.

Forbidden to preach, he gave the "Spiritual Exercises" to bishops, electors, vicars-general, ambassadors, theologians, and doctors. Charles, the Duke of Savoy, whose compatriot and subject Favre was, placed himself under his direction. So great were the numbers that came to him, that he had hardly time to sleep. The Duke de Najera, kinsman of Ignatius, son of his early friend, was among them; Don Sancho de Castilla; Juan, nephew of "El Chico," the last King of Granada; the Marquis de Pescara, Fernando de la Cerda, listened to him day after day. But St. Ignatius ordered him to proceed at once to Spain. Ortiz was despatched thither by Charles V., and Favre was to accompany him. Before leaving Germany the Father was summoned to Nuremberg to attend an Italian who was dying in that city, from which Catholicism had been banished.

But though much had been done in individual cases, the Senate of Ratisbon still tolerated the new doctrines, and two Protestant churches were open there. When Favre was sent to Spain, the Pope ordered Le Jay, then at Bologna, and Bobadilla, to replace him. These found, as Favre had done, that the Bishop could not control his people; and it was even said that the Dean and clergy shared the aberrations of their fellow-

citizens—at least they looked supinely on. As Ratisbon was a free city, subject to the Emperor alone,—who, with seeming inconsistency, was as tolerant in Germany as he was rigorous in Spain, and even sought to propitiate his Protestant subjects, by holding out hopes that he might at

NUREMBERG.

(*From Drawing by H. W. Brewer.*)

last come round to their opinions,—no assistance was to be looked for from the civil power.

Charles succeeded no better against the Moors than with the heretics of Germany. He had hardly landed in Africa before a violent storm came

on, which almost destroyed his fleet, dispersed his army, and drove him, disappointed and helpless, to keep out of sight in Spain. Barbarossa remained master of the Mediterranean, and continued to ravage the Italian coasts.

At Ratisbon the sermons of Le Jay attracted crowds. Lutherans even came to hear him expound the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; they would not let him suspend these instructions during harvest-time, as was the custom. But Le Jay thought it right to address himself principally to the reform of the clergy, and they did not choose to be reformed; they were angry that a Frenchman should intrude his advice upon them; a sort of unholy sympathy with the Protestants also united them in hatred against him. When the people threatened to throw him into the Danube, "What does it matter to me," said he, "whether I enter heaven by land or water?"

Bobadilla came later. He had been occupied in the diocese of Viterbo, with Cardinal Pole; and went thence to Innsbruck, where Ferdinand, King of the Romans, then resided. Ferdinand took him to Vienna. There more discussions and conferences were to be held. Bobadilla preached in Italian and in Latin, and disputed upon heresy before Ferdinand. Thence he followed the Nuncio, Bishop of Caserta, to Nuremberg, at that time the seat of another of those Diets so often held in Luther's lifetime, in the vain hope of reconciling the irreconcilable, and inducing a licentious people to lay down the unholy liberty they had just begun to enjoy. Bobadilla traversed the city, visited the churches, and almost converted the only Lutheran minister there willing to listen, a worthy man, and one for whom he had much regard.

After the Diet was ended, the German bishops all wished to obtain the aid of Bobadilla's eloquence. He himself thought it right to comply with the desire of Ferdinand, and to return to Vienna, where he strove, not unsuccessfully, to arouse and convert a torpid and demoralised priesthood and an unbelieving people. Ferdinand desired him to visit and reform the monasteries in his dominions; but Bobadilla, ever observant of the holy obedience which was the life of his Order, answered that he could not do this without the consent of the bishops. And it does not appear that this mission was ever carried out.

The King named Bobadilla his theologian for the Diet which was to assemble at Ratisbon in 1543. There this Father found Le Jay. Much was to be done, for which both would not suffice. Bobadilla commented in Latin on his work "De Christianâ Conscientiâ," and strangers of all nations crowded with the Germans to hear him.

But, as usual, along with success came persecution. When the indul-

gences for the Jubilee of 1550, accorded by the Pope, were announced by the Bishop, the hostile party renewed their attacks on him. Le Jay, recurring to the defences customary with the Jesuits, redoubled his diligence and his charity, and applied himself to the study of German, "lingua aspera," he calls it, that he might better reach these wilful people. One of the most prominent Lutherans in Ratisbon at that time was a physician, who had strongly urged the Senate to allow Communion under both kinds; another was a Franciscan friar, who had married a comely wife, and now taught that marriage ought to be allowed to priests. On these two Le Jay made no impression. Both met with a violent death, which many looked on as a Divine judgment.

After two years passed at Ratisbon, Le Jay, upon the removal of the Nuncio to Nuremberg, was requested to accompany him; but he was almost immediately ordered by Ignatius to go to Ingoldstadt.

Here the sovereign, Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria, was a fervent Catholic. He had forbidden his subjects to go to Ratisbon, where they would hear free discussions of the new doctrines; and when told that this was impolitic, he answered, "I would rather lose my dukedom than give up one of my people to Luther." At Ingoldstadt, therefore, Le Jay met with aid and encouragement. Eck had preceded him. Otto Truchses, Bishop of Augsburg, afterwards Cardinal, invited Le Jay to Dillingen, where they worked together, and great good was done.

A provincial assembly was at this time held at Salzburg, in which it was intended to attempt a compromise that should satisfy both parties. Le Jay, whose character seems to have been one not disposed at any time to compromise, was unwilling to go thither, but the Duke's brother, who was Archbishop of Salzburg, earnestly desired his assistance. Gratitude, perhaps, induced Le Jay to give it. The bishops consulted him before each session, and he, at their desire, drew up a summary of the two points proposed by the Emperor for their discussion. He proved, first, that the prelates could not allow a lay assembly to decide on any religious question; and secondly, that even if the Protestants admitted every Catholic dogma, they would still be tainted with heresy, so long as they refused to recognise the authority of the Pope in matters of faith. The bishops, in accordance with this opinion, rejected the proposal of the Lutherans to call a national council, and desired Le Jay to write to Rome, and urge the Pontiff to hasten the convocation of a General Council, to which all the prelates and theologians of the time should be invited. This Ignatius himself earnestly wished, and all his Society entreated the Pope to summon the solemn assembly with the least possible delay.

MAINZ CATHEDRAL, AS IN TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

Favre, as has been said, had attended Ortiz into Spain by order of the Pope. He relates that, on this journey, both Fathers, with the escort, were taken prisoners by the French at Nantua, and were thrown into the cells of the castle,[1] in which Favre immediately sought and found ways of doing good. For he began to address the commanding officer and his soldiers with pious lessons and exhortations, as if he had come to that place by a friendly invitation, not as a captive; and the commander, touched by a proceeding that must have astonished him greatly, spoke much with Favre, desired to make his peace with God, and confessed the sins of a life he intended henceforward to reform. He dismissed the whole party after seven days, and took leave of Ortiz and Favre as if they were valued and much honoured guests, to whom he had shown a ready hospitality, rather than prisoners. Favre visited Villaret, his native village, and then Saragossa, Medina, Siguenza, Madrid, and Alcalá; and found traces of Father Araoz' good work. Favre went about teaching, consoling, and catechising the rich and poor. But he was not long allowed to remain in the Peninsula. Paul III. wanted his services again in Germany. At Ocaña he was presented to the young daughters of the Emperor, Maria and Juana—the latter was soon after affianced to Dom Joam of Portugal. Both became greatly attached to him. Two of their chaplains, Juan de Aragon and Alvaro Alonso, listened with delight to him; and when he asked of God that some companions might be given him for his journey homewards, these two offered to travel with him, and soon became members of the Society.

Favre had a particular devotion to the Angels; and when he entered a town or province, he asked the especial aid of its Guardian Angels and Patron Saints. He taught or preached every evening in the churches, or the street, or the highway—in private, if not in public. For he frequently said, that "the children of Ignatius should leave the impress of sanctity wherever they passed, as their sign and token, in visits, in familiar talk, in grave discussions, in travelling, and even in the inns where they chanced to rest. For this, neither learning nor great gifts are necessary; only within, the love of God, and without, humility and discretion."

Meantime Araoz, who had been the first to make his solemn profession after St. Ignatius' earliest companions, was sent again to Spain on an errand of the gravest importance. St. Ignatius wished to make known in his own Catholic land the approbation given to his Society by the Holy See, and the character of his Institute. This duty he entrusted to Antonio,

[1] The castle has been entirely destroyed, but the castle-hill still rises over the picturesque town and its placid lake.

and he set out on foot in the February of 1542 with Diego d'Eguia as his companion. He reached Barcelona about the middle of January 1542, and great was his delight the following day to meet Favre, who had arrived the very same evening as himself on his way to Germany. The two made the acquaintance of the pious Captain-General of Catalonia, Francis Borgia, then Marquis of Lombay, whose wife had chanced to hear a sermon of Favre, and had met Araoz when he came to wait upon the Marquis. Borgia invited them to his table, and listened with interest to the history of the Society's beginnings, its spirit and its work. Francis was especially drawn to Favre. He opened his whole soul to him, and told him, no doubt, how, in presence of the ghastly spectacle at Granada of the corpse of his late Empress, Isabel, he had sworn to serve no perishable potentate. But Francis was the heir to a dukedom, connected in blood with the Emperor, and holding a post of great importance. He had a wife whom he loved, he had children, sons and daughters. It seemed as if the world was prodigal of its gifts to him. He could not leave it then if he would. As Favre was forced to go forward to Germany, the Marquis insisted by letter with St. Ignatius that he might retain Araoz. His request was granted, and F. Antonio laboured hard for souls that whole year until his recall by his General at its close.

Favre's journey back to Germany from Spain occupied three months, during which he and his companions, the Spanish priests, narrowly escaped being robbed on the borders of Spain, and captured by the soldiers of Suabia and the Lutherans, as soon as they reached Germany. But they arrived safe at Spire on April 13, 1542.

There he first began his work among the clergy, whose laxity had been severely admonished, with more harm than good, by their bishop. The Jesuit won their confidence by the humility and charity which flowed from his heart into all his words and acts; his talents and his excellent judgment did the rest. The clergy were persuaded or convinced, and nearly all returned to the duties of their clerical life.

Then he was ordered to proceed to Mainz, where the Cardinal Archbishop, Albert von Brandenburg, greatly wanted him. Mainz, like most of the German towns at that time, was agitated with all the distractions of religious quarrels, an irregular clergy, and a wavering and divided people. The Archbishop, a princely patron of the Renascence till Favre came, had, like many others, shown grievous hesitation in face of Lutheranism, but now, enforcing by his authority the advice which the Jesuit's eloquence made acceptable to almost all, he restored peace and faith to his city and states.

Cardinal Morone had agreed on behalf of the Pope to the demand for a General Council. Six places of meeting were discussed, and the choice fell upon Trent. As usual, the Protestants were dissatisfied; but it did not matter, for when the Legates presented themselves in November 1542, war had already broken out between Charles and Francis, and discussions were now useless. The death of two ambassadors of Francis, Rincon and Treyoso, near Casale, on their way to intrigue at Vienna and Constantinople against the Emperor, had exasperated the French King to fury.[1] And the Pope, when he went to Bologna, heard that the ships of Barbarossa, in the west, were again ravaging the Italian shores; the corsair had taken Nice, and laid up his fleet that winter in the harbour of Toulon.

At Mainz, in January 1543, Favre publicly expounded the Holy Scriptures. This attracted persons from all the Rhenish provinces, among whom was Peter Canisius, not yet twenty-four years old, but already distinguished at the University of Cologne, where he studied under the famous Esch. He had heard in early youth his holy kinsman's prophecy of the greatness of the Society of Jesus; and the reputation of Favre brought him now to Mainz, where he was as much impressed by Favre's character as by his genius. "Never," said he, "have I known or listened to a more learned man, or to one of more eminent virtue—if, indeed, he be a man, and not rather an Angel from Heaven."

Canisius was born at Nimeguen on May 8, 1521, the year of the siege of Pamplona. His father had great possessions.[2] While Canisius was with Favre at Cologne, a message summoned him to his father's deathbed at Nimeguen. The old man recognised his son and died. Peter was overwhelmed with distress, for his father had led a worldly, though an honourable life. But that night a Divine message answered his prayers. It was revealed to him that his father and mother were saved. In the fervour of his thankfulness, he distributed his large inheritance among the poor, and then set out for Cologne. On his journey he met three young men going, like himself, to that city; in those days travellers were glad of protection, and they went on together. He spoke to them so well on the subject of salvation through Christ, that two of them gave up all to worship Him in the cloisters of the Charter House, and the other entered the novitiate under

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[1] The French King took advantage of Charles' reverse before Algiers to renew his alliance with the Turk against Charles. The Spanish governor of Milan ordered the arrest of the two envoys, one of whom was a Spaniard; they defended themselves and were killed.

[2] He was governor to the sons of René, Duke of Lorraine, and Philippine of Guelders, and was sometimes employed by the Count-Bishop of Verdun in embassies.

Favre. A few years later, Canisius had the happiness of seeing his half-brother Theodoric follow in his steps, and join the Society of Jesus.

Perhaps it was soon after this acquisition that Favre wrote to Lainez:—"I cannot tell, brother Diego, the favours which God has bestowed on me since we parted at Piacenza. He has healed all my iniquities and effaced my sins. I entreat you also to bless and praise Him for me your brother, and for all the Society." He expressed to Ignatius his astonishment, and almost alarm, at his success.

At Mainz, Favre learned that the proceedings of the Archbishop of Cologne had shocked the faithful there; he openly favoured heresy. Hermann von Wied had obtained his See simply because of his high rank. He was grossly ignorant even of Latin, and lived, as did too many other Prince-Bishops of his time, exactly in dress and occupation like any lay lord. His fervent Archdeacon, Gropper, forced him to consent to a Synod, which was admirable in its decrees, but which he naturally never troubled himself to carry out. But he summoned the apostate Butzer to preach his errors among his flock, and though the Archbishop hardly ever celebrated Mass, he had done so publicly that Easter in order to communicate the people under two kinds, after a Protestant form of public absolution. The arrival of Butzer, too, was alarming. Tyndal also had been recently printing his new translation of the Bible in the town, and such novelties naturally inspired terror there.

The Catholics of the Electorate entreated Favre to come to their assistance. He obtained the Cardinal's permission; for Albert had a high opinion of the efficacy of Favre and the Jesuits, thinking the Society, by Divine guidance, reserved for those times, which were so troubled and hard to deal with.[1] He wished Favre to accept a valuable silver cup from him, which was refused. When he went to take leave, the Cardinal threw into the breviary-case which he wore at his girdle a hundred golden florins; this Favre could not respectfully return, but he would keep none for himself; so he divided it among the poor of Mainz and the Jesuit students at Louvain, who were in great need.

When Favre arrived at Cologne, he found that the evil had attained a great height. He boldly confronted Hermann, who listened to him in silence, and seemed to approve what he urged. But as he had no confidence in the effect of his words, the Jesuit consulted Poggi, the Nuncio residing at Bonn; and Poggi bade him remain at Cologne. However, the Emperor had

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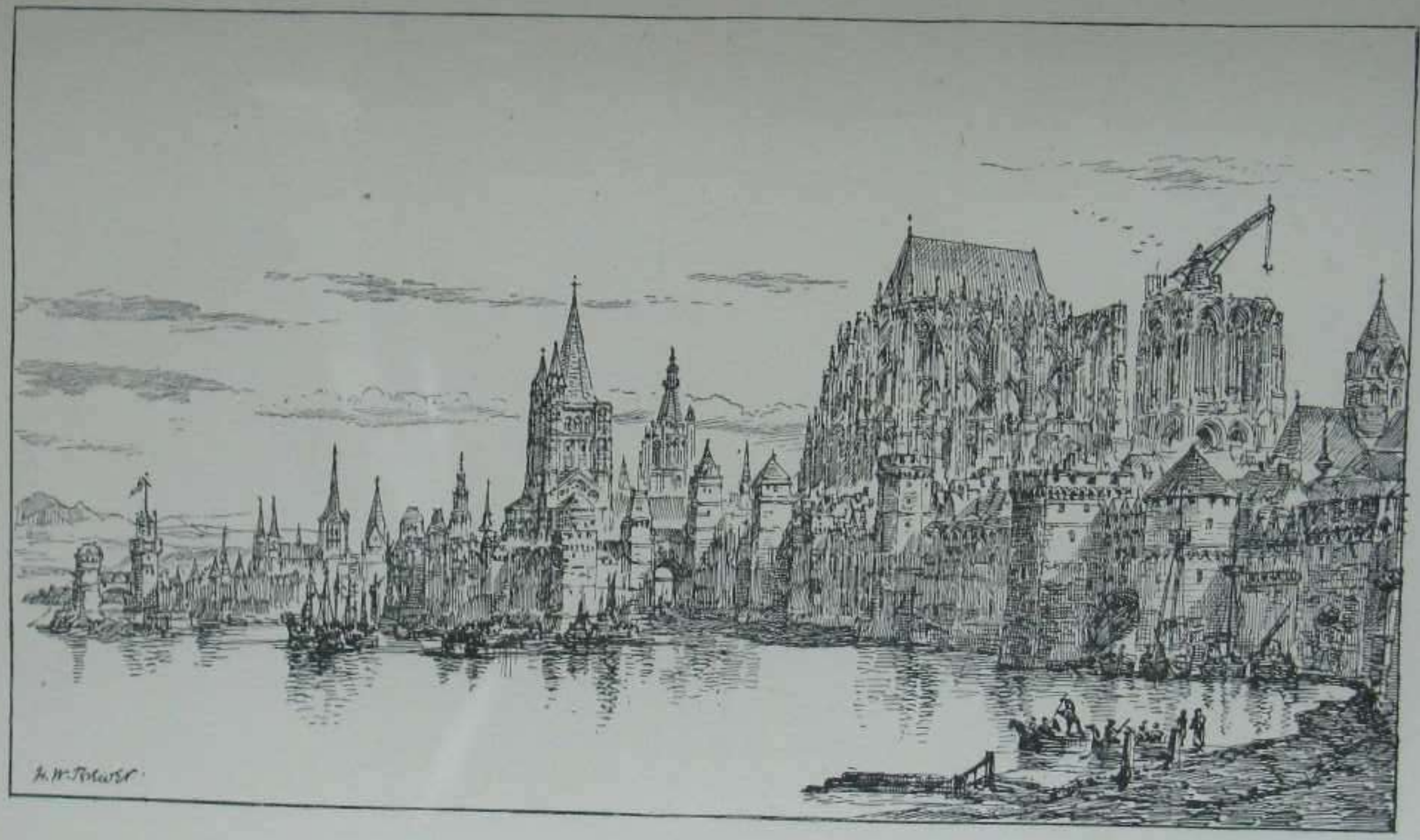
[1] Ut societatem sibi videri diceret, prope divinitus, usque ad ea tempora tam difficilia, tamque aspera, reservatam.



COLOGNE, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

now affianced his son Philip to Maria, daughter of King Joam of Portugal, and the King wished that Favre and another of the Society should go with the young princess into Castile. Ignatius ordered him to set out at once. On his way he found, at Louvain, Domenech and his seven companions, the Spanish students, whom the war between France and Spain had forced to leave Paris.[1] They were entertained at Louvain by Cornelius Wishaven, who, decided by the example of Canisius, had resolved to join the Society.

Favre's journey brought on him a fever, which confined him to his bed in that city, yet he had energy enough to assist Strada in composing his sermons for the learned world of Louvain. In his sick-room he gave to the young preacher the heads and substance of his discourses, and he admitted to his bedside those whose hearts Strada had touched, and there confessed them and instructed them in the ways of perfection. Meantime St. Ignatius instructed Blessed Favre to send a number of students to people the new college at Coimbra. Some twenty young men of the University of Louvain offered themselves to join the Society. Of these Peter chose ten, all of promise and most of them graduates, and sent them under the charge of Strada, Oviedo, and Father Juan de Aragon by sea to Lisbon. Among those refused was Olivier Manare, who was recommended to wait till he had finished his studies, nor did he in fact enter till 1548, when at Paris. Favre recovered, but he was ordered back to the Rhineland, and his journey to Portugal was adjourned. He left Louvain on January 21, 1544, with young Millan de Loyola and Lambert Duchateau. They passed through Liége and Maestricht. Peter preached everywhere, and arrived at Cologne, where his short absence had left the field open to the Lutherans, and their patron, the Archbishop. Butzer, Pistorius, and Melanchthon—remembered to this day at Cologne—were allowed to preach there. Favre daily held public conferences with them, and his arguments had such weight with the citizens, that some thousands of them petitioned the Emperor to banish Butzer and the rest. This was granted; but first Favre held with them a solemn public disputation, which ended, as such things commonly do, by making their differences wider than before. A letter written by Favre to Lainez on the way of proceeding with Lutherans is highly characteristic.

"All who desire to do them good," he says, "should show them the greatest charity, love them truly, and despise all prejudices that might lower them in our esteem. We should seek their good-will and confidence by a friendly intercourse, conversing of the matters on which we are agreed,

[1] See Book III. c. iii.

and shunning altercation. We should teach them first what they ought to practise, then what they ought to believe; not, as was the custom of the early Church, when men's minds were first of all to receive the faith which comes from hearing, and then be led by degrees to the practice of good works. Now-a-days we should endeavour to win them from evil ways before we attack their evil doctrine. If Luther himself could be brought to a virtuous life, it would be easy to draw him back into the true Church."

The mildness of Favre touched his opponents, though they were so many, "that, but for him," says Orlandini, "Cologne would have been wholly lost."

Although the Jesuits had been so successful in Flanders, their house at Louvain had received no formal establishment, perhaps partly in consequence of that success. Favre, before his return to Cologne, and in accordance with instructions from Ignatius, detained the students who had not yet sailed for Portugal, in order that the townspeople should not be irritated. Nevertheless, they were violent against Wishaven, who succeeded Favre as Superior, and many parents and professors forbade the young men to receive his instructions. Adrianenssens, Vinck, and others of distinguished talent persisted, and became part of the new Community. Favre collected the young men, before scattered over the town, under one roof, and when he sailed from Antwerp, left them to Cornelius Wishaven, who, when called to Rome, was replaced by Legillon, and then by Adrianenssens, a man whose sanctity of life and charming manners won all hearts. The position of the Company at Louvain was disadvantageous, and often highly perplexing; some of the secular clergy were jealous, and a large number of secret Lutherans hostile; their work in public preaching and private exhortations was frequently impeded, although Adrianenssens had a high reputation and much influence. Ruard Tapper, Chancellor of the University, and Blosius,[1] the celebrated Abbot of Liessies, advised him to petition Mary, sister of Charles V., Queen of Hungary, and Regent of the Low Countries, to authorise the establishment of the Company in her domains; but a contrary influence interposed, and she would not accede to the request. Tapper, by desire of Ignatius, received in 1551 the solemn vows of Adrianenssens, and on this occasion he pronounced an eloquent eulogy on the new Order, which had a great effect on the people of Louvain. It was as usual regarded with suspicion or envy by many of the clergy, and

[1] Louis de Blois.

some even made their parishioners take an oath that they would never enter the confessional of a Jesuit. All sorts of abuses were attributed to them, and the Faculty of Theology caused an examination to be made. The offences were proved, but the offenders were not the Jesuits, but their opponents themselves.

While Favre stayed at Cologne, he received the utmost kindness from the Carthusian monks there. They were grateful to the new Order for what it was doing and attempting for the Catholic Church. Their Prior, Gerard Hammontanus, along with several others, went through the "Spiritual Exercises" under Favre, and, after his departure, continued their intercourse by letter. The friendship of Prior Gerard lasted as long as Ignatius lived, and often showed itself in substantial benefits.

Favre left Cologne in July; Canisius and Kessel remained to confirm and spread what he had begun. A house was afterwards established there, and Leonard Kessel was placed at its head.

The Diet, presided over by the Emperor, still sat at Worms. Like the assemblies of Spire, Ratisbon, and Nuremberg, it produced nothing, and gave promise of nothing for the future. Both parties, far from approximating, had only learned to measure the distance which separated them, and the impossibility of any concessions on the part of Rome that would satisfy the secret exigencies and the avowed scruples of the Lutherans. As for Luther himself, the slightest hope of reconciliation with him had long since passed away.

Le Jay, who was all for peremptory suppression, seems to have inclined to the opinion of St. Gregory of Nazianzum, "that heresies are never subdued by forbearance." He argued with Charles V.; but the Emperor was not at all disposed to run the risk of losing that large part of his dominions which the Protestant princes might lead into a successful revolt, if their religious dissensions were too absolutely suppressed. He estimated clearly the different natures of his Spanish and German subjects: he saw that in the Peninsula the fervent piety of the people was always ready to assist the magistrates, who had only to contend with a small intermediate class —dreamers and speculators, learned men, and a certain portion of the regular clergy, who in their leisure and retirement were well pleased to find a new field of thought and examination opened to them and new questions to study. In Germany, on the contrary, the opinions of the Protestant teachers had sunk deep and widely into the national mind; they had by no means driven out the old faith from the larger portion of the land, but they had stirred up most men to examine and consider.

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the bishops, and Le Jay constantly urged active measures; the disturbances of Cologne, and the apostasy of the Elector-Archbishop, disposed the Emperor to follow their advice, but he acted tardily and with much precaution.

The Jesuits in Cologne were naturally obnoxious to the Reformers and to Wied; and the magistrates closed their house, on the plea that new sects were prohibited by law. The Jesuits dispersed themselves, but still remained in the town, the Carthusians hospitably sheltering some of them, the rest living on alms: after a while, other influences prevailing, they were allowed to return to their house, and Archdeacon Gropper assembled the clergy and university; it was resolved that Canisius should go, in the name of the Elector of Cologne, to the Emperor and to the Prince-Bishop of Liége and petition both to assist in repressing the active intolerance of the Protestant party. Canisius went first to Liége; its Bishop was George, uncle of Charles V.: he promised his personal aid and his mediation with the Emperor. Strengthened by this adhesion, Canisius proceeded to the imperial camp at Worms, where Charles heard him favourably, admired the adroitness of an emissary not yet twenty-five years old, and promised to protect the Catholics. Some months later Charles joined with the Pope in formally deposing Hermann; and his dignity of Elector-Archbishop was given to Adolph von Schaumburg. Hermann retired to his principality of Wied, and there he died.

TOWN AND LAKE OF NANTUA, FRANCE.—*See p. 363.*

DOORWAY OF THE ABBEY CHURCH, NANTUA.

## CHAPTER II.

### WORK IN ITALY, IN VENICE, AND ROME—1542–1544.

THE members of the Society were invited to many places. Ignatius was well pleased that their scanty number should be multiplied by frequent travelling; such journeys were fruitful. Everywhere they taught by their mere presence, travelling on foot, living on alms by the way, and, when they had more than a bare subsistence, giving to other poor, not more humble than they. Lainéz, at the request of Pietro Lando, the Doge, was ordered by the Pope to proceed to Venice. The Lutheran doctrines had gained much ground there, more than in other parts of Italy, because greater freedom was allowed in the republic, and the concourse of strangers brought an invasion of differing opinions. The eloquence of Lainez had a force, imagery, and fervour which pleased the glowing fancy of the South; and the Venetians flocked with such eagerness to hear him, that sometimes the crowd waited all night outside the church for the opening of the doors. In the evening he delivered in the church of San Salvatore a series of discourses on the Gospel of St. John, which so pleased the citizens that they petitioned him to continue them three times a week. Even amid the pleasures of the Carnival, the oratory of Lainez was not unheeded, and his hearers were

persuaded to moderate something of their dissipation. He had refused the entreaties of the Doge, who offered his palace for a lodging, and he stayed as before at the Hospital of Saints John and Paul. But an order from St. Ignatius overcame his resolve; Lainez went to reside under the roof of Andrea Lippomani;[1] and Andrea, grateful and admiring, gave his benefice of the Priory of the Maddalena at Padua to found a college for the Jesuits in that city. But in Venice they were not allowed an undisputed possession; a brother and the nephews of Lippomani appealed to the Council of Ten to forbid the alienation of this Priory from their family. Lainez and Salmeron, sent thither by the Saint, presented themselves before the Council, who were entirely hostile, and altogether disposed to protect the claim of the Venetian nobles against strangers. Lippomani's brother was present. The poor attire and great humility of the two priests did not at first aid their cause; but when Lainez began to speak, the accomplished auditory perceived immediately that they were listening to an extraordinary man. His reasoning persuaded them, and his eloquence pleased them so much, that when he had ceased speaking and took leave, they all rose up to applaud. Lainez had gained his cause.

Lippomani received the brethren into his own house at Padua, till the transfer of his Priory was authorised. Polanco and des Freux were the first who accepted this hospitality; and soon came Otelli, lately a student at Padua. Mendoza next year brought four or five more, and thus opened the first Jesuit College in Italy. After the cession of the Maddalena was allowed by the Council of Venice and by the Pope, Ignatius proposed to settle an annuity of 200 crowns on each of the two younger Lippomani; but Andrea would not allow this, and Ignatius then made him perpetual administrator of the college. André des Freux, already a matured scholar, was admitted into the Society in 1541. He was said to excel in the three dead languages, as well as in mathematics, in medicine, law, music, poetry, and oratory. The Saint sent him to study theology at Padua, and he remained there two years. Ignatius made him his secretary, and he translated the "Exercises" into Latin;[2] then, after many removals—for these seemed part of the original scheme in Ignatius' mind—des Freux helped to establish the

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[1] He was brother of the Bishop of Verona, and a knight of the Teutonic Order. St. Ignatius insisted on the change at the instance of Cardinal Cervino, to whom the Nuncio at Venice had written on the subject. Lainez' work among the sick hindered his other employments, and Ignatius wrote on August 27, 1542, to request him to leave the hospital, and to go and live at the *Trinità*, the residence of Andrea. See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 144.

[2] This was the first work published by the Society, the head of the long list which the three folios of De Backer's *Bibliographie de la Compagnie de Jésus* are not large enough to contain.

College of Messina. Afterwards, when through Lippomani, the friend who had already shown so much generosity to the Society, a college was obtained at Venice, André des Freux was made Superior. There, a young Jew named Elia, learned and zealous in his own religion, presented himself to reclaim a brother of his, whom the Jesuits had lately baptized and sheltered. Des Freux received Elia courteously, offered him the hospitalities of his house, that he might be under the same roof with his brother; and when Elia, accepting this, arrived in the evening, the Fathers proceeded to wash his feet, after their custom. This act of humble kindness towards one who came to complain and oppose, touched his heart. The Jew was converted, and then set himself to convert others; and his knowledge of Oriental languages made him a very useful missionary, chiefly at Cairo and Jerusalem.

When Lainez, bearing Lippomani's gift, went to Padua, he found des Freux and Polanco already established there; both, while they finished their studies, converted their fellow-students. They were yet mere scholastics, but they worked with great success. Otelli was one of their most valuable recruits: he became a priest of wonderful activity and usefulness, so zealous that, in after years, Ignatius was forced to abridge his labours, and to forbid his preaching for some time. Lainez established and gave rules to the college, which was much needed at Padua, for the new opinions had spread there, and were obtaining ready access to the minds of young and inexperienced men. The logic, eloquence, and character of Lainez established his influence over them, as it had over others at Venice. Then he went to Bassano, and was no less successful there in turning back the torrent of public opinion, which had been greatly affected in the neighbourhood by the German freethinkers. At the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, he and his companions gave instructions twice a day for a long time. The noble and learned thronged to hear him preach; wreaths and flowers were often thrown upon him when he descended from the pulpit.

Ignatius had received into his Society, in 1539, a gifted and highly useful member, Paolo Achille, the spiritual child of Favre, whom he sent to study at Paris. This Father afterwards founded with Nicholas Delanoy the College of Palermo, and guided it with admirable success. Acting on the Christian principle that all authority is given for the sake of the subordinates, and that it is a hateful usurpation when not beneficial and charitable, he made Fathers as well as novices love his rule; and never, it was said, imposed a penance unless he saw the subject willing to receive it.

Francesco Vanucci, chief almoner to Paul III., Lorenzo di Castello, and Giacomo da Crescenzi, a Roman of high birth, are remembered among the friends who were most ready to advise and aid Ignatius in the good works he projected. They discussed with him the steps he should take, the alms he might hope for, the Cardinals whose protection he should ask, the persons who should be associated with him, according to circumstances. Ignatius wanted a refuge for women who wished to leave a bad course of life. He created the House of St. Martha in 1543, where, without taking vows, all who sought a maintenance and protection were received. In four years 300 had been admitted. Many ladies wished to join in the good work, and they formed a confraternity, the object of which was to supply the necessary funds for the House. Ignatius tried every means to induce fallen women to repent. He even sought them in their places of resort, and led them openly to his refuge through the streets of Rome. When some one represented to him that the contrition of such women was not to be depended on, he said, "If I can prevent even one sin against God, I think it is worth all the trouble I can take." In this work he was assisted by some matrons of high birth, who occasionally received the poor penitents into their houses. One of these was Doña Leonora Osorio, the wife of Juan de Vega, ambassador at Rome from Charles V. Much opposition was encountered at first, for all the worst men and women in Rome were against the asylum; for several months they assembled during the evenings in front of it, breaking the windows, and using horrible language and outcries.

When at first funds were deficient, Ignatius took all the expenses on himself. Just then, some relics of ancient Rome were discovered on the ground belonging to the Jesuits' house, in front of the church, where new constructions were required—vast blocks of buildings, whose name and destination are unknown—which Codace sold for 100 ducats. With this sum he bought a piece of ground, others offered contributions, and in February 1542, the asylum was ready for the poor inmates, and the keys were delivered to the charge of three noble patrons. It was to be administered by a confraternity calling itself "di Sta. Maria della Grazia." By the rules of the house, no married woman could go out except to return to her husband; nor any unmarried woman, unless to become a nun, or to enter some other permanent state. Cardinal Carpi was their protector, and Father Diego d'Eguia their confessor. He resided on the spot.

The Jews' House began through the compassion Ignatius felt for some converts who had been expelled from their families, and whom he took to live with him, till the number became inconvenient. He also procured that the synagogues should support those who desired Christian instruc-

# ROMA.

ESTABLISHMENTS FOUNDED BY ST. IGNATIUS, OR AT HIS SUGGESTION, IN ROME.

*A*, Professed House (the Gesù). *B*, Roman College. *C*, College of Confessors at St. Peter's. *D*, Novitiate. *E*, Boys' Orphanage. *F*, Girls' Orphanage. *G*, Catechumenate. *H*, St. Martha, House for Penitents. *I*, St. Catharine de' Funari, House of Shelter. *K*, German College. *L*, English College. *M*, Roman Seminary. *N*, Maronite College.

tion; for many, converted to the truth by the public teaching of the new Society, were withheld by the dread of poverty from declaring themselves Christians. Ignatius received into his house all Jews who desired a refuge there; and at last procured a foundation for them at San Giovanni di Mercato, with the privilege from the Pope of retaining all their lawfully gained property: that part which they had acquired by usury was to be restored if possible, and if not, it was to be employed in some authorised manner for their own benefit.

Ignatius now began to find the favour that attends the benefactors of the people. When he passed through the streets they pressed to see him; when he mounted the steps of the Piazza Altieri, in front of Santa Maria della Strada, or of the Old Exchange, they thronged to hear. He allowed all to speak to him. Filippo Aupolino believed that hardly one person had ever left him without the desire to lead a Christian life. He procured from the liberality of the Romans an orphanage for young boys, another for girls, and an asylum for young girls who needed protection. The first still exists under the care of the Padri Somaschi.

Father Eleuthère du Pont, who knew Ignatius long and intimately during the latter years of his life, gives this remarkable description of him: "His aspect seemed to make all better who saw him; it inspired in all such a feeling of humility, and so awed all meanness and guilt, that no one with an evil conscience would have ventured into his presence or have looked him in the face." For in his countenance there was an air of sanctity that, even when he was an aged man, infirm and wasted by mortification and sickness, was plainly supernatural, and as if bearing a message from Heaven to repenting sinners. His charity was so tender that, however depraved any might be, Ignatius would always find something to love in them. If there was nothing else, he loved the blood of Christ shed for them, and the image of God in which they were created.

His open-air sermons were so successful, that even his enemies did not find fault with them. Palmio and Ribadeneira, not yet in priests' orders, preached in the same places every week.

It was remarked at Rome by the Fathers in their visits of charity, that many sick persons would not send for a priest, or in any way think about the good of their souls, until their life was in imminent danger. Innocent III., in 1215, had forbidden all physicians to attend the sick, when the illness was dangerous, until the patient had been visited by a priest and made his confession; but this law had gradually fallen into disuse. Ignatius resolved to revive it. He began first by personal and private exhortations, and then appealed to legal interference: this brought upon the Society

much ill-will from the physicians, who found their own visits less in demand when the priest had to go first. Paul III. was not at this time at Rome. He had left it for Buseto, where he was to meet the Emperor Charles V. They parted in discontent, Paul going to Bologna and Charles to the Netherlands. Ignatius appealed in the Pope's absence to his Legate, Cardinal Carpi, and sent him a petition along with a theological opinion, refuting the objections of the physicians. In this he said:—

Many die without the help of religion, either not confessing at all or imperfectly. They ought to be warned to perform this duty as soon as the malady begins to seem dangerous, so that they may not wait till they have not the strength necessary for a sufficient confession, or for any at all; and then the urging it may hasten their death. These evils would be avoided if they confessed at the beginning, for this not only saves the soul, but gives relief to the body, and much contributes to its recovery. And this has been your Eminence's motive in restoring, as you have done, the observance of the decree of Lateran, with this relaxation, that the physicians may visit once or twice, but not oftener, persons who have not confessed. In spite of this concession, many physicians have done all they could to oppose this holy intention, while some upheld it. They who oppose it pretend that it is contrary to charity to let a man die because he refuses obstinately to confess; for, they say, if he lives, he may repent. But all reasonable persons answer, that laws are made for the general benefit, and must not be set aside, even if they cause damage to particular persons. . . . If this objection had any value, we might say of Ananias and Sapphira that if they had lived they might have repented.

The Legate referred to the Pope, and it does not appear that much result followed. Many years after, the decree of Innocent III. was enforced by St. Pius V. with some modifications allowed to this day.

Lainez removed to Brescia early in 1544, where the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were in great favour. He preached, and was admired as usual; but an apostate monk announced that he had arguments against purgatory so conclusive, that Lainez must be silenced by them, if not convinced. The Father challenged him to a public contest. In those days such disputes, the chief intellectual amusements of an age when books were still rare, were greatly enjoyed. Numbers thronged to hear the discussion, which was opened by the monk, who went through all his arguments without interruption; Lainez listening with downcast eyes, in perfect patience, till his antagonist had exhausted his subject. Then, with the accuracy of a prodigious memory, Father Diego went through the objections in the order in which they had been stated, taking up each point, and refuting the Lutheran's view so fully and clearly, that an extraordinary result followed.

For not only did the audience pronounce for Lainez, but the monk owned himself vanquished, returned to the faith of the Church, and became a warm friend of Lainez from that time.

On Quinquagesima Sunday, Lainez commenced his Lent sermons in the cathedral; he preached three times a week in other churches, and at three convents of nuns.

The peace between Francis and Charles that was signed in September of that year, at the Château de Crépy, gave a short breathing-time to Europe, and Rome at last anticipated a period of prosperity. Paul III. had with difficulty prevailed on the two sovereigns to meet at Nice. Their conference promised a united action against the Turks, and the solid support of the Catholic Church: it no less promoted the darling projects of Paul himself. He obtained Novara with a large territory for Pier Luigi Farnese, his son.[1] Charles, moreover, promised his daughter Margaret to Ottavio, the son of Pier Luigi. Francis also agreed to affiance the Duke of Vendôme to Vittoria, sister of Ottavio; this French marriage never took place. Margaret espoused Ottavio: their union was a happy one, though the bride was much older than her husband. He was as brave as he was handsome, a worthy father of his illustrious son Alexander.[2]

But when the next year brought the opening of the long-looked for Council in the city of Trent, an heir was expected in the family of Ottavio, and this bound the Farnesi more than ever to the Austrian cause. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese went to Worms, where Charles was staying, and appeared successful in effacing the Emperor's mistrust. It was not very unreasonable; for if Paul was an enlightened and energetic head of the Church, it is no less certain that his desire to aggrandise the Farnese family was excessive: it led him frequently to consider far too much in his diplomatic relations what was likely to secure their large territories in the north of Italy, and it filled the last days of his life with regrets, and even with remorse.

The winter of 1544 brought a long illness to Pedro de Ribadeneira, which the tenderness of Ignatius made rather an enjoyment than a calamity. When the Lent came, his physician forbade his fasting; but Pedro represented to Ignatius that his companions might be scandalised by this exemption. "Who has a right to be shocked?" said Ignatius;

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[1] Victor de Buck, the Bollandist, in his *Le Gesù de Rome*, p. 16, says that Alexander Farnese, afterwards Paul III., contracted when young a clandestine marriage—a thing very common before the Council of Trent—with a girl of noble Roman family (Ruffini?), before 1493, according to Soriano, the Venetian Ambassador, writing in 1535. Paul III. was born in 1468.

[2] *Marguerite d'Autriche*, Gachard, Brussels, 1867, p. xi.

"should they not rather thank God that they are not under the same necessity?" And, indeed, hearing afterwards that some of the college at Toledo had blamed Pedro for accepting this indulgence, Ignatius was so displeased, that he threatened dismissal from the Society to any who should thus sin against charity and obedience, and he ordered his letter to be read aloud in the refectory at Toledo.

Upon the recovery of Ribadeneira, who had not yet completed his studies—interrupted at Paris and Louvain—Ignatius sent him to Padua, along with Ugoletti and Diego Salmeron, a young brother of Alphonso. They made the journey more quickly this time, but Diego arrived exhausted, and died after a short illness. He was ready for heaven; he had acquired the most difficult virtues of his Order. It was said of him that he was never known to complain of any one, whatever injury he might have received; he always asked pardon as if he were the offender.

Ignatius wrote on the 17th of February 1546 to Ortiz, who had a strong interest in Ribadeneira:—

> I have nothing to add, except that Pedro de Ribadeneira is in Padua, and very much esteemed there, both for his life and his studies. I believe that, if he lives, he will be a great and true servant of God our Lord.[1]

Pedro often sent his compositions in prose and verse to Polanco, now secretary of the Company, asking his criticisms; for Polanco was the friend of all in the Society. All his life his charity found leisure and sympathy for the interests of each member, though the General gave him what seemed full employment, and he frequently had the greater part of the burden of the Society resting on him; besides which he translated the Constitutions, wrote several works of much value, historical and doctrinal, heard Confessions, and gave audience and counsel to many among the most distinguished of the Roman Court. But amid the greatest hurry of business, he appeared ever "with an equal countenance, grave, composed." He so divided the hours of the day and night, that every moment had its allotted duty, either for some part of his charge, or the profit of his own soul; he assigned a mystery of the Saviour's Life or Passion to every day in the week, dividing each into three parts; he practised much the Catholic duty of intercession; he prayed for the colleges, for the countries that had received the Company, and then, by name, for his friends. And the control he exercised over his thoughts was

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 236.

so great, that no worldly ideas ever intruded on him until his devotions were ended and secular affairs recalled.

It was in 1540 that Codacio succeeded in obtaining the central position of Santa Maria della Strada, near the Pope's palace of San Marco, and under the Capitoline Hill. St. Ignatius it was who selected the position. The church was then a parish church; but the parish was transferred to the basilica of San Marco. An old building which faced it was hired by the Saint; and there he and his companions lived from 1541, in very wretched quarters, till 1543, when Father Codacio, helped by liberal alms, built a new house, adjoining Santa Maria della Strada. Of this the rooms occupied by Saint Ignatius are the only portion now left. The church, which was very small, was used for the work of the Fathers.

It very quickly became so frequented that there was no room for the crowds who flocked thither, nor were there priests enough to minister to their wants. Very soon additions were made to it, and when St. Francis Borgia came to Rome, he determined to build a new church, and the foundation-stone was laid solemnly in 1550. But it was reserved for the magnificent generosity of Cardinal Alexander Farnese to begin in 1568 the splendid Church of the Gesù which now exists. We cannot but regret the obstacles which hindered St. Francis Borgia's wish, for, as St. Ignatius writes, "the most celebrated man now known, Michael Angelo, who is doing St. Peter's, is undertaking the work for mere devotion and without any gain."[1] Possibly the many engagements of that great genius were among the hindrances which prevented the first church being carried out. He died in 1564.

The Carthusians of Cologne continued their intercourse with Ignatius by letter. In the General Assembly held at the Grande Chartreuse in 1544, it was resolved unanimously that they should admit the Society of Jesus to a participation in all their prayers and works, and thus form a fraternal alliance between the two Societies. The head of the Order, in a formal decree, communicated this decision to St. Ignatius, with whom he continued to exchange the most friendly letters. Hammontanus promoted actively the establishment of a college at Cologne, and aided by abundant generosities all the members of the Society who came to that city. As Ignatius could not in his poverty return these benefits, he sent to the Prior, at his request, from time to time, some beads to which the

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv., Jan. 1552.

Pope had attached indulgences, recommending him to exhort the persons to whom he gave them to observe all the duties of religion. He also granted readily a full participation in the good works of the Society to their brethren of the Chartreuse.

THE BASILICA OF IL SANTO, ST. ANTONY OF PADUA, FROM THE CLOISTERS, PADUA.

THE SORBONNE, PARIS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

## CHAPTER III.

### COLLEGES: PARIS, LOUVAIN, AND ALCALÁ—1540.

IGNATIUS ever loved Paris as the nursery of his Order. Among its people the memory of the first Fathers remained fresh and deep; and rich persons maintained in the university a number of young scholastics whom Loyola desired to perfect in the studies required at that day. For the Jesuits were perpetually reminded that they were to combat with all intellectual weapons, and prepare for all sorts of hostilities, and would have frequently to oppose genius and learning ranged on the side of heresy or sin. Over these scholars he placed Diego d'Eguia in the spring of 1540, and the next year Domenech succeeded him. In 1542 Ignatius sent Ribadeneira and Diaz to study in Paris; and five others, among whom was Antonio Criminali, the first of the Company who attained the honour of martyrdom, accompanied them as far as Avignon, and then went on to Coimbra. Ribadeneira not being strong, and still a mere boy, the others proposed that when they left Rome he should be allowed to ride while they walked. Ignatius answered, "Pedro may do as he pleases, but if he be a son of mine, he will travel on foot like the others." So they set out after their fashion, two and two, Ribadeneira, as the weakest

of the party, walking first, and all accommodating their pace and the arrangements of the journey to him. They had a small sum of money, which would suffice to allow each of them about three halfpence a day; but this was only in case of great emergencies. They were, under all but uncommon circumstances, to beg their daily bread, and to rest wherever charity offered them an asylum. This was soon needed, for when Ribadeneira reached Viterbo he was footsore, and forced to remain there all night. Before the evening closed, his old restlessness and curiosity seized him. He ran all over the hospital where they were lodged, into the church, and then into the pulpit. Here the sacristan saw him, and began to ring the bell. Several persons came in, and Pedro, perceiving that a congregation was collecting, descended; but he was told that he was the preacher whom the people came to hear. Whether this was done by the sacristan in simplicity or as a joke, the story leaves us in doubt; either way, Pedro accepted the necessity of compliance, and remounted the steps. He was not over-diffident at any time, and remembered that he had very recently, in compliance with a rule of the novitiate, preached a sermon in the refectory of their house at Rome on the subject of the Blessed Sacrament. This he repeated without difficulty; and afterwards, when he had retired to his cell, an old man came to him, and said that he had long avoided the confessional and the altar, because he was meditating revenge for an injury received many years before, but now, persuaded by the sermon he had just heard, he desired to renounce his evil projects and receive absolution. Pedro, not yet a priest, sent him to his companion, Father Santa Cruz. He was thankful, he said, for this instance of success, but resolved to be more careful in future of meddling with holy things.

When Diaz and Ribadeneira—having parted at Avignon with their five companions—reached Caderousse, they found all the world in commotion with rumours of war, and indignant against Charles and his Spaniards. Diaz, easily repulsed, wished now to rejoin the others and proceed with them to Coimbra. Ribadeneira resisted, and they continued their journey to Paris, where, after two months' travelling and many escapes and difficulties, they reached the College of the Lombards. Geronimo Domenech, the Rector of the Jesuit scholars at Paris, had known Ignatius and his companions while they were studying there, but did not then join them.[1] A desire of learning brought him to Paris, and afterwards to Bologna, where he found his old acquaintance Xavier; then, intending to return to France, he came to Parma, where he met Favre and Lainez, who prevailed on him to

[1] He was of a noble family in Valencia, and had held a canonry in the cathedral.

wait a few days and go through the "Spiritual Exercises." He came out from them resolved to enter the Company of Jesus, whose members were then few and scattered.

Among the students at Paris were some whose names were afterwards illustrious—Francisco Strada, Paolo Achille, Viola, and others less known, but not less fervent; they lived after the example left them by Loyola and his associates; they communicated constantly at the church of the Chartreux, and gave the "Spiritual Exercises." After these Diego Miron, who, ten years later, was Provincial of Spain, asked to be admitted as a novice. François Picard, and the Franciscan Doctor of Divinity, Pierre à Cornibus, both distinguished men, declared themselves friends and patrons of the Society. Domenech succeeded Father d'Eguia, who in 1541 was recalled to Rome. He lived with the scholars in the Collège des Trésoriers; late in 1542 they moved to that of the Lombards,[1] though they went for lectures to Ste. Barbe. Ignatius soon summoned Miron, Ponce Cogordan,[2] and Francisco de Rojas, whom he sent to Lisbon by desire of the King. Only sixteen were then left. Francis I. and Charles V. renewed soon after their ever-smouldering quarrel, and the subjects of Charles were ordered to cross the frontier within a week. Domenech and seven others, being Spaniards, prepared to leave Paris. The University remonstrated with Francis against this ungenerous banishment, but in vain, and the students were forced to start after only a month's residence. Diaz was no longer with them; he had chosen to become a soldier, and was ultimately killed in a duel. Millan de Loyola, Francisco Strada, Oviedo, and Delz, already a priest, and three more, besides Pedro, accompanied Domenech. They were harassed on each day's journey by the disturbances of the coming war, and more than once arrested as prisoners, Domenech having much difficulty in persuading the governor of Amiens that the time fixed by the King for leaving France had not elapsed. At Arras they were safe, for the garrison were Imperialists; but the place was in a state of commotion, and the hospitals not able to receive them, so they were forced to go on, although Ribadeneira had been entirely prostrated by fatigue. They reached Brussels at the close of the fourth day. There the Franciscans received and kept them, for they could not yet reach Louvain. Van Rossem, in the service of the King of France, was ravaging

[1] The Collège des Lombards was chosen, because several of the Jesuit students had got scholarships in that college, and they were able to lodge the remainder in their rooms.

[2] Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, said of Ponce Cogordan, "that he was the most adroit negotiator he had ever known, and he had known many." His skill and his patience were abundantly tried during the long negotiations that he conducted on behalf of the Society with the Sorbonne and the French Court.

Brabant, and it was not till a fortunate sortie had driven him away from the gates of Louvain that Domenech and his party could proceed thither. When they entered, they found the whole townspeople, even the clergy and students, still under arms; and many days passed before the usual studies were resumed.

During the war the unpopularity of the Spanish name acted in Paris unfavourably on the Institute, and was one, though the least perhaps, among the causes of hostility against which it long had to struggle in France.

With the return of peace a number of Jesuit students came to the Collège des Lombards under Father Viola in 1545.

Everywhere the universities were at first jealous of the gratuitous and successful teaching of the Society. In Paris the Sorbonne thought its pre-eminence offended; and it needed all the patience, all the good done and the triumphs achieved by Ignatius, to appease and convert enemies, who were seeking an excuse for rancour generated in rivalries of race, learning, and popular favour. Besides, a powerful opposition was excited by the Archbishop of Paris, who was angry that the Society, without his consent, had admitted his nephew amongst their number, and was, moreover, indignant that they had received from Paul III. a formal exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

Postel, a very brilliant and highly erratic genius, was, St. Ignatius wrote, "a Regius Professor at Paris, a Master of Arts of sufficient merit, very learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and moderately so in Arabic, who speaks Italian very well, and has written a number of works, partly translations, partly original."[1] He had lived a long time in the East, and boasted that he could travel from Paris to Pekin, and speak everywhere the language of the country. The French Court paid him homage, and he was called the "wonder of the world." But in the hope that the new Society would become a willing instrument to carry out the work to which he thought he was called, to win the whole world back to Christ by *reason* and the *sword*, he resigned all his honours, and went to Rome in 1543, and asked to be admitted among the novices. Ignatius received him into the house at Rome; but though at first he showed he had patience and humility under the tests of his probation, his mind soon wandered off into his old visions, till he seemed to have become deranged: he expected another advent of the Messiah, talked astrology and Rabbinism; and when Salmeron and Lainez argued with him, they found that he had mounted into

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 170. The letter to the Society, written by the Saint's order, 1543.

ABBEY OF ST. GERMAIN-DES-PRÉS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See p.* 136.

a region whither it was useless or impossible to follow. Cardinal Savelli then made a similar attempt, with no better success; and St. Ignatius was at last obliged in 1545 to dismiss the gifted Frenchman. He soon began to teach heretical tenets, and fell into the hands of the Inquisition at Rome, from which he was released in 1559, when he returned to Paris.[1] This incident, misrepresented by prejudice and ill-will, increased the difficulties the Order had to encounter in Paris. Jerome Zahorowski, an ex-Jesuit, gave to the world in 1614 that shameless slander of the "Monita Secreta," full of ribald fabrications, which has served its purpose so ingeniously, that it is not yet worn out; a story of secret instructions, confided to the Superiors only of the Society, who, contrary to all their outward show of disinterestedness, are directed to enrich and aggrandise the Order, by all or any means, so that appearances are kept up. This falsehood was invented by malice and repeated by dishonesty; the Cardinals of the Holy Congregation declared the book to be "false, and forasmuch as it is fathered upon the Society of Jesus, calumnious, and entirely defamatory." Yet all these causes do not fully explain the amount of abuse and calumnies which were invented and spread, not only in France, but over almost half the world, as soon as the Society was formed—calumnies perpetually refuted, subdued, and reviving; then turned to account by the Jansenists, and finally aiding largely the suppression, in 1760, of the Society, and not perhaps quite to be extinguished to the end of the world. But Ignatius and his companions went on their quiet way, taking no heed of uncharity when they could avoid seeming to notice it, returning good for evil, or setting the evil gently aside.

He had never showed his remarkable discernment more than when he bade his brethren not defend themselves, but only live down the accusations made against them; there was no other way of answering enemies who were determined not to be convinced or appeased. Doubtless the chief and often sole cause of these attacks was in the innate hostility of human nature to exalted goodness anywhere; the jealousies of profession or country might explain the rest.

The lives of the Jesuits, their labours, humility, and poverty, have answered for them so fully, that honourable minds can hardly ask for further evidence; or, if not satisfied, they may weigh these words of St. Ignatius in the Constitutions:—"Let all our study be to have an upright

[1] Postel was always at heart faithful to the Church. He died in extreme old age, after disavowing all the heretical opinions which he had ever entertained, an object of wonder for his extraordinary learning, and of respect for his virtuous life.

intention, not only in our state of life in general, but also in our particular actions, proposing nothing else to ourselves than to serve and please God, and this rather through love and gratitude to Him, than through fear of punishment or hope of reward;" and then he adds, with a merciful indulgence to poor human nature, "though the last-named motives are also good, and may sometimes be profitably made use of."

Louvain possessed an admirable establishment in the College of the Three Tongues, where Busleiden had inaugurated a system of study which formed excellent scholars in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Thither had gone Domenech and his companions on their expulsion from Paris, and they edified all who saw their regulated and pious life. Many of the students followed their example in the Sunday Communion, and Domenech desired them for greater privacy and decency to receive It in future at the church of the Chartreux, which was less frequented. The young men gave addresses and exhortations, beginning already the work of the priesthood. Ribadeneira was remarkably successful, but appeared at one time not far from the danger expressed by St. Paul, who dreaded lest, having preached to others, he might lose his own soul. A great melancholy seized him, and he often hid himself to weep. Domenech, recalled to Rome by Ignatius, resolved to take Ribadeneira with him, for the poor boy's courage was sinking under the prospect of a life devoted to privations and study. It was not wonderful that the memory of past enjoyments should trouble him amid the labours and poverty of the novitiate; but his cheerfulness returned when Domenech promised him he should soon see Ignatius again.

They started for Rome in the beginning of Lent, accompanied by Laurent Delz, and forced by the war to travel by a long circuit, they met with extreme difficulties and hardships. Pedro was almost exhausted; they found an unexpected relief at Mainz, where they met Favre, who had plenty of friends, and was able to procure for them all they wanted. He wept for compassion and tenderness when he saw Pedro, whom he had known at Rome as a riotous, active boy, now wayworn and languid; he washed his wounded feet himself, and gave him all the care he needed. He kept the party four days, and would have willingly detained Pedro when the others went on, but the youth would not stay behind. Blessed Favre gave the boy a little cloak to protect him against the cold, and then the travellers pursued their perilous journey together through the mountains to Venice. There again they were comforted, for now Lainez took them in. At Ravenna, Domenech was too ill to go farther, and Delz stayed with him. Pedro sold his cloak in the market-place for two lire, and proceeded on

towards Rome. Near Ancona he met Father Christobal de Mendoza and three young Italian professors, on their way to open the College of Padua, who gave him two reals. When he reached the church of Loreto he fainted, but was able after Mass to go on to Tolentino, where he found Salmeron, and soon after Broët, preaching in the towns thereabout, so that he was now comforted and restored, and able to reach Rome with fifteen soldi in his possession. When he arrived, those who saw him did not know him again, so altered was he from the comely youth who had left them a year before. Ignatius was putting on the vestment for Mass, when Pedro threw himself at his feet to ask his benediction. Father Ugoletti was deputed immediately to relieve Domenech, but Salmeron and Broët had already gone to look for him, and found him at Ancona, much recovered, and on his way with Delz to Rome.

Francisco de Villanueva was a remarkable instance of the power, eminent in St. Ignatius, and which seems to descend as an inheritance to his Society, of moulding and adapting all sorts of gifts and characters. He was the son of a peasant, quite uneducated, but intelligent and honest; so that his parish[1] priest sent him to Rome to transact some business for him. There he heard great things of the new Order, went through the "Exercises" under Salmeron, and asked to be received into the Gesù. Ignatius admitted him, placed him in the kitchen, then added the charges of Dispenser, Storehouseman, Caller and Buyer, and he imposed penances on him when he could not perform impossibilities. The other Fathers remonstrated. "Leave him alone," said Ignatius; "he has courage enough for anything." And he would sometimes declare that he should be satisfied if they had only twenty such as Villanueva out of their sixty novices. It was partly a kind consideration for his health that caused Ignatius to send him to Alcalá to found a college there. He led a number of persons, many of them distinguished men, to join the Society; yet he and his companions lived on alms, chiefly given by two ladies, who procured a lodging for them. Villanueva was now thirty-four years old, yet still learning grammar, out of books which he could not buy, but which he borrowed and copied. His low birth, humble manners, and acknowledged ignorance did not hinder him from guiding in spiritual matters some of the highest in the city; yet in the college of which he was rector he would never cease helping in the kitchen; it was the only work, he said, for which he was fit. When the Bishop of Plasencia, on visiting him, remarked that water

[1] Near Plasencia, in Spain.

was wanted for the house, and asked if some one might go with the ass to get it, "Luckily my own brother is just arrived, and he is precisely the person to send," said Villanueva; and the new postulant was sent through the town for this purpose.

Villanueva persuaded his friend Pedro de Aragon, a monk of the Hieronymite Convent at Tendilla, a few miles distant, to go through the "Exercises." He conducted these with such admirable efficiency, that Pedro came out a new man. His greatest desire now was to persuade his Brethren at the convent to make the same spiritual retreat; but the monks rejected the idea with scorn. "They were old in their religious profession," they said, "and had no need to learn of a young religious and a new Order." At last Pedro obtained the consent of one man, and all the convent laughed at his attempt, for this one was a lay-brother of noble birth and large fortune, but of such a strange and ungovernable temper, that they only tolerated him in the house because of his donations to it. The Brother himself was more moved by curiosity than devotion, and said to those he met on his way to Alcalá, "I am going to try some sorceries which the Iñigistas practise." But when he asked for the Rector, and saw Villanueva, who had no external dignity of appearance, but wore over his slender figure an old and patched garment, his irritable temper was roused, and he gave signs of intending an immediate departure. Villanueva, who knew the old soldier by description, entreated him to stay, at least till the next morning. The Christian courtesy of his manners, his humility and charity, soothed the guest so efficaciously, that next day he consented to follow the Rector's guidance, and entered that evening on the "Spiritual Exercises." The meditations of the first part alone were continued through twenty-one days, and when the noble lay-brother returned to his monastery he was a humble and gentle Christian. The change appeared so miraculous, that the monks were all willing to try the same means, and the "Exercises" produced a general and thorough reform.

Dr. Ortiz offered to give the college at Alcalá a benefice which belonged to him, on condition that one of the Fathers should undertake the duties of parish priest. But this Ignatius refused. The protection of Ortiz was powerful, and was much missed when he died two or three years after. The outcry against the Society, which had already been attacked by Fray Melchior Cano, was repeated from a distance, and at Alcalá many voices were raised against the Order. Villanueva invited the Rector of the University to visit his house, showed him the students, all the arrangements and rules; and in 1548 a tribunal was commissioned by the

THE OLD AND NEW CATHEDRALS, SALAMANCA.—*See p.* 399.

(*From a Photograph.*)

Rector to inquire and report on the proceedings of the "Iñigistas." The tribunal was composed of three persons, who, though unfriendly before they entered on the investigation, became, when they had concluded it, defenders and patrons of the Order, and gave their judgments accordingly. One of the Doctors of Divinity of Alcalá, named Casa, still maintained his animosity, and even attacked the Bull of Paul III. An order came from Rome that he should be cited before the Inquisition; and Villanueva, informed of this, gave Casa warning, upon which he retracted what he had said, and ever after kept the peace.

When Favre, invited by King Joam from Germany, arrived at Lisbon in 1544, the King was at Evora; thither he followed him, was cordially received, and at once obtained the King's confidence. There Araoz met him. He had landed at Barcelona, and had been invited to preach at Valencia. So packed was the church of San Gregorio, where he delivered his sermon, that he found another audience awaiting him in the square outside, and all the windows and the roofs full of people. The Valencians begged him to found a college there and then, but he was obliged to decline their offer for the moment. But it was commenced the following year, 1544.[1] Strada meantime, with his large party, after a prosperous journey, landed at Coruña, the scene in after years of Sir John Moore's victory and death. Another and very unexpected success here attended the Jesuits. The fishermen of Coruña made an extraordinary haul of sardines during their stay, which they attributed to the presence of these holy men, and ever since the sardine fishery is thought to be under the special protection of the Society of Jesus. Here Strada preached; and Juan Beira, canon of the cathedral, having heard him, joined the Society. Juan became a laborious missioner in India. He joined the party at once, and left with them for Coimbra. He gave up his mule to the weaker ones, and walked with the rest. They paid a visit to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, hard by, and then went forward to their destination. They found the College of Coimbra highly flourishing, Simon Rodriguez having fitted it for great things. Melchior Nuñez, Menese, Carneiro, Silveira, had recently been admitted; and others, whose names were afterwards remarkable, now asked to be received among the novices.

Favre was under orders for Castile, and early in March next year he

[1] The college was begun by Father Domenech in a hired house, 1544, the first of the Society in Spain. The College de San Pablo, which is still standing, was not begun till 1564.

set off with Araoz. When they preached at Salamanca, the populace asked that a house of their Order should be established there, which was promised. From thence, still travelling on foot, they went on to Valladolid, lodging according to their custom in the hospital. Philip saw that the new preachers would assist and strengthen the Church in its hour of need. He and Maria received the Jesuits kindly, and gave them a ready patronage. Cardinal Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo, Bernardino Pimentel, Marquis of Tavora, and many bishops, declared themselves protectors of the Order. Philip of Spain and his bride, Maria of Portugal, were residing at the palace. It was but a few months that they passed together, for Maria died soon after the birth of Carlos, destined to those great misfortunes which have been so often told and sung; and Philip left Valladolid, perhaps a worse man than he might have been, if this poor young girl, whom he is said to have loved, had remained to soften the austerity of his temper and lighten its gloom.

Cardinal Tavera proposed to him to establish a house at Toledo; but Favre refused, in accordance with the directions of Ignatius, who thought it best to let the Court take the initiative. The house was begun soon after.

Before Blessed Peter followed the Prince to Madrid he was enabled to commence a house of the Society at Valladolid, chiefly through the generosity of his old friend and protectress, Leonora Mascarenhas, governess of the royal child. Afterwards the college and the professed house were completed by donations from rich and poor. Everything succeeded so well with Favre that he was alarmed at his own prosperity, and his letters to Ignatius express the diffident gratitude that was congenial to his humble nature. His work was now nearly done; he was but forty years old, but constant and unsparing toil had told upon him; he was exhausted, yet not satisfied that he had done enough. The King of Portugal wished to send him out to Ethiopia; Paul III. bade him accompany Lainez and Salmeron to Trent, where at last the Œcumenic Council, so long promised and delayed, was to assemble in the winter of 1545. It pleased God to summon His faithful servant before the Council opened; Le Jay filled his place. Before, however, this summons he had been ordered by St. Ignatius to represent him in the ceremony of laying the first stone of the princely college which Francis Borgia, now Duke of Gandia, was going to erect for the Society. But other and more personal motives made the Duke desire the presence of Favre. The Duchess Leonora was dead. He was free to follow the wish of his heart, the call of God. One question, and that an important one, was yet undecided, as to what religious Order he should enter. As soon as the stone-laying was over,

St. Francis, for the third time, went through the "Exercises," under the guidance of B. Favre. The Saint's mind was made up, and when he bade good-bye to Father Peter, he gave him a confidential message for St. Ignatius, that he hoped soon to be one of his children.

The Duke wrote to Rome earnestly pleading that the book of "Exercises" might receive the approval of the Holy See.

Miguel de Torres, a former Rector of the University of Alcalá, was sent by its professors to Rome, to defend them against the Archbishop of Toledo. Torres, who, like Olave, had a dislike to the Society, adopted some of the misrepresentations spread concerning them in Spain, and would not have any intercourse with them. De Vega, the Spanish ambassador, with difficulty prevailed on him to speak with Salmeron, secretly and by night. When Salmeron entreated him to see Ignatius, he answered, "Do you suppose I would speak to such a man?" Yet at last Salmeron prevailed on him to meet Ignatius in the house of Sta. Balbina within the walls of Rome, Torres wearing the habit of one going on a journey, lest any person should meet him and suspect his errand. He and Ignatius talked long together; and, before they parted, Torres threw himself into Loyola's arms, saying, "Do with me what you please!" He went through the "Spiritual Exercises," and soon after said he wished to enter the Society. This was deferred till he had finished his business in Rome and returned to Spain. On his admission, he renounced not only his position in the university, but two fat ecclesiastical benefices.

When St. Ignatius was requested to found a college at Salamanca, he sent thither Torres and two others. They began in the utmost poverty; the room which served them for a chapel had no other decoration than a figure of the Holy Virgin, drawn on paper with crayons by one of themselves. Soon afterwards Julius III. gave the college a property worth 600 crowns. Their success, as usual, was great; and, as was no less usual, after awhile it aroused enmity. Melchior Cano, the famous Dominican preacher and writer of much authority, whose work, "De Locis Theologicis," is still read, had begun about 1548 to declaim against the Society. He condemned their Institute; he found in them the forerunners of Antichrist; they were *illuminati*, visionaries and heretics, worse than Lutherans.

Torres and his companions went to Cano, showed him the Bull of Paul III., reminded him that Xavier was the Pope's Nuncio in the New World, Lainez and Salmeron his appointed theologians for the Council of Trent. Pinna, also a Dominican, defended the Society; and at last the General of the Dominicans, Romée de Chatillon, came forward with an official declara-

tion on their behalf.[1] But Cano refused to be silenced, even by the General of his Order; he continued the war, which seemed likely to spread into other universities. In 1552 the Jesuits procured for him the bishopric of the Canary Islands. This was a mild and generous attempt at self-protection on the part of the Society; but Cano refused to go to the Canaries, and never ceased his attacks, even to his very death. A letter which he wrote to Regla, an Augustinian monk, was quoted by the enemies of the Order at the time of its suppression.

I wish (said he) that I may not have the fate of Cassandra. . . . . If these Religious continue as they have begun, may God forbid that a time shall come when kings will desire to resist them and find it impossible.[2]

Torres sustained the attacks of Cano as well as of the new Archbishop of Toledo, Don Juan Martinez Siliceo, "with equal modesty and patience," after the custom of his Order. It was said of him that, like St. Ignatius, he could never endure to think ill of any one, even of an enemy; he seldom spoke at all of any man whom he could not praise, or could not at least refrain from censuring; he hated uncharity so much, that none in his presence dared say a disparaging word respecting the worst characters, unless there were some necessity for it. Ignatius highly prized Torres: he said, "I value him as the apple of mine eye;" and under him the Jesuit College at Salamanca attained considerable eminence.

The interests of Luther's party were not much affected by his death, which took place early in 1546. In a few months after, on August 1, Favre, one of the most active of his opponents, died at Rome. He had been almost two years in Spain, successful beyond his hopes; preparing himself always, in the humility of his ingenuous and diffident spirit, for disappointments that never came; and seeing the Company of Jesus flourishing everywhere—a new college munificently endowed at Valladolid, and another begun by Francis Borgia in his town of Gandia, of which Favre helped to lay the first stone. He reached Barcelona in the intense

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[1] He said:—"In these calamitous times a new Order of priests, under the name of Jesus, has been by Divine goodness sent from Rome, as a battalion of reserve, which for the good it has done the Church, by teaching and preaching in public, by exhortations in private, by assiduously hearing confessions, by the offices of the Church, and its example of a saintly life, has been approved and confirmed by our most Holy Father. . . . And this we desire to signify to you; lest some, misled by the recent date of this Institute, might ignorantly attack our companions in arms, who have the same object with ourselves . . . and thereby calumniate the proceedings of these priests; whereas rather should we applaud their success, and imitate their piety."—*Cartas de San Ignacio*, t. ii. p. 492 *seq.*

[2] Ibid., t. ii. p. 499.

heats of June, already oppressed with fever, but he still taught and preached as usual. The Pope had named him one of his theologians at the Council now opened at Trent, and Ignatius bade him return immediately to Rome; but hearing of his great weakness, wrote to him that he might delay his journey for a while. Favre hesitated. Some of the Fathers were of opinion that he had better proceed, and this was decisive to one so humble and so regardless of himself; others told him that he would lose his life in this attempt to reach Rome. He said, "It is necessary to obey, but not to live," and so he sailed for Italy. The joy of his arrival caused him to recover a little when he was safe at Sta. Maria della Strada. Ignatius wept over him tears of tenderness and exultation; he had nothing to hear from Favre but stories of continued success, and the visible Providence of God over the Society everywhere. In a few days B. Peter was again prostrated by fever, and this time to rise no more.

Favre left behind him the charming memory of a character moulded to Christian perfection in the school of Ignatius. When he was saying the Office, he used to interrupt it by frequent ejaculations, in order that his mind might not wander: he very frequently used these words, "O Heavenly Father, give me the good Spirit!—Pater Cœlestis, da mihi spiritum bonum!" At every portion of the Office he meditated on some mystery of the Passion; and he also pondered the life of the Saint whom the Office commemorated. He made a promise to himself, and renewed it before each psalm, that he would give his whole mind to it. Sometimes he imagined himself surrounded by the choirs of angels, who were praising God along with him; sometimes that he saw Satan far off, watching for some fault.

His mind seems to have had a peculiar sympathy with the Spirits who are "sent to minister to the heirs of salvation," who "have charge over us," and "rejoice over the repenting sinner." He never entered a town, or engaged in converse with any, without mentally invoking the Guardian Angels of the place or persons. He asked always that they would convey to his mind some illumination from the Father of Lights; and it appears that the prayer was mercifully granted, for his words reached the hearts of his hearers and turned them to the love of God.

Domenech was sent in the spring of 1546 to begin the College of Bologna. He gave there the "Exercises" to Hannibal Codret of Geneva and Benedetto Palmio, who both entered religion, and were active members of the Society.

Cardinal Guise de Lorraine came to Rome in 1549, to negotiate a

league against Charles V. Ignatius saw him, and explained to him at great length the nature and details of his Institute, against which the University of Paris had shown so much enmity. He succeeded in persuading the Cardinal, and through him Henry II. of France, that Religion and the State might profit greatly by the new Order. Guise was warm in his eulogy of the Jesuits; and in January 1550 Henry gave them letters patent permitting them "to construct, from the alms that might be given them," a house and college in Paris only, and not elsewhere, and the Parliament was ordered to cause these letters to be verified and made effectual.

That same year Guillaume, Bishop of Clermont, gave his town-house to the Jesuits as a college. It became in after years the Collège Louis le Grand. But some one was needed to represent the Society and to accept officially the donation, and as there was no Professed Father at the time in Paris, Loyola wrote accordingly to Father Viola, to make his profession in the hands of the Bishop of Clermont. But that very year F. Viola fell ill, and St. Ignatius chose the sweet-natured F. Broët to take his place. Paschase at once resigned his office of Provincial of Italy, and arrived in Paris invested with the authority of Provincial of France on June 25. That same year, a Carmelite, preaching in the Church of St. Severin, attacked the Jesuits; and this was, says Maldonado, "as it were the signal of the war which from that time forward all the bad passions of the city of Paris declared against the Company of Jesus." The Parliament, adopting the hostility of the Sorbonne, refused to enrol the letters, because they said the new Order would be injurious to the Monarch, the State, and the Hierarchy; and when these opinions were supported by excellent, though misinformed or prejudiced men, like Bruslart, Marillac, and Séguier, and the admirable Du Boulay, while Eustace de Bellay, Archbishop of Paris, and many other bishops aided the University in exciting mistrust and hostility against the Jesuits, Henry commissioned his Privy Council to examine the Constitutions and the Bulls by which the Pope had legalised them. The council declared they could find in these nothing illegal, injurious, or censurable; therefore, on January 10, 1552, the King repeated his commands to the Parliament to register the letters given two years before. The Parliament again determined to resist, and the gentle Broët required all the vigour and shrewdness of Ponce Cogordan to help him to make head against the chicaneries and violence of the opposition. The war which had broken out with Charles V. postponed the matter till 1554, and then the Papal Briefs and the Pope's letters were transmitted to the Archbishop of Paris and the Theological Faculty, to be re-examined. This appeal to the antagonists of the Jesuits announced a long and formidable opposition, which was aided by the

Huguenots—no small party then—as well as by the lawyers. The Jesuits were supported by the Court, the House of Guise, Du Prat, and some other bishops; the Parisians loved them, and delighted in their preaching, which was less artificial and pedantic than that of the Sorbonne. The University presented a petition to the King, "that the Bull of Paul III. might not be registered by the Parliament."

The Parliament on the third day caused its president, De Bellay, to enounce his opinion, contained in eleven paragraphs, each stating an objection to the Institute; but not the answers to these objections, given by the Jesuits themselves. The opinion concluded thus:—"That all novelties are dangerous, and produce many evils not intended, nor foreseen; and that, since the Community profess to preach the gospel to Turks and heretics, its members ought to establish themselves in those parts, as did the Knights of Rhodes; for much time would be lost in going from Paris to Constantinople or other places in the East." Finally, the *Conclusio* was given unanimously by the Faculty of Theology in December. It is a curiosity as a specimen of irrational abuse; it seems almost a description by contraries, so entirely has truth been reversed in it, or overlaid with exaggeration or misstatement.

"This new Society," it says, "which assumes the unusual title of the name of Jesus, which receives with so much licence, and without selection, all sorts of persons, however criminal, illegitimate, or infamous; which differs in nothing from the secular clergy in its dress, tonsure, &c. . . . this Society, to which have been granted so many privileges and permissions, . . . to the prejudice of the Ordinaries and the hierarchy of the other Religious Orders, even of temporal princes and lords, against the privileges of the Universities, and at a heavy charge to the people; —this Society seems to wound the honour of the monastic state; weakens entirely the necessary exercise of virtue, in abstinence, ceremonies, austerity; facilitates the free abandonment of Religious Orders; withdraws from the obedience due to the Ordinaries; deprives the lords temporal or ecclesiastical of their rights, disturbs both classes, causes many subjects of complaint among the people, many lawsuits, contentions, and divisions. Therefore, after having examined all this and much else with great care and attention, this Society appears dangerous to the faith, likely to trouble the peace of the Church, to overturn the Monastic Orders, and rather to destroy than to improve."

It would be difficult to have framed a more honourable accusation: every point of censure is one on which the Jesuits were carefully guarded and eminently irreproachable. Many professors refused their signatures; others, who signed, declared they merely yielded their judgment to that of the majority. But the people had no means of inquiry; and several,

with the usual docility to imperious authority, at once believed all that they heard: then the clergy from their pulpits, and the professors in their doctoral chairs, declaimed against this new and obtrusive Order, and placards with the same object were pasted on the walls of the Sorbonne, distributed in the churches, thrown into the streets, and pushed under doors. The Archbishop of Paris also forbade the Jesuit Fathers to perform the offices of their sacred ministry; but his power did not extend over the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, and at the invitation of the Abbot they recommenced their good works in that church, though quietly and without parade. Ignatius refused to remonstrate against the episcopal infringement of his rights, and it was not till much later that the Order received a solemn vindication.

ENTRANCE TO HOSPITAL. ENTRANCE TO CHAPEL. CHURCH OF ST. IGNATIUS.

EXTERIOR OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LUCY, MANRESA.—*See p.* 46.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BORGIA PALACE, GANDIA.

# CHAPTER IV.

## TROUBLES FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT—1542–1552.

THE year 1542 opened fortunately for Ignatius; it procured him an opportunity of mediating between King Joam III. of Portugal and the Pope, to the advantage of both. Miguel da Silva had been ambassador from Portugal to the three last Popes; and his father, Diego da Silva, had been governor to King Emmanuel. Don Miguel would have thus been made Cardinal long before, had not the King, unwilling apparently that a subject should have precedence over any of the royal family, opposed his elevation. He returned to Lisbon, was made Prime Minister and Bishop of Viseu. But his enemies undermined the royal favour, and he lost the affection and confidence of the King. Paul III., who had long determined to promote Miguel, made him Cardinal in 1541, which Joam greatly resented. He sequestered his revenues and recalled his ambassador from the Pope. The Bishop left Lisbon and went to Rome.

St. Ignatius felt deep obligations to both parties, especially to Paul III. and the Holy See; he had also a great affection for King Joam. He wrote earnest letters to Father Simon Rodriguez, and one full of respect to the King, in order to bring back peace between Portugal and Rome. The Pope complained to Ignatius, who proposed to his Holiness to give, for peace-sake, the bishopric of Viseu to Cardinal Farnese, if the Cardinal would bind himself to make over its revenues to Miguel, the

actual possessor, for his life. This appeared a concession to the King's dignity that would cost nothing to the other party. Paul therefore agreed, and charged Ignatius to make the proposition; whereupon he wrote to the Provincial at Lisbon, Simon Rodriguez, a letter which it was intended the King should see, and in which a note was enclosed charging Rodriguez to make the compromise acceptable to his Majesty. The intervention of Ignatius was successful. Joam not only agreed that Miguel should continue to receive the revenues of the bishopric, but made him protonotary of the kingdom, and the Pope granted considerable privileges to the Church in Portugal. After the death of the illustrious Gaspar Contarini, who was Papal Legate in Spain, Miguel was sent to that Court in his place.

The King of Portugal continued to employ the Company of Ignatius in Europe and in the East. In 1545, the Jesuits, sent by Ignatius to Xavier, took charge of the seminary of Goa, established some years before, and Nicolo Lancillotti began to teach Latin.

Ignatius used his influence well in persuading Joam to interfere to stop the practice of duelling. The Kings of Portugal had long wished to set up the Inquisition, in order to stay the mischief which had, in great part, been caused by the compulsory conversion of the Jews of that kingdom. This had driven the mischief in, and the errors of these crypto-Jews threatened disaster to the faith of the people. But Rome firmly resisted the royal demand, as it wished the rights of the accused to be safeguarded. The question grew acute, and St. Ignatius, anxious for peace, and desirous that real evils should be arrested, at the request of King Joam, acted as peacemaker in the matter. The Pope, however, only yielded to the royal demands in 1545. Two letters to Simon Rodriguez are still existing on this subject, one dated December 1545, and the other in the following August. There is also an allusion made to a negotiation, which St. Ignatius had agreed to help forward, to obtain a Cardinal's hat for the Infant Henry, Bishop of Evora. This the Pope gave. In the letter of August 1546, Ignatius says that—

> The proposals made by King Joam respecting the Inquisition are not yet entirely accepted. The Pope desires that the Saracens and Jews, who have received baptism, shall have four months granted to them to decide either to remain in Portugal and live there as true Christians, or to leave it, if they prefer to retain their superstitious worship. The Pope wills also, that the Inquisition shall be gentle and compassionate towards all who are brought before it, whatever be the cause of accusation.[1]

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 253.

About this time, Ignatius was much occupied with another distant project; a Patriarch and some companions were asked of him for Abyssinia. Eight years previously Joam had desired to send missionaries into his newly-acquired settlements on the borders of the Red Sea, round which spread those fabulous domains of Abyssinia, with their metropolis, ninety-seven miles in circumference, whose supposed treasures incited the greedy and impious invaders to rapine and violence, such as made the Christian name and faith detested there. St. Francis Xavier complained often and strenuously of such proceedings; the Court of Portugal apparently did nothing to repress the evil, but seemed rather to endeavour to ignore it. The natives consequently remained barbarian; their Christian conquerors were more barbarous than they.

At last King Joam, in 1546, moved perhaps by the wonderful zeal and success of Xavier, through Tellez, his ambassador, asked St. Ignatius to send thither a mission that might convert those nominal Christians, as well as their heathen subjects, and reunite all with the See of St. Peter, which in their ignorance and superstition they had so long deserted. The request was one to rejoice our Saint's heart, and he wrote in 1547 to Simon Rodriguez:—

If it be the will of God our Lord that any of this Society should devote himself to this enterprise in Ethiopia, I think the lot should fall on Master Paschase (Broët); since if I were to choose, considering everything, both general and individual, I would choose no one else; for suppose that I should consider that in such a charge none but a Professed Father should be placed, I think that whoever may undertake it must have three qualifications—first, virtue; second, learning; third, that he should be of a dignified exterior, strong and middle-aged. These three qualities I find combined in no one of the Society as in Master Paschase. For to speak of Le Jay, he is very old; Master Lainez, though of great virtue, has not much presence, and is very delicate; Master Salmeron is young, and is still almost as boyish and beardless as you knew him; Master Bobadilla is very often poorly, and is not very suitable. Of those of us who remain, there being only nine professed, you are at the head of all; and for the places where they are, all are of great value; but for what is wanted, Master Paschase alone seems to me to have in full every requisite gift. First, he is so good, that we consider him in our Company as an Angel; secondly, in addition to the learning that he possesses, he has much experience in the reform of bishoprics and convents, and, as he went to Ireland as Nuncio, none of the Society know so much about these affairs; for he is naturally very active and very diligent, and has always many episcopal and reserved cases to resolve, which will be still more required in Ethiopia. Besides this, he is in person very comely and strong, and his age is a little more or less than forty. May God, our Lord, according to His infinite and highest goodness, lead and direct this whole business, if necessary, choosing with

His own hand what is most for the greater service, praise, and glory of the Divine Majesty.

May He ever be our continual favourer and aid.

IGNATIUS.

ROME, *Oct.* 26, 1547.[1]

Still time went on, and the King made no effort to advance the matter, although Ignatius often remonstrated. In a letter of date January 1549, addressed to some person of the Court at Lisbon, he reminded his correspondent, that the nomination of a Patriarch had been delayed for three years; and observes that the mission would exalt the power and dignity of the King, since the choice of the Patriarch would remain with him, and especially because of the vicinity of his Indian possessions:[2]—

As three years have passed since the permission to elect the Patriarch has been in the King's hands and in his power, though I am persuaded that the delay has been caused by other reasons quite justifiable in the eyes of our Creator and Lord, it seems a great pity and misfortune that for so long a time such a number of souls should be in such evil case, and this is the side that presses most on those who wish to push on the affair.

Yet it was not till 1553 that the King wrote to Ignatius that he desired him to choose twelve priests of his Order, of whom one should be Patriarch of Ethiopia, and another his coadjutor and successor. The King of Ethiopia, or, as we should say, of Abyssinia, was confounded with the Prester John of the Middle Ages, who seems really to have been the Emperor of China.

Ignatius has left in his own handwriting, when in the tenth part of the Constitutions he forbids his people to accept dignities, that in the matter of the Patriarch and bishops of Ethiopia, "resistance was impossible;" and he adds afterwards, "opposition was out of question." But, in truth, there was no inconsistency in his conduct, for these offices were far from desirable to any worldly mind; and he probably alludes only to the coercion of his own conscience, for he repeatedly revived the subject when the King seemed indifferent. After all, Broët was not the Patriarch chosen; perhaps his French origin was unacceptable. Ignatius sent the names of three to King Joam, of whom he was to elect one to be Patriarch—the others would be his coadjutors. These were Nuñez, Carneiro—both Portuguese—and Oviedo, a Spaniard, Rector of the College of Gandia. The King chose for Patriarch Juan Nuñez. It was only in 1553 that the Jesuits actually departed.

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[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 39.
[2] Ibid., p. 152.

CARDINAL GASPAR CONTARINI.

(*From Engraving in the British Museum.*)

Ignatius had now enjoyed a long reprieve from calumnies and persecutions: 1546, an eventful year, brought him new trials of this sort, painful to relate as they are to read, although they ended in a manner honourable to himself. At one and the same time he was attacked from three different quarters. The most violent of his enemies was Mattia, postmaster of San Cassiano, a man of furious temper and strong passions, who had carried away another man's wife, and was now living with her in Rome. This woman, having heard the preachings and exhortations of Ignatius and his companions, repented and sought an asylum in the House of St. Martha. Mattia, transported with rage, made an attack at night on the house, and, when this failed, brought the most preposterous accusations against the Jesuits, reviving even the old story of heresies, so often refuted. He persisted both in speaking and writing his calumnies, until at last Ignatius thought it needful to petition the Pope to name some persons who should make a fresh investigation. To this Paul III. could not then assent, because his Vicar, Filippo Archinto, was very ill. When he recovered, Ignatius renewed his application through the Bishop of Cesena, his friend and protector, who addressed Paul on behalf of the "holy Company of Jesus." Paul then ordered his Vicar and Frangini, Governor of Rome, to investigate the matter.

Archinto twice visited the Convent of St. Martha to take the depositions of the women, and examined very closely there and elsewhere into the doctrines and morals of the Jesuits. At last he named July 3 for the hearing of both parties; but Mattia did not appear, either then or later, nor even when sentence was to be given. His rage appears to have subsided, for he even privately sought a compromise, as Ignatius relates in a letter to Miguel Torres. The lady mentioned is the wife of Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily. Both were warm friends of the Society, and helped to found five colleges for it in Sicily and the kingdom of Naples:—

The worthy Mattia has been supplicating Doña Leonora Osorio not to oppose him. He will endeavour to get the sentence signed, will ask my pardon, and speak in our favour everywhere she desires. She sent for me two days ago to the Campo de' Fiori, and told me that she, as well as Señor Juan de Vega, were of opinion we should accept Mattia's offer of conciliation; but I brought such strong reasons against this, that I convinced her. I also told her that, in my opinion, there ought to be no compromise with Mattia, and I did not want him to ask my pardon, nor that the sentence should be obtained through his intervention; also, I had no doubt that it would be given with justice, and to the greater glory of God.

At last her Excellency agreed that this way was much better than the other. This same Mattia went yesterday to the Pope's Vicar, and said publicly many things in our favour, and to his own detriment. He is trying to make himself friends,

for fear lest something may happen to him, which is very likely. May God grant that all may happen for His greater glory.[1]

Some days later he writes again to Torres:—

Mattia has given testimony in our favour before the Pope's Vicar, and condemned himself; and he wishes to make peace with us.[2]

The sentence at last given by the judges declares, after a short *résume* of the inquiry—

That the accusations are false, unjust, deceitful, and calumnious. That these priests and their Congregation are of such ways of life, purity of morals, piety and strict Catholic doctrine, have brought forth such rich fruit in the Lord's vineyard, stand in such good favour and repute with all men, that they are placed out of reach of all calumnies and imputations; but above all their Superior, the honourable Don Ignatius de Loyola.

The judgment imposed silence on Mattia respecting these calumnies, on pain of losing his employment and forfeiting all his goods, without further warning, while the judges reserved for the present to make known the punishment of his offences.

This was a gentle sentence, and obtained at the intercession of Ignatius, who wished Mattia to be let off easily when the Society had been entirely justified. He won in this way so much gratitude from Mattia, that he afterwards became a benefactor to their house at Rome.

The next attack came from a secular priest, Giovanni di Torano, Superior of the House of Jewish Proselytes, which Ignatius had founded. The influence of Ignatius with the magistrates, which overbore his own, in matters concerning this establishment, excited his jealousy, probably controlling his desire of independence, or even some worse passions. He uttered furious abuse of Ignatius and his Company, and at last presented a memorial to the Pope, in which he formally accused them of heresy and of violating the secrets of the Confessional. Ignatius did not think it necessary this time to defend himself; but Torano, made incautious by the silence of Ignatius and his own resentment, demanded an investigation, which brought to light proofs of such hypocrisy and misconduct on his own part, that the Cardinal del Monte, who directed the inquiry, suspended him from the Divine offices, deprived him of all charges and benefices,

[1] Oct. 9, 1546. Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 289.
[2] Oct. 18, 1546. Ibid., p. 304.

and confiscated his goods. The sentence added that the leniency of a spiritual tribunal would impose no heavier punishment on Torano than imprisonment for life. This afterwards was commuted to banishment, probably at the prayer of Ignatius.

For some reason unknown, a Spanish friar, who had been very friendly with the Saint, wrote a letter to him full of abuse, and got some one to convey it. Ignatius answered him in a letter addressed to the bearer himself. It is extremely characteristic:—

SIR,—Pray tell Fray Barbarán that as he declares that he would wish that all of ours who are living between Perpignan and Seville may be burnt (as heretics), I declare and I wish that all his friends and acquaintances, not only between Perpignan and Seville, but all whom the world contains, may be fired and inflamed by the Holy Ghost, so that they may all come to great perfection, and be very distinguished in the glory of his Divine Majesty.

So, too, you will tell him that our affairs are being gone into before the Governor (of Rome) and the Vicar of his Holiness, and a sentence is soon to be pronounced. If he have anything against us, I invite him to depose to it and to prove it before these judges. For I should prefer, if guilty, to pay for it, and to suffer for it, in my own person, than that all those between Perpignan and Seville should be burnt.[1]

IÑIGO.

ROME, STA. MARIA DE LA STRADA, *August* 10, 1546.

"Barbarán," writes St. Ignatius on October 18, 1546, "has drawn up a suit or document containing a charge against St. Martha's. His Holiness has commissioned Cardinal Crescenzi to inquire into it. He has done so. He told me yesterday it had no foundation whatever. For instance, he alleged that we ministered at St. Martha without the authority of the Pope, whereas his Eminence well knows the contrary; that we want to reform the whole world; and that we have made decrees that all unfaithful wives should be expelled from Rome; and more of this sort, without either head or tail. The Cardinal, who knows all about it, has himself shown the manner and way in which we should proceed, so that we may speak to his Holiness, and all this may be cleared up."[2]

Cardinal Crescenzi decided that the suit had no foundation in fact.

Genelli quotes as a remarkable parallel to this letter one addressed by Luther, three years before, to the bearer of a missive from Schwenkfeld,

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[1] Alcazar, *Chrono-historia de la Comp. de Jesus en la Provincia de Toledo*, Madrid, 1710, t. i. p. 75. Cf. Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 251.

[2] Letter to Torres, Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 304.

who wrote with a desire of propitiating him; but the style is too Lutheran for repetition. It certainly is a contrast.

At this time St. Ignatius was occupied with two points of much more subsequent importance. He obtained for the Jesuits exemption from all such employments as are accompanied by dignities in the Church, and from the

MARGARET OF AUSTRIA, WIFE OF OTTAVIO FARNESE.

*(From Engraving by Jacob Houbraken.)*

regular direction of nuns. The first concession was inestimable to Ignatius. He saw that without it his Society could not long subsist in that eminent usefulness for which he destined it; and that the worth and abilities of its Fathers would cause the most valuable of them to be successively removed. Many bishoprics were at this time vacant, because men of sufficient learning, piety, and energy for turbulent times could not be found; and it was from Germany, the great theatre of these troubles, that the attempt origi-

nated to employ the Jesuits in this manner. Ferdinand desired to place Bobadilla, then at Ingoldstadt, in the vacant See of Trieste. Bobadilla wrote to Ignatius:—"A secretary of the King of the Romans is come to this Court, and has begged me to accept the bishopric of Trieste. But I answered him that we were called to poverty, not to honours." Ferdinand then, through the Bishop of Laybach, his confessor, made the same offer to Le Jay, who also refused; but this time the escape was made with more difficulty. He wrote immediately from Venice to Ignatius, and a day or two later to the King. Then, having heard that Ferdinand was taking measures at Rome, he sent a second letter entreating him to desist. Ferdinand had ordered his ambassador at Rome, Jacopo Lasso, to obtain the Pope's nomination of Le Jay. He wrote also a very pressing letter to explain his motives, and the urgency of the case. Maffei, the Pope's private secretary, communicated this letter to our Saint, who instantly went to the ambassador, and conjured him to cease. Lasso showed him the letter in which Ferdinand, with his own hand, had ordered his ambassador to do his utmost to procure Le Jay's appointment, and remained deaf to all representations. Then Ignatius went to the Pope, and, with great grief and earnestness, supplicated him not to oblige the members of his new Society to accept any office connected with preferments in the Church. But Paul III. had already approved the nomination of Le Jay, and was determined to confirm it. He answered the General, in the words of Scripture, that the hearts of kings are in the hands of the Lord, and he thought that God Himself had inspired Ferdinand in this. He added, as he closed the interview, that he would ask counsel from God, and he bade Ignatius do the same.

Several of the Cardinals were warm friends of the Saint, and he now appealed to them. Carpi, who was Cardinal Protector of the Society, wrote to Ferdinand in the interest of Ignatius. Nevertheless, the affair proceeded, and a day was fixed for the decision. It now only remained to try the intercession of Margaret of Austria; and she, at the request of Ignatius, asked the Pope to suspend the nomination till there was time to write again from Rome to Ferdinand and receive an answer. The original of this Spanish epistle is to be found in the first volume of the "Cartas de S. Ignacio."[1] The letter was successful. Ferdinand charged his ambassador to desist from petitioning the Pope, who then ceased to oppose the wishes of the General. The Society celebrated Mass in thanksgiving, and chanted the Te Deum.

Ignatius after this took pains to explain more fully to the Pope the peculiar spirit of his Society, which made honours and promotions destruc-

[1] Tom. i. p. 306.

tive to it, and his dread that his brethren might either become secularised by the admission of such honours among them, that their motives would be less pure, at least less entirely unsuspected, or that jealousies might arise, and thereby their union among themselves be diminished. He added, that the Professed, having necessarily more access to the Court of Rome than other Religious, from their employment as Papal missionaries, would be more readily accused of striving to obtain benefices; and the near position of some to sovereign princes as confessors exposed them to similar dangers, and suggested the same cautions. But he took pains to show that he did not condemn the other Orders who had not the same scruples. They filled high places with edification to the people, he said; they were long established, and had acquired strength enough to bear heavy burdens; his Society, on the contrary, was young and still weak. Then, reverting to the ideas of his military days, he said, "Holy Father, I consider the other Orders in the army of the church militant as squadrons of soldiers who remain on the ground assigned to them, keep their ranks, stand firm against the enemy, and do not change their position or mode of combat. But we are like the light horse, who are always to be ready, night or day, in times of alarm and surprise—who attack or support according to circumstances, go everywhere, and skirmish on all sides. Therefore being obliged to remove constantly from one town or province to another, and even from one end of the earth to the other, at the least intimation from the Vicar of Christ, they cannot rightly be fixed anywhere."

Paul III. approved of these arguments, and was at last persuaded that to exempt the Jesuits from high offices would not be less useful to the Church than to the Society; and when he granted this singular petition, added these words—"It is the first time that any sovereign has heard such a request as this."

All the Religious Orders hitherto included women, and St. Ignatius, in the early part of his ministry, held spiritual intercourse with many of all sorts, and especially with nuns, besides those pious friends who, like Inés Pascual and Isabel Roser, had been the first and most helpful of his adherents, when he and his Society were still struggling for life. Many of these expected he would go a step further, and establish convents for nuns. It was an unreasonable hope, since the spirit of his Order is eminently missionary, combatant, and aggressive, and therefore unsuited to women. In the often quoted "Cartas" there are two[1] letters on this

[1] Tom. i. pp. 464, 468. They are without dates.

subject from Doña Juana of the ducal family of Cardona, whose husband was assassinated at Valencia, when she was extremely young. She repaired afterwards to the Court of Charles V. to obtain vengeance on his murderers. When she returned to Valencia, she became acquainted with Father Miron, and went through the "Exercises." They produced in her such a desire to leave the world, that making over her property into the hands of the guardians of her children, she retired with some other ladies into a hospital, and devoted herself to serve the poor. She wrote to Ignatius:—"I pray you earnestly to receive me into this holy Company, and into the Order of the holy and sweet Name of Jesus, for this sacred name has always been deeply graven on my heart ever since the time of my childhood, or since I could use my reason."

In another letter she declares that, like the Canaanitish woman, she will not depart without a blessing:—

> My wants are not less, my faith is no weaker than hers. It has made me quit my children and my possessions, my kinsfolk and my friends, and now makes me wish to fly still farther from them, because they are friends in the flesh only and enemies to the soul. Would you have me go to Rome? I will go. If I am not worthy to see you and receive your benediction, command me to go into the Indies, or remain here, or go no matter whither; I will obey you unto death. She who has travelled more than a thousand miles to obtain justice, instigated by an excessive human love, will recoil from no difficulties, and will travel twice as far, or all her life long, to obtain mercy, for the love of Him Who possesses her and all, and for Whose sake she has left all. Since your heart, full of tenderness, expands itself towards others, and receives them willingly, you will not close it against me, my dear Father and Master, unworthy servant that I am, of the servants of Jesus. Trusting in the good Lord and in your compassion, I wait your answer, which I beg you, with the utmost humility, to send me as soon as possible.

What Ignatius answered we can only guess. She died at Valencia, in the reputation of sanctity, in 1547, the year following.[1]

Loyola had already experienced the inconveniences that might attend this sort of direction, and refused one who had a better claim on him than Doña Juana. For his old friend and benefactress, Isabel Roser, had followed him to Rome after her widowhood, and there persuaded him to receive her vows of spiritual obedience along with those of her companion Francisca. He did not comply without reluctance. At first he refused any

[1] It seems probable that she was a kinswoman and friend of the Beata Catarina de Cardona, born at Naples in 1519. Catarina was much allied with the Princess of Eboli, wife of Ruy Gomez, who was so warm a friend of the Society. See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. pp. 266, 464, 468.

formal undertaking of this nature; and it was not till the influence of Doña Isabel's friends at the Papal Court had procured the interference of Paul III. himself, that Ignatius yielded a point on which he had already made up his mind. By a document of December 24, 1545, Isabel gave up all she possessed to Father Torres that St. Ignatius might dispose of it as he willed. But the Saint absolutely refused to accept the donation. After this two more ladies joined Isabel, and they formed a little community, living in conventual seclusion and practices of piety. Ignatius soon found their direction a burden and discomfort; he repented the acceptance of their vows; they encroached upon him unreasonably; perpetually appealed to him to appease their scruples, answer their doubts, or even settle their disputes. He once said the direction of these four devout ladies gave him more trouble than all his Company. He resolved to extricate himself, and wrote about the same time to the Pope, asking to be freed from the obligations which he had assumed; and to Isabel Roser he made the announcement with all possible consideration and gentleness:—

Venerable Doña Isabel Roser, my mother and sister in Christ our Lord,—In truth, I would willingly please you, for the greater glory of God, and retain you in spiritual obedience, as hitherto, watching with solicitude for your greater good and the perfection of your soul. But as I have not the necessary strength, because of my continual illnesses, and of being occupied in matters about which I am specially bound to God our Lord, and to his Holiness in God's name—seeing, too, in my conscience, that this least Society ought not to have special charge of matrons bound by vows of obedience, as contrary to the object of this small Society, as I explained about six months since to his Holiness—I have thought it more for God's glory that I should retire altogether from this care, and keep you no longer in obedience as my spiritual daughter, but consider you rather as a good mother, such as you long have been, for the greater glory of God our Lord. And therefore for the greater service, praise, and glory of His Eternal Goodness, I remit you, as far as I can, and without prejudice to higher authority, to the eminently wise judgment and decision and will of his Holiness, so that your soul may be entirely tranquil and consoled, to the greater glory of God.

ROME, *Oct.* 1, 1546.[1]

The petition of St. Ignatius to Paul III. was as follows:—

Most Holy Father,—Your obedient servants, the General and the priests of the Society of Jesus in the Church of Santa Maria della Strada, erected, instituted, and approved in the holy city by your Holiness, cease not with all their strength and their poor ability to devote themselves to the service of the Church of God

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 279.

and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently of your Holiness, His Vicar upon earth. But as these priests are solicited by many considerable persons, particularly in Spain, to take the direction of nuns and of women who desire to serve God piously, and as they are convinced this would be a great obstacle to the other functions they have to fill in God's service, conformably to the chief end of the Institute of your Holiness, and as this responsibility is just commencing, and though a small hindrance in the beginning, may grow greater hereafter, these priests humbly throw themselves at your feet, and ask as a special favour that in their Institution and the confirmation of this Society, which may be regarded as an explicit declaration, and may be so expressed, you may deign to declare that it is a great hindrance to the other duties and service of God which is incumbent on them by your Holiness' chief Institute, that they should undertake the charge of any nuns or sisters, or of any women whatever, or receive any under vow or obligation of obedience; and that the Fathers should in no way be bound to undertake this charge, nor is it expedient for their Institute and Society.[1]

He also prayed the Pope to remit the vows of obedience to him taken by Doña Isabel and her companions. Paul granted both these dispensations, and events that speedily followed in Doña Isabel's family showed that Ignatius' appeal was not made too soon.

When Duke Ercole d'Este was urgent in pressing Le Jay and Bobadilla to undertake for only a few days the direction of a nunnery founded by the Duke's mother, Ignatius would not allow them to comply, though at the moment the deeds of the new college at Ferrara were in the Duke's hands, waiting his ratification, so that it was important not to displease him.[2]

The subsequent career of the Society, which seems to have prospered by retaining scrupulously the strict regulations of their founder, bears witness to his sagacity. They have only departed from the letter when they could perfectly comply with the spirit, as in the cases, already mentioned, of the confessors to kings and the mission to Ethiopia.

Mattia and Barbarán were ordinary opponents, their attacks being such as any public man might anticipate who invades the domains of Satan, and sets in motion a host of interests and prejudices; but Ignatius had next to defend himself against one who had strong claims on his gratitude,

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 473.

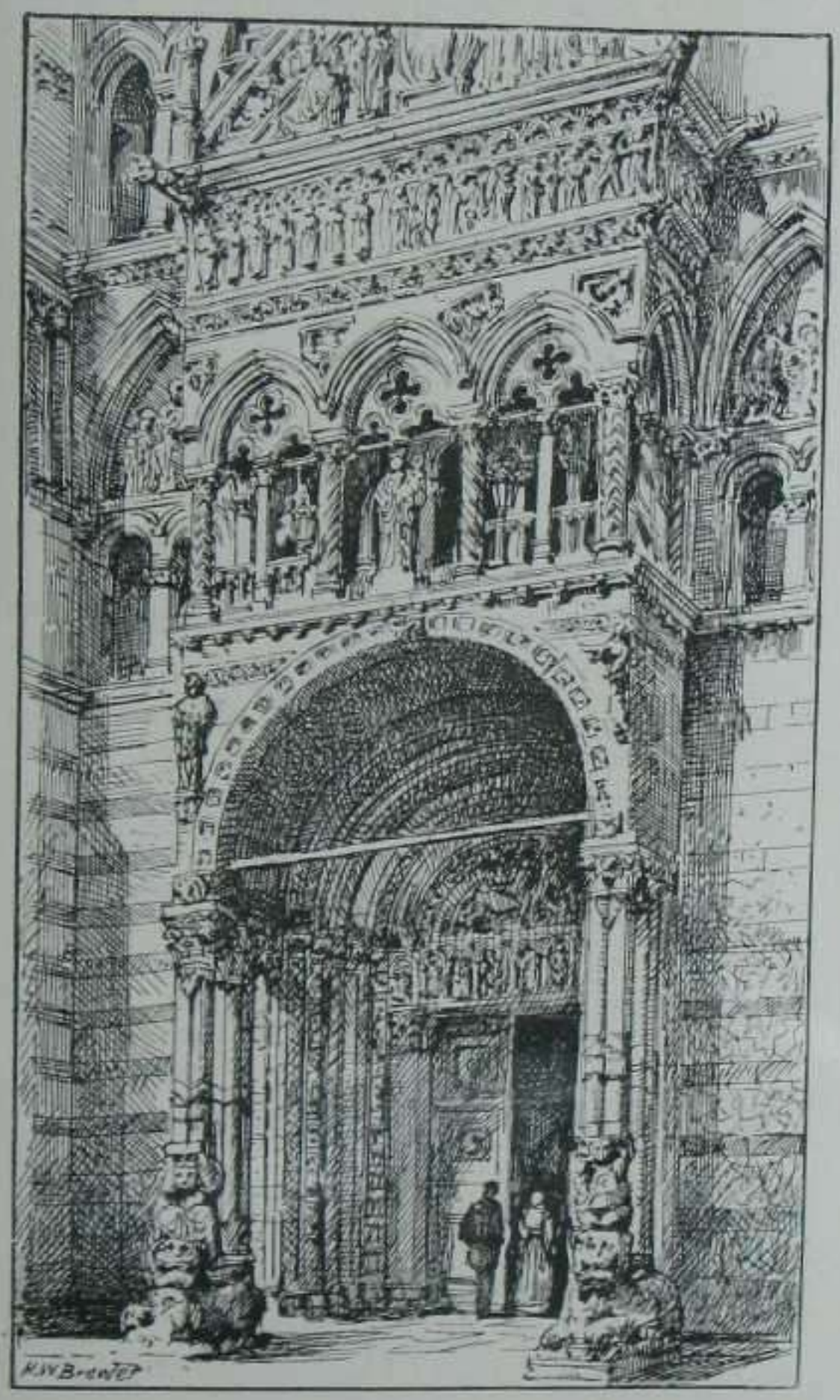
[2] Long afterwards, one of the Fathers in Valladolid, being commanded by his Superiors, undertook the charge of a convent of nuns there; but when Ignatius heard of this he ordered him to be removed. The Clares of Barcelona also addressed, through Araoz, a request to Ignatius that they might have some of his Society for Directors; but he refused it, and reproved Araoz for transmitting their petition. In the same sense, taking refuge in the Pope's brief, he answered the entreaties of some single nuns; and eventually he made the rule more stringent in the Constitutions.

and had been till now one of his most devoted friends. This Isabel Roser, whom he called his mother, his early patroness at Barcelona, to whom Heaven had revealed his saintly destiny, by showing her a crown of glory round his head, who had assisted his journeys and his studies, and at last followed him to Rome, in the hope that he would help her soul to paradise and close her eyes, from some cause not well known, turned against him, and commenced a suit to recover some money which Ignatius declared was not due. This suit was instituted, it seems, by her nephews—one especially, named Doctor Ferrar, who was hostile to Ignatius; but his renunciation of their spiritual relationship was doubtless an offence and a grief to Isabel, and she could not or would not understand his reasons. She talked loudly about her wrongs, and her relatives still louder, so that no little scandal was caused in Rome. Ignatius wrote to Torres in the autumn of this stormy year 1546:—

> The Señora Roser demands two things: first, that as she has always lived in great friendship with me, I should give her a declaration in writing that I do not give her up on account of her faults. Second, she complains of the way in which our temporal affairs have been arranged, when they were discussed in the presence of Doña Leonora, Roser herself, Johan Bosch, myself and another. I say, she makes complaints; for three or four days after she went through her accounts, and maintains that in her opinion our house owes her a great sum. I would not agree to the first till the second is cleared up, as I am quite persuaded the right is on our side. And so though with difficulty she was prevailed on by my prayers to compromise, and to name some one on her side, as I will do on mine, and if these two cannot agree, we shall refer the question to some discreet and learned person, such as an Auditor of the Rota. And when the affair is decided, then finally the Pope's Vicar must interfere, that all scandal may be avoided, which is great here, and we expect will be great too in Barcelona, as some speak in her favour and some in ours.

It does not seem from this that St. Ignatius positively refused the written assurance she asked, but it is almost certain that he could not give it fully, in all sincerity. Isabel and her kinsmen spoke openly against him and his Society. It was more for her interest than his own that he proposed this appeal to a private tribunal, as the result proved. At first, after he had prevailed with the Señora Roser, the others accepted the proposal, and it was laid before Cardinal Carpi, who heard both parties upon oath; but the Roser family, probably foreseeing that the inquiry would go against them, carried it before the Substitute of the Pope's Vicar, who was well disposed towards Isabel. Afterwards, having looked into the business, he was forced to see that she was in the wrong, and he imposed absolute silence on her for the future as to her claims on Ignatius.

When all was over, the Substitute acknowledged that the tears of Señora Isabel had inclined him to protect her, until he was better informed. Her kinsman, Francis Ferrar, Doctor of Barcelona, who had spoken injuriously of the Jesuits, was sentenced to ask forgiveness, and the judge declared that he inflicted no heavier punishment, because Ferrar had



THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO THE CATHEDRAL, FERRARA.—*See p. 89.*

already recalled his accusations in the presence of the persons to whom he first made them. Ignatius acted with the utmost consideration towards the changeful lady; he forbade his Brethren in Spain to say anything about the dispute, unless it were necessary for truth's sake; but there is no

trace of any further correspondence in later years between Isabel and St. Ignatius.[1]

The relations of Ignatius with the Carthusians had been entirely fraternal; but he was not always so fortunate with other Communities—he had sometimes to revive the rule in religious houses which had become relaxed and unfaithful to the spirit of their foundation. He had begun already, as we have seen, by reforming a Community close to Barcelona, at the hazard of his life. Borgia, when he was made Viceroy of Catalonia, wishing to imitate him, designed a general reform of all nunneries in the province and city of Barcelona, and laid his schemes before Philip II., who in 1546 applied to Ignatius to procure the necessary powers from Rome. These were immediately granted for the city, and two years later for the province. Father Araoz, Provincial of Spain, was entrusted with the exercise of these Papal powers. The reform of the convents of Catalonia began vigorously in 1547, but it progressed slowly, and we find it not complete in 1552.

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[1] Lest any should think St. Ignatius disdainful of the weaker half of humanity, it is related that, immediately after his death, his glorified spirit appeared to a noble matron of Bologna, Margarita Delis, who gave this strange news instantly to Father Palmio, Rector of the College. He was at first incredulous, till a messenger with Polanco's letter arrived; and among many like revelations, Ignatius, in 1621, told the saintly Doña Marina de Escobar that he adopted her, "como si de verdad fueses de la Compañia, y uno de los demàs hijos mios" ("as if you were truly of the Company, and one of my sons"); then an angel clothed her with an alb, and St. Ignatius himself placed over it a stole and a black cloak. *Vida de la Ven. Marina*, por el V. Luis de la Puente, S.J. Madrid, 1766, p. i. p. 368.

ANCIENT CHURCH OF ST. MICHEL, LOUVAIN, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS, WHEREIN STRADA AND RIBADENEIRA PREACHED.

# CHAPTER V.

## TRENT AND MUHLBERG—DEATH OF PAUL III.—1545–1549.

THE Œcumenic Council so long talked of and delayed, which was to settle the disputes of Christendom, assembled at last in the border town of Trent in the winter of 1545, and entered on its work of discussion and reform in the following January. There had been held no such gathering of bishops since the Council of Constance in 1417. The Council now opened was not ended in less than eighteen years—it was for very long the last, and perhaps the most remarkable, of these Christian Reform parliaments. So many bishops were kept away by the political disturbances of the times, that though the invitations were œcumenic, the Protestants then as now refused that title to the Council itself. But there were enough distinguished men present to do excellently well the work intended for it, and no Council has received more formal confirmation from the Head of the Church.

The august assembly was presided over by three Legates: Cardinal

del Monte, afterwards Julius III.; Marcello Cervini, who was Pope for a few weeks as Marcellus II.; and the illustrious Reginald Pole. Two other Cardinals, Madrucci, Bishop of Trent, and Pacheco,[1] Bishop of Jaen, both learned men, were there, and a goodly company of ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, abbots, superiors of Orders, doctors in theology, and theologians of the Dominicans, Friars Minor, Conventuals, Augustinians, Carmelites, Servites, and of other Religious Orders. Dominic Soto, General of the Dominicans, and the Emperor's first theologian; De Vega, Remius, Catarino,[2] and Hervet, tutor to the Pole family and secretary to Cardinal Cervini, were among them; Olaüs Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala; Waucop, the blind Archbishop of Armagh; Du Prat, Bishop of Clermont; and Seripandi,[3] General of the Augustinians. In the morning the dogmas of the Catholic faith were the subject of consideration, and in the afternoon the reforms required in Church discipline, beginning with residence of bishops, and going on to other matters of high importance and difficulty. Jean Cuvillon, a Belgian Jesuit sent by the Duke of Bavaria, and Le Jay, the representative of Otto Truchses, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg, arrived in the December of 1545. Paul III. ordered St. Ignatius to select three of his Society to act as his theologians. Favre, one of the three, was detained in Spain. The others, Lainez and Salmeron, did not arrive till the 18th of May 1546. As theologians of the Holy See—a high distinction—they had the duty of speaking first and last in the discussions.

Blessed Peter Canisius joined the other Fathers in the beginning of 1547, as theologian to the new Prince-Archbishop of Cologne. They lived altogether in a lowly house, refusing the splendid hospitality offered to them. They conformed strictly to the following instructions given by St. Ignatius:—

"As it is needful that God should aid and forestall us in order that we may be able to deal with our neighbours for His glory and the good of our souls, so is it needful that we help ourselves and be careful in our ministry, because otherwise we shall do more harm than good to those with whom we deal, as they

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[1] Pacheco was highly esteemed in Spain, and having been raised to the Bishopric of Jaen, and then made Cardinal by Paul III., was named Viceroy of Naples after the death of Toledo, in 1553. He ruled there with such mildness, and procured so many favours from the Emperor for the Neapolitans, that they greatly loved and venerated him.

[2] This was Fra Antonio Polito, of Siena, a Dominican, once a lawyer. He took this name in reverence to St. Catherine of Siena.

[3] Seripandi had great weight in the councils of Charles V., and he obtained important privileges for the Neapolitans in 1554, which Cardinal Pacheco made highly valuable to them. All excessive and peremptory proceedings against heretics, and the terrible application of "the question," were henceforth forbidden.

too will do to us. But because by our Institute we cannot shun such intercourse, we must needs be very prudent and watchful in order that we may benefit them, and do no injury to ourselves.

For this end we must take care of three things, that is, use three precautions, which contain in themselves many others.

1. In the Council you are to seek only God's glory and the good of the Church.

2. Outside the Council you are to try to do good to every one, according to the Institute which you profess.

3. At home among yourselves you must take great care not to forget your own perfection and progress, as you know that this is necessary in order to fulfil the other two; and that the day on which you lose sight of yourselves, you will seek neither the good of souls, nor the good of the Church, nor the glory of God, but your own honour and personal interest.

And to begin with the third point, which prepares us for the others, let there be amongst you perfect peace and harmony, both of will, and, as far as possible, of opinions and ideas. Let none of you trust his own judgment, nor cling so tightly to his own way of thinking as to despise that of others. Rather distrust your own opinion; examine it well and weigh it with reason and prudence.

Claude Le Jay is expected every day, as envoy of the Cardinal of Augsburg, so you must all live together, and fix an hour each evening to confer about what has been discussed in the Council, and about what has to be treated on the following day.

To keep yourselves the better in humility and charity, each of you in turn will every evening ask his other two companions freely to correct and to reprove his faults, in order that you may amend them; nor must you excuse or give the reason for what you have done, unless it be that they ask for it, and bid you to do so. In the morning you will deliberate in common as to what is to be done during that day, and twice a day each one will ask himself an account of his actions.

In the Council be slow to speak, and weigh well what you say, especially in matters which demand action, and about which some determination has to be come to. Be attentive, be tranquil, and sagacious in listening to others so as to catch the opinions and views of those who speak, in order that you may take occasion thence either to reply when necessary, or to agree to and approve what has been said, whenever it be right to do so.

In the discussions that will occur, you must state the reasons on both sides, so as not to appear much attached to your own opinion, and do all you possibly can that no word of yours should be painful or cutting. If the matters under discussion require your opinion, you will give it with great peace, calm, and modesty, and always conclude "with deference to better judgments," or some such phrase. Be well persuaded that in doctrines, whether acquired by study and care, or taught by God, it is of great importance to treat of them quietly, as if you were seated and taking your rest, and not in a hurry, as if you were running in haste to arrive at your destination. In this way you will not regard your own convenience and advantage in discussions, but that of him with whom you are arguing.

Outside the Council lose no chance of doing good to all as far as you can; rather seek opportunities of hearing the confessions of those who desire to approach that Sacrament, of preaching to the people, or of teaching Catechism to children, of exciting men to perfection by the "Spiritual Exercises," and, lastly, of visiting the hospitals, consoling and aiding the sick with great charity. Thus we may hope the Holy Ghost will descend more abundantly on the Council, in proportion as you have given, and with greater fervour, numerous examples of humility and charity. In your sermons avoid the points controverted by the heretics, but aim entirely at moral reform, and at preaching obedience to the Catholic Church. In your discourses beg the people frequently to pray God for the success of the Council. In hearing confessions weigh well what you say to penitents, and give them no advice without great forethought and prudence; be persuaded what you say in the ear of the penitent will hereafter be published. As a penance impose some prayers for the successful outcome of the Council.

When you are explaining the "Exercises," and giving the reason of them, and in general when speaking in any conversation, do not think you are talking in private, but in public, so as to measure your words, and to say nothing you would not wish every one to know. In giving the "Exercises," make it a rule not to give more than the first week, except to very few who have to make choice of a state of life by the "rules of election." Do not allow them to bind themselves by vows, neither put them into very small rooms. Soften down the laws and prescriptions of the "Exercises" when needful, and especially for those who have to go through them in their entirety.

In the method of teaching Catechism to children suit yourselves to their age, so as sweetly to teach them the mysteries of our faith, and explain them according to the capacity and condition of your hearers. And commence these instructions by briefly exhorting those present to cause God by their prayers to be gracious to the holy Council. Every four days you will in turn visit the public hospitals at an hour which is not inconvenient to the sick, and besides hearing their confessions, try to console them and to assuage their sufferings, not merely by kind words, but with some little present, as far as you are able. And admonish them also to pray God for the Council which has been opened.

In every conversation you chance to have, spy out an occasion for that most important of all matters, to exhort people to repentance and to all other virtues, and ever keep before your eyes to seek the good, not of one only, but of the whole Christian world. So, as in discussions and arguments it is well to be brief; in order, however, to get men to follow virtue and to flee from vice, your speech should be long, and full of charity and kindness."[1]

As Salmeron was but thirty-one years old, and Lainez thirty-four, they looked in that assembly of elders exceedingly young. Their poor threadbare clothes, very clean, but all patched, shocked the other clergy to such a degree, that they were forced to accept the new habits which their

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 475.

Spanish countrymen gave them. In the intervals of their work at the Council, they heard confessions and visited the sick. The poor were kept in a house outside the walls, chiefly by the alms of the Legates. One of the Fathers used to go there in turn each morning to say Mass for the inmates, to instruct and comfort them; they collected alms also for more than seventy persons, and Cardinal Cervini made over to their care the soldiers who had returned disabled from the German war, on their way to Italy. These works of charity greatly impressed the dignitaries who witnessed this way of life, contrasted with the profound learning of these men and their office of Papal theologians. Many of the bishops of the Council took them for the directors of their conscience and their advisers in all difficult points.

Salmeron opened the discussion, while Lainez, whose memory was a wonder, received the charge of recapitulating the daily discussions, and presenting the *résumé*. And he was paid the remarkable compliment of having a place appointed him in the centre of the bishops' seats, that all might hear him.

On May 25, the question of Mary's freedom from Original Sin was brought forward. The Jesuits defended the Immaculate Conception, and it was on this point that Salmeron and Lainez first showed their ability. Cardinal Pacheco was furnished by them with the chief part of the proofs he used on that side. But after much dispute it was agreed to defer this part of the question for the present, and the same was done when it was revived in the session following, because there were three or four theologians of different opinions.

Paul III. proposed the translation of the Council to Lucca, alleging that the prelates complained of the sharp climate of Trent, its bad accommodations, and the danger from Protestant invasion. But the Emperor steadfastly opposed the proposal. The Lucchesi themselves objected to receive the prelates, and the heretics were defeated in the Tyrol; this allayed the fears of the Fathers for their personal safety, and the sittings were resumed as before.

Ignatius had wished to recall Lainez and restore him to the Florentines, when the rumour of the removal of the Council first reached him. The thorny subject of Justification had been now entered upon. Ignatius wrote on October 9, 1546, to Miguel Torres:—

> I cannot withdraw Master Lainez from the Council till they have had the first session in which they are to define the decree on Justification. It seems that his Holiness desires this decree to be considered at Rome as well as at Trent, by the more learned; for Master Bernardine Maffei told me he would send it to us to be

examined in our houses. Fresh favour has been shown to ours at Trent, for whereas, until this, no Bishops, Religious, or other preachers have been allowed to mount the pulpit in that city, the Legates have given orders to Lainez to do so, and he is to begin next Sunday. And it seems from another letter he wrote me, of which I send you a copy, that he has begun to preach, as you will there see.[1]

Cardinal Cervini wrote to Ignatius:—

Very Reverend Father, Master Ignatius,—You will be surprised perhaps that I have detained Master Diego Lainez longer here than you and he desired. I have done this for the public advantage. I have charged him to collect all the errors of heretics on the Sacraments, as well as other dogmas, which are to be condemned in the Council. Now, as this work is long and tedious, I did not like to allow the Father to go until he had finished it, or so nearly that another person might easily do the rest; and for this I shall still want him a few days longer. This requires time, and I beg you to be propitiated by the confidence I place in you and him. Nevertheless I would not act contrary to your views. If you prefer that he should leave the work incomplete, you shall be obeyed; you have only to write word to me. Heaven keep you in its grace.—Your devoted, MARCELLO, Cardinal of Sta. Croce.

TRENT, *Feb.* 5, 1547.[2]

Lainez remained and did admirably all that was required of him. He especially distinguished himself in his *votum*, or opinion on Justification, the most knotty point of the whole.

In the decree eventually agreed upon, justification is declared to be the effect of charity, infused by the Holy Spirit into our hearts. It was admitted that there was no justifying grace without charity, or the supernatural and indwelling love of God.

The questions of reform in the Church were now to be considered, and the next session was fixed for April 21; but a zymotic fever broke out in the city of Trent, invading the Council and carrying off among its first victims the General of the Friars Minor and the Bishop of Capaccio. Twelve of the bishops fled, and on March 9 the Legates assembled the others, and proposed to dissolve the Council, but remitted the decision to the majority.

The subjects of Charles, in accordance with his orders, insisted on remaining, and the discussion was adjourned till the next day, when Del Monte proposed a removal to Bologna, and produced the Pope's permission. The party of Charles resisted as before, but the others were for the most

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 286.
[2] Ibid., p. 483.

part exceedingly impatient to leave Trent. The sessions closed accordingly on March 11, 1547; and on March 12 the Legates departed for Bologna, where, however, they could not for some months assemble Fathers enough to carry on the session. Paul III. was, or affected to be, displeased that the Legates had not remained two months longer at Trent, which would

POPE MARCELLUS II. (CERVINI).

*(From Engraving in the Hope Collection, Oxford.)*

have sufficed to conclude the several discussions. Charles was furious; he demanded that the Legates should return to Trent, and forbade his own bishops to leave it; but the occurrences now passing in France arrested these disputes. Francis I. became suddenly and dangerously ill, and died a few days after. His successor, Henry II., showed much

reverence to the Pope, and even consented to affiance his daughter Diana to Orazio Farnese, the grandson of Paul III.

Salmeron had caught the fever in Trent, was laid up with it at Verona, and Lainez would not leave him. They believed the prayers of Ignatius to have wrought his cure. A letter full of affection, written by Salmeron to the Saint, has been preserved to the present day. Both arrived at Bologna about the middle of April, and before the end of it they received news of the decisive victory of Muhlberg, which concluded the war and preserved the German Empire for the Catholic Church.

At Bologna Lainez received a letter from Ignatius, expressing his desire of transferring his office of General to that Father, or to some other. The Saint's health, broken by a hard life and continued fasts, had been long very infirm; his patience had been greatly tried; the attacks that have been mentioned seemed indeed as if they were the malice of individuals only, but many were known to share in it; those who desired to emancipate their evil lives from the control of the Catholic Church, or who secretly encouraged the new heresies, wished to put down the Jesuits, or diminish their popularity; and all the long-suffering, judgment, and decision of Ignatius were needed to carry him through these impediments; but he triumphed at last. After the recantation of Francis Ferrar we hear no more of similar accusations. All seem to have admitted, silently at least, that the lives of the Jesuits were blameless, their charity and teaching admirable; but it is no wonder that Ignatius desired to withdraw from a position which exposed him to such struggles. He had many motives for wishing to exchange his charge as General for a retirement such as his soul loved. His letter, in the spring of 1547, was as follows:—

If the Society will consent to it, or only half its members, I give you my vote, if it can be of any weight, and place in your hands, willingly, and with great joy of heart, the charge I now hold; and not only do I choose you as being worthy, but if you refuse, I will name any one that you or the others may point out; for I think, if it were settled in this manner, it would work for the greater service, praise, and honour of God our Lord, and for the greater spiritual comfort of my soul, in His Divine Majesty; and I certainly wish, also, to speak openly, that I may be allowed to lay down this burden and live in a lowly manner; and as I now entirely set aside my own small judgment, I agree, and always will agree, as I hope, to whatever you or the Society, or any part of it, may decide; and whatever is so decided on, that I approve and confirm through these presents, which I have written with my own hand.[1]

[1] See Boll., t. xxxiii. § xlii. n. 437, p. 492.

But God, when He kept him in life, required him to bear the yoke a little farther. Ignatius resigned himself, and went on patiently to meet new opponents and new cares.

The battle of Muhlburg wholly changed the aspect of affairs. The Imperial army won a complete victory over the Protestant powers. Bobadilla was present at this battle; he had been removed by the Pope's Nuncio to Vienna from Cologne, where for a long while he helped Canisius to defend the faith against a divided people and a Lutheran Archbishop. Then Ferdinand sent him to accompany the army commanded by Ottavio Farnese, and the sick and wounded were under his care; he stimulated the religious zeal of the soldiers, and seems himself even to have caught something of the warrior spirit, considering doubtless this contest to be a crusade.

On April 23, 1547, Charles V. was among the first to cross the Elbe; a mist rising from the river favoured his troops, and allowed them to approach close to the enemy unperceived. The next day they dispersed the rebels, and took Duke John Frederic of Saxony and Ernest of Brunswick prisoners; and once more the Emperor felt himself "one of the two heads of the Christian Church." In the battle Bobadilla fell, wounded in the head, but not severely; in a few days he was preaching at Passau, where the majority were Protestant; nevertheless, they did not venture to refuse the *Te Deum* which Bobadilla demanded for the imperial victory.

He then proceeded rapidly through Augsburg and Cologne to Louvain, where the college founded by Favre was beginning to flourish.

Everywhere, as he went, he disputed and preached, encountering both Lutherans and Anabaptists, and returned to the Court of Charles just as the Emperor was publishing the decree which excited so much praise and censure under the title of the Interim. This was a formal permission to use certain privileges claimed by the Protestants until the General Council had come to a decision upon the points questioned. Amongst them were included the marriage of priests and the giving of the cup to the laity. Bobadilla was indignant; he manifested the most daring opposition, even in the presence of the Emperor himself, who was not less indignant, and ordered him to leave the Court, though Charles did not do this offensively, and gave him money for his journey.[1] Bobadilla returned to Rome, and met with no marks of disapprobation at the Vatican. The Cardinal Morone excused Charles, and dissuaded the Pope from making any complaint; but Ignatius would not allow Bobadilla to enter the house—he was displeased at the

[1] The Interim was not universally pleasing to the Protestant party; Butzer refused to sign. In all Germany Bobadilla was the only Catholic who wrote or spoke openly against it.

audacity with which he had bearded his sovereign, and proclaimed to all Christendom that the Emperor was but a lukewarm Catholic. Perhaps the "fiery soul" of Bobadilla had led him beyond the moderation imposed upon the Society of Jesus, especially as the anger of Charles might seriously affect the progress which the Society was making everywhere in his dominions. In fact, its enemies took advantage of this occurrence, and commenced those accusations so often reiterated afterwards against the Jesuits, of dictating to monarchs and attempting to control their power.

The care Ignatius took to avoid giving offence to any authorities was almost excessive. He was once exceedingly displeased with Father Girolamo Otelli, for introducing the name of the Pope too presumptuously into a sermon. Otelli, declaiming against the vices of the Roman people, said, "If the love and fear of God could not control them, the Sovereign Pontiff ought to have recourse to punishment, and drive the guilty persons from the city." Ignatius summoned Otelli, and asked him, "How many Popes are there in the world?" "None besides the Bishop of Rome," replied Otelli. "How then," said Ignatius, "do you presume to make mention from the pulpit of a person so exalted, and even speak of his conduct as if you could judge what he ought to do? Leave me, and consider before God what punishment you deserve. You will come this evening and bring me your answer." When Otelli returned, he threw himself at the feet of Ignatius and gave him a paper, in which he proposed to go through the streets of Rome, scourging himself, for many days; to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem barefoot; to taste nothing but bread and water for years; and to submit himself to whatever further satisfaction Ignatius thought fit to impose. His humility appeased his Father, who only gave him, by way of example, some penance in the house. Otelli's zeal was perhaps sometimes indiscreet, but it had immense effect on the people, and he converted large numbers. When Ignatius sent him from Rome to Sicily, he was mourned for as an apostle. The day after his departure, when Ignatius, saying the Confiteor at Mass, came to the words "mea maxima culpa," an old woman called out, "Yes, Father Ignatius, you may well call it a sin, to deprive Rome of so holy and useful a man as Father Girolamo." A more dispassionate judgment than Otelli's once offended Ignatius in the same manner. Lainez, preaching to the Spaniards at San Paolo, said something of the sin of simony, which might have been thought applicable to some recent transactions of the Pope, and this incurred a severe reprimand.

It was towards the close of the year 1546 that Pietro Ferri of Padua, a benefactor of the Company, arrived in Rome, was seized with a fever, and after three months was given over as dying. Ignatius visited and comforted

PAUL III., CARDINAL ALEXANDER FARNESE, AND OCTAVIUS FARNESE.

*(From unfinished painting by Titian, in the National Museum, Naples.)*

him; and at last told him he could never recover except through the intercession of the Mother of God. The following night a vision was vouchsafed to Ferri, and he awoke cured. Ignatius came next day, knowing all that had happened.

An unthought of and overwhelming calamity was about to fall on Paul III. On September 10, 1547, his son, Pier Luigi, for whom he had striven so much, and who had done him so little honour, was attacked in Piacenza by the Ghibelline party, who were hostile to the Pope, encouraged by Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, and he died under their blows. Only that morning Paul had come to the Consistory in more than usually high spirits, "talking of his good fortune," says Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, "and comparing it to that of the Emperor Tiberius." The Pope believed that Charles and Gonzaga were the real murderers; but they declared that they intended only that Pier should be taken prisoner, sparing his life. At least their enmity to the Pope was now apparent; so Paul III. sought the protection of France, and desired to hasten the marriage of Orazio Farnese with the Princess Diana, a natural daughter of Francis I. It seems as if some compunction had now visited Paul in respect of the duchies with which he had enriched his family, to the diminution of the territory of St. Peter, for he endeavoured to retrace his steps, and restore Parma to the Church. He trusted that the docility and gratitude of his children, of which he had often boasted, would make this restitution easy; but, on the contrary, they now considered themselves independent princes, refused obedience to his orders, and helped without shame to accumulate sorrows on his aged head. Charles V. condoled with the Pontiff, but kept Piacenza. He promised him, however, a compensation of 40,000 crowns annually.

When the Pope heard of the publication of the Interim, he expected the secession of Germany would follow that of England. He recalled the Nuncio Sfondrato, who had failed to deter Charles from making these concessions, and replaced him by Bertano, Bishop of Fano, with whom he sent Lippomano, and Pighino, the Bishop of Ferentino, empowering them to grant large dispensations, and condescend beyond all precedent to those who wished on easy terms to be reunited to Rome. They might readmit heretics without a public abjuration; restore monks or nuns to their Order, or allow them to remain in the world, on the sole condition of retaining, under ordinary garments, some sign of their former profession. Under certain circumstances they might absolve from vows; they could allow Communion in both kinds, privately, to lay persons, if these would confess

that the contrary practice is not an error. Those who held Church property were not required, if they restored it, to pay back the rents already received; and much indulgence might be shown in respect of the Lent fasts. This was certainly more than could have been asked. Even when the Emperor required also that the Papal envoys should have authority to allow the marriage of monks and nuns, and to leave the Church property in the hands of those who had taken forcible possession, Paul III. did not at once reject the proposal, but said that he must retain such extraordinary powers in his own hands; promising to use it with moderation, if in either case good reasons were set before him. But the mission of the Nuncios did no more than show the condescension of the Pope; few applied for these dispensations; those who needed them had already emancipated themselves from all control of the Church.

The afflictions of Paul III. now approached their climax. Ottavio openly attacked Parma; Camillo Orsini, placed there by his Holiness, repulsed his attempts to regain possession. Ottavio, with cruel audacity, called in the aid of Gonzaga, Governor of Milan. When the aged Pope poured out his griefs into the ear of Cardinal d'Este, he added, that his only consolation now was in his nephew, the Cardinal Alessandro; he at least, Paul knew, was loving and loyal to him. But he soon discovered that this Cardinal had taken part with the other Farnesi. Paul, thus deserted by the whole of the family to whom he had been the most lavish of benefactors, went to his villa on Monte Cavallo, where, while speaking with his nephew on the Parma question, he reproached him for his treachery, and, if we may credit the gossip of Dandalo, the Venetian ambassador, became so irritated that he tore the Cardinal's cap from his hand and trampled it under foot. The agitation was too much for the old man; he survived but a few days. During his short illness he condemned himself for his excess of paternal tenderness; he repeated often these words of David:—

Si mei non fuerint dominati, tunc immaculatus ero et emundabor a delicto maximo.—Ps. xviii. 14.

He died on November 10, 1549. Dandalo says that when his body was opened, "three drops of clotted blood in the heart" were supposed to show that he had died literally broken-hearted, of indignation and grief.[1]

The Romans, who respected him, and hated the other Farnesi, were profoundly touched to see that his ungrateful children had brought this

[1] See Ranke, History of the Popes, bk. iii. § 1.

woeful termination to a successful and honoured life. No Pope, for a long while, had been so popular in Rome; none had stood forward with such dignity in the sight of Europe as a peace-maker between kings, and an arbiter among hostile opinions; none had done so much for the internal reform of the Church. His subjects loved him; he possessed that polished eloquence and classic learning which the Italians prized so highly; he was noble in his manners, accessible, kind, and generous. His high spirit, the pride of his Roman descent, and his excessive desire to exalt his own family, sometimes interfered with that wise and zealous patriotism which in better moments impelled his acts. But, with this allowance, it is difficult to consider Paul as he is portrayed even by Protestant authorities, and yet the object of these "brutish bellowings" with which Luther constantly attacked him, without wondering that honest or rational men should regard such a partisan with any milder feeling than disgust.

Paul III. gave proof of his sagacity and sincerity when he admitted St. Ignatius to a large part in Church reform; and the rapid advancement and wide activity of the Company of Jesus were owing in a great degree to the acuteness which discerned, and the piety which welcomed, this small army of martyrs, ready to live and die for the faith. The Jesuits lost in him an earnest friend. But henceforward the Popes were always conscientiously chosen; they were men who sincerely desired the welfare of the Church, and to the close of his life St. Ignatius found always a patron in the Chair of St. Peter.

PORTION OF THE BORGIA PALACE, GANDIA.

# CHAPTER VI.

## ST. FRANCIS BORGIA—B. PETER CANISIUS—1550.

ST. IGNATIUS said no more of resigning his post till the Fathers assembled in Rome for the Jubilee of 1550; then he laid before them the Constitutions he had drawn up; for, at every step, in the forming and consolidating of his Society, he desired the aid and concurrence of its members, their assent to what he had done, and their suggestions of improvement. Thus the work might remain without room for alteration when once completed, and no differences of country, customs, or characters would necessitate dispensations or exceptions, which he thought injurious, and by all means to be avoided. Not only those who could come to Rome, Lainez and Borgia among the rest, but those at a distance were consulted, and at this time some trifling additions seem to have been made. Three years after, he sent these rules to Spain and Portugal, not as necessarily unsusceptible of change, but, as it were, upon trial; intending that the whole should again be examined and approved by the entire Society, which did not happen till after his death, when the General Congregation was summoned to choose his successor. Then the Constitutions were revived, discussed, and entirely

confirmed, with profound veneration for their author. They were afterwards presented to Paul IV., who ratified and sanctioned them without the alteration of a word.

In the meanwhile these rules were in constant operation among the Brethren, who learnt them from their Father himself. A letter from him to Lainez shows that he enjoined certain observances to the Provincials. He ordered particularly that the forty days of Catechism each year should never be omitted, remembering, perhaps, the opposition of Bobadilla; he also enforced his directions respecting the clothes they should wear, which, he repeated, ought to resemble the ordinary garb of priests, according to the country they were in, and in no way to attract attention.

Lainez esteemed these rules so highly, that he said "the Constitutions of Father Ignatius would alone suffice to reform and govern all the Religious Orders in the Church."

St. Ignatius and Francis Borgia had occasionally corresponded for more than a year. Perhaps the Duke remembered the day when, in the streets of Alcalá, followed by his lordly train, he met Ignatius led to prison. He earnestly desired now to make that poor prisoner his master and guide. When St. Francis heard of B. Peter Favre's death he wrote to Ignatius, praying that he might be admitted into the Company of Jesus. Ignatius answered thus, probably in 1546:—

Most Illustrious Señor,—The resolution you have taken, which is inspired by the Divine goodness, gives me great joy. May the Angels and all the blessed spirits eternally thank God for this in heaven, for we cannot sufficiently praise Him on earth for the favour He has shown this small Society, in calling you to enter it. I hope that His Divine providence will make your admission very advantageous to your spiritual advancement, and to that of many, who will profit by this example. For us, who are already members of the Company of Jesus, excited by your fervour, we shall begin anew to serve the Divine Father who has sent us such a Brother, and chosen such a labourer for this new vineyard, whereof He has willed, unworthy as I am, that I should have the charge. Therefore, I receive you at once, in the Lord's name, for our Brother, and in this relation you will always be very dear to me, as one ought to be who enters into the House of God with such generosity as you have shown, in order to serve Him perfectly. As to what you ask me, respecting the time and manner of your public reception, after having much recommended the matter to God, both by myself and others, it appears to me, that in order to acquit yourself of all obligations, the change should be made leisurely and cautiously, to the greater glory of our Lord. Thus that you may gradually arrange your affairs in such a manner, that without any worldly hindrance, you may, before long, find yourself free from all impediments to your holy wishes. To explain further, and with more detail, I think that, as

your daughters are old enough to marry, you should seek to dispose of them according to their position, and that you should also affiance the marquis, if a suitable wife can be found. For your other sons, it is not sufficient that they have the protection of their elder brother, who will possess the dukedom; you must also leave them enough with which they can, as their rank demands, enter at least some chief university, and go on with their studies, of which they have laid such good foundations. No doubt, if they are such characters as they should be, and as I trust they are, the Emperor will favour them in proportion to your services, and the friendship he has always shown you. Moreover, you ought to push on the buildings you have begun, for I wish all your family affairs to be terminated when your change is made known. Further, as you are well grounded in letters, I would have you apply diligently to the study of theology, and I hope this science will be useful to you, for the service of God. I should even like, if possible, that you should take a Doctor's degree in your University of Gandia. But as the world cannot understand actions like this, I would have it done privately, and remain a secret, till time and circumstances, by the grace of God, set us at liberty. Other things may be arranged from day to day, as they occur, and as I shall write to you regularly I need say no more now. I wait for a speedy answer, and I pray the Supreme Goodness to bestow on you more and more of His Divine mercies.[1]

The Pope gave leave for Borgia's admission without coming to Rome, and Araoz received his vows privately, in the chapel of his palace at Gandia. He was now Brother Francis in the Society, but he continued in the eyes of the world such as he was before; administered his large revenues, and provided for his children. A second letter from Ignatius in 1548 shows his remarkable prudence in counselling ascetic exercises. He writes:—

When I learnt your practices in spiritual as well as in corporal things, for the profit of your soul, I found truly a new cause for rejoicing in the Lord. . . . Yet as I notice, in our Lord, that some of these are needful at one time and not at another, and . . . even may become useless, I wish to tell you, in the presence of the Divine Majesty, what I think on this subject, since your Lordship asks my opinion. First, for the time you have fixed for Spiritual Exercises, either interior or exterior, I think you might abridge it by half. . . . For as you no longer want so many arms to conquer the enemy, I think, in our Lord, that you would do better if you devote half this time to governing your estate, to profitable conversation, and to study. . . . But keep your soul at the same time in peace and repose, ready to receive the communications of our Lord, for it is a great virtue and grace when we can enjoy Him in many employments and places. . . . Secondly, as to fasting and abstinence, I think it more for the glory of God to preserve and strengthen the digestion and natural powers than to weaken them; . . . I desire

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. i. p. 281.

then that you will consider that, as soul and body are given you by God your Creator and Master, you will have to give account of both, and for His sake you should not weaken your bodily nature, because the spiritual could not (then) act with the same energy. If I was pleased once to see you fast . . . rigorously, I cannot be so in future, because I see that this fasting and abstinence prevent the stomach from . . . even digesting the simple aliments necessary to sustain life. I advise you rather to eat of all permitted food, and as often as you are hungry, giving no offence to your neighbour, for we ought to love the body, and wish it well, when it obeys and assists the soul; and thus the soul has . . . more strength and energy to serve and glorify our Creator and Master.

As to the third point—of personal penances—I desire you for our Lord's sake to avoid drawing the smallest drop of blood, and in place of seeking to draw blood, seek more directly our Lord of all, that is to say, His most holy gifts, as for example, an overflow or some drops of tears, whether, first, because of our sins and those of others; or secondly, in the mysteries of Christ our Lord in this life or the next; or thirdly, in the consideration of the love of the Divine Persons.

And St. Ignatius goes on to recommend him to seek from God "an active faith, hope, charity, spiritual joy, and peace, tears and consolations, the lifting up of the soul, pious impressions and enlightenments, all in subordination to the humble reverence we should have for our holy Mother the Church and her teachers and administrators. For there is not one of these gifts which ought not to be preferred to any corporal acts, which are good only as they assist to obtain the others." He thinks "a sound mind in a sound body . . . is the most useful instrument wherewith to serve God," but he will not enter into particulars, leaving St. Francis rather to the guidance which has hitherto led him, "for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty."[1]

It was not known that the Duke had joined the Society till an attempt to impose on him the dignity of Cardinal was made at Rome in 1550. He lived meanwhile at Gandia, closely allied with Oviedo, and shared the displeasure Ignatius expressed when that Father, desirous to advance his soul's interests in solitude, asked leave to lay down for seven years the charge of the college, and retire into a desert, near a holy hermit, whose piety he thought would assist his own. François Onfroy, a professor of the new college, desired to accompany him. Ignatius was exceedingly wroth at this, because the design showed a spirit quite at variance with that of the Society of Jesus. Borgia, too, had brought from Barcelona a Franciscan named Texeda, who had the same turn of mind; and Ignatius suspected Brother Francis of having at least not discouraged the designs of the two Jesuits.

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 104.

He bade him therefore, through Polanco, send Oviedo to Rome, and Onfroy to join Salmeron at Ferrara. Borgia answered that he did not think this necessary, because the two Religious were quite submissive; and that he had himself represented to Oviedo that the life to which he had devoted himself in the Society of Jesus did not deprive him of the merits of the contemplative life. Ignatius would not insist, but still displeased, wrote again to Borgia on July 27:—

If we can believe what we hear, it seems that the two persons B. and C., one more and the other less, have found the desert they were looking for, and are about to retire into another, which may prove larger than the first, if they will not humble themselves and allow themselves each to be guided according to his vocation. The remedy they are in need of may be supplied to them, either directly or indirectly, by him who has the determination and the power. The first of these consists in prayer and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, but the others will be administered some other way, with the help of Divine grace. You may do much in this case by your presence and authority. Moreover, I know what my conscience imposes on me. I firmly believe, with no possibility of doubt, and I solemnly affirm before the tribunal of Christ, our Creator and Master, Who will one day judge us for eternity, that they are wandering from the way, mistaken and misled, walking sometimes in the path and sometimes off it, led astray by the father of lies, who sets forward or suggests one or many truths in order to finish by an imposture, and ensnare us by it. I pray you, for the love and reverence of God our Lord, first by recommending all this affair to His Divine goodness; then by observing matters attentively, to watch, and take all necessary measures, not to suffer anything which might cause a scandal, which would be extremely injurious to us all; but so ordering that all may turn out to the service of God in everything, and that these persons may be entirely set right, for His greater service, His praise and His glory for ever.

ROME, *July* 27, 1549.[1]

Oviedo satisfied Ignatius so well that, as we have seen, he was nominated as Archbishop for Ethiopia a few years afterwards.

For ten years had the General governed his little Society. He felt now that the time was come definitely to resign its government to other hands. He summoned to Rome nearly all the Professed Fathers at the same time, to place in their hands the Constitutions of the Order which he had completed, and to ask them to elect his successor.

Araoz, Oviedo, and Miron arrived from Spain at the close of 1550. With them came St. Francis Borgia, still dressed as a gentleman of the world,

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 189.

ST. FRANCIS BORGIA.

though very quietly; and Strada, who was to be professed on the 1st of February. Lainez came, too, from Sicily, and at Rome they found Des Freux, Miona, and Polanco, who were living in the Eternal City.

The assembled Fathers received the Constitutions with the fullest approval, and would not suffer any change, though Ignatius had begged them to make any remarks or suggest any corrections they thought fit.

On the Christmas morning of the year of Jubilee, after his second Mass, owing to his intense fervour, the Saint was suddenly seized with a severe illness; he wept with joy to think that he was himself about to be set free, but he recovered in great measure; yet, though all danger seemed over, he was left suffering and weak.

On January 30, 1551, he sent a sealed letter, written in Spanish, to the Fathers, whom he had assembled to receive it. These were the contents:—

To my dearest Brothers in our Lord of the Society of Jesus,—What I have considered and judged best for the greater praise and glory of the Divine Majesty, being uninfluenced either by any inward or outward bias, and after pondering for many months and years, I now solemnly declare, as in the presence of my Creator and Lord, Who will one day judge me for eternity—according to truth, and with my mind at rest. When I regard my many sins and failings, my many weaknesses of soul and body, I have often arrived at the full conviction that I want almost in an infinite degree the talents to fit me for the charge of the Society, which you have laid upon me. Therefore, I wish the matter to be well considered, in our Lord, and another to be chosen, who may fill this post of governing the Society better, or at least less ill than myself, and that I may make over this charge to him. And not only is this my wish, but I have also sufficient reason to judge, that it ought to be made over even to one who would do only as well as myself, not merely to one who would do better, or not so ill. After considering all this, I now lay down my charge, and renounce it, without reserve or condition, in name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, my One God and my Creator. I pray and conjure the Professed, with all my soul, in the Lord's name, and also those whom they may think proper to join to themselves in this consultation, that they will accept this, my proposal, which is so justified in the presence of the Divine Majesty. And if among those who have to decide on it there should arise any difference of opinion, I pray them, for the love and honour of God our Lord, that they will earnestly recommend the matter to the Divine Majesty, that His most holy will may be done, to His greater honour and the general good of souls and of the whole Society, so that all may be for ever directed for His greater and Divine praise and glory.[1]

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 295.

The Fathers received this letter with great emotion. Andres de Oviedo, in his simple reverence for the suggestions of one whom he looked upon as a saint, thought that whatever Ignatius desired should be done. The others were unanimous that they would never suffer any one else to be their General while he lived; and they sent this message formally to their beloved Father; separately, too, each entreated him not to abandon them.

He became again dangerously ill; the hope of a speedy admission into the presence of his Lord filled him with such joy that his agitation exhausted him, and the physicians enjoined him to indulge his mind but sparingly with these subjects. The Saint, watchful to practise obedience whenever he could find an opportunity, complied with this restriction, and recovered. It was often said that in his fragile form the spirit wore out the body. Once the physicians prescribed to him perfect repose of mind, and bade him turn away his thoughts from anything that could distress him. This set him thinking, as he told Gonçalez, what could possibly grieve him; and he thought he should be sorry if his Society were destroyed and suddenly came to an end. "But even then," said he, "I think that in a quarter of an hour I should be quite reconciled." When Ignatius was very ill and suffering much pain, a dying man wanted to confess to him. Upon this being told to him, though quite unfit to go, and though the other Fathers were very urgent to be sent in his place, he got up, went to the sick man, and passed the night with him. These frequent maladies of the Saint were always times of great edification to those near him; his soul seemed then pouring itself out in a joyful communion with God. He said sometimes, the more faults he committed the more favours were granted him; and he thought himself the only man in the world who united such sins and such graces. In his joyful humility they heard him exclaim, "O God, how infinitely good Thou art to bear with such miserable a sinner as myself!" He found in the mere thought of God an inestimable source of grace, and told some one that he never spoke of God with any persons, even though great sinners, without learning and gaining something.

Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria, in the year 1549, requested Pope Paul III. to give him two professors of theology for the University of Ingoldstadt, where Le Jay had taught it long before; and the Pope sent the Cardinals Maffei and Cervino to make this known to Ignatius. He answered that the Religious of his Order might be more profitably employed for the general good than in these temporary appointments; but if the Duke desired to do an important service to religion, he might follow the example of the King of Portugal, who, beginning with only two missionaries, had established a seminary in his country from whence already two hundred

and fifty priests had issued, to carry civilisation and religion all over his dominions. If he agreed to this, Ignatius would gladly send two priests, as the Duke desired.

The Pope and Cardinals thought this proposal reasonable. Duke Wilhelm accepted it, and Ignatius summoned Canisius and Salmeron from Messina, where B. Peter was professor of rhetoric, and Salmeron of theology. At Rome Canisius made his solemn profession of the four vows.

The College of Messina had been opened the year before. Le Jay was sent to Bavaria with the others, at the express wish of the Duke. They were to take their Doctor's degree at Bologna, on their way to Germany; the title being there much valued. They carried with them this letter from Ignatius to Duke Wilhelm:—

Along with this epistle will arrive, by order of the Holy Father, the two theologians whom I had promised in my letters. One is Alonso Salmeron, a Spaniard, the other Peter Canisius of Gelderland; both summoned from Sicily. They are each excellent in the integrity of their life, as in their knowledge of the sacred books and in all learning worthy of Christian men. They are priests of the Society known by the name and title of Jesus. Our Holy Father does not doubt that they will both entirely answer the wishes of your Excellency, and teach in those vast provinces not less by their lives than by their words. With them is sent Doctor Claude (Le Jay), a distinguished theologian among the best, and whom your Excellency asked for by name. Although he cannot remain long, yet his assistance will be very useful, whether for days or months, in the foundation of this admirable and most salutary work. The Congregation to which these brethren belong devotes all its studies, cares, and vigilance to one object—the amending the depraved morals of these times, and the converting of souls, by their exemplary life, and that sort of teaching or letters which shines in the pure sincere faith and most holy precepts of Jesus Christ, and recalls men's minds from the pernicious pleasures of indulgence to the reasonableness of good and pious living; from the flesh to the spirit, from the world to God. What can be more valuable than this sound discipline, especially in these times, and most of all in Germany, where a boar of the woods strives to exterminate, and a singular wild beast to devour, the vine that the right hand of the Lord planted for the confirming of good souls in right belief, and recalling the wandering sheep into the fold? Let your Excellency then receive these Fathers, worthy of all respect, with a gracious countenance, and especially with a benevolent mind; and since it is the plan of their lives, and the rule of their Congregation, that they seek not their own things, but those of Jesus Christ, and live daily on uncertain gifts, they are persuaded they shall not want in those countries anything necessary in our Lord Jesus Christ from your piety: most just certainly it is that the sowers of spiritual things should reap what is needful for the body. It is also surely to be hoped there will not be wanting some who, moved by respect for their lives and the sanctity of their precepts, will place themselves under the

guidance of these Fathers. If this happens, and the Lord does not cease to visit His vineyard, your Excellency will take these new labourers under your favour and protection. For of what merit will not this vineyard be before God our Lord, and His most holy Church, which was commenced by that shoot which you cultivated, and, so to speak, have watered by your holy liberality, when it will put forth new branches and new sprouts? That this may be the principal concern of your Excellency is what our Holy Father urgently asks, whose earnest and very pleasant hope it is, that these three brothers, learned and worthy men, will be treated humanely and benignantly by your Excellency, to whom I wish long happiness.

ROME, *September* 1549.[1]

The three Fathers received their degree of Doctor of Divinity at Bologna on October 4, and the University of Ingoldstadt welcomed them with great respect. Either there was less jealousy in Germany than in France, or the opinions of the sovereign were of more weight. Salmeron lectured on St. Paul, Canisius explained St. Thomas; they visited the hospitals and taught the ignorant, as the Jesuits were accustomed to do. In those days, when the indolence of the clergy and the general indifference about education had left the poor and the sick and the young so much uncared for, this condescension in men recognised as so eminent must have greatly impressed those who saw or heard them.

Canisius was next year made Rector of the University, but he accepted the toil only, and made over the benefices and emoluments to others. He seems to have been fortunate in meeting with only small difficulties, and no personal enmity. In the archives of the town of Ingoldstadt we find him mentioned as "the incomparable Canisius."

The death of Duke Wilhelm happened soon after, and Ignatius had to announce to Albert, his successor, that the Pope had promised to the Bishop of Verona the help of Salmeron in his diocese. St. Ignatius replaced him by Father Peter Schorich[2] and Father Goudanus. He wrote to the Duke that Nicolas Floris from Gouda—Floris being a Fleming, whose language differed little from German—would soon be able to talk, hear confessions, and preach in that tongue. He added that he would provide the Duke with other professors, if the college were solidly established.

But when two years passed and nothing more was done, the Jesuits at Ingoldstadt desired to be recalled. The Bishop of Eichstadt remonstrated

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[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 191.

[2] After the death of St. Ignatius he was dismissed from the Society by Lainez when Vicar. A letter of Polanco, September 20, 1556, to the Rector of Vienna gives him instructions on the point. See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. p. 128.

BLESSED PETER CANISIUS, S.J.

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in a letter to Ignatius. Polanco answered that the rules of the Society did not permit the members to be fixed in one place; and it was not their custom to teach a college where secular priests only were trained. Ignatius was asked for professors in other places, for which they had not members enough. At this time many princes had testified their wish to plant and extend the Society in their dominions; King Ferdinand, particularly, had pressed Ignatius to send him teachers for Vienna. He now also wanted missionaries for Augsburg, where the Bishop of Laybach had persuaded him to found a college, and wrote on December 11, 1550, both to the Pope and Ignatius. In this letter he said that, seeing the good that followed the establishment of the Jesuits everywhere, he had resolved to build a college for them at Vienna, and meanwhile he desired two of the Society to be sent him to give lessons of exegesis in the university. He also mentioned Le Jay as the one he most wished for. Ignatius acceded, and wrote to that effect to Ferdinand. In the summer of 1551 Le Jay repaired to Vienna with Father Schorich; they arrived about the end of June.

Then it was necessary to consider the method of instruction, for in Germany all taste for close and serious study had now nearly disappeared; there was no longer any collegiate body capable of forming an erudite and faithful clergy, and it seemed useless to attempt creating a higher standard of instruction, if the most eminent theologians were to attract but an insignificant audience, unprepared by any preliminary training. Yet to procure these theologians was all that the princes seemed to think necessary; and this notion it was that caused the long delays of Albert of Bavaria, and suggested to King Ferdinand the message sent by him in 1551, through Le Jay to Ignatius, "that he wished to reform the studies of the university in such a manner that the young men educated in the provinces might come for instruction in theology to the Jesuits of Vienna." Polanco wrote by Ignatius' direction to Le Jay, "that such a scheme was ineffective; that it would lead to considerable mischief; that the youths whom it was intended to train at the universities would be unprepared; and, moreover, that in Germany there was a disinclination to scholastic studies. These two causes would deprive the instructions begun thus unfavourably of all profit. If it was resolved to restore the studies of philology and philosophy at the universities where they had been so long neglected, the students must pass from four to six years before entering on their course of theology. But the lower classes of instruction were not in the sphere of a uni-

versity; there remained therefore this only resource, that philosophy and philology should continue to be learnt as at present, and that the Jesuits should undertake the preliminary studies, and confide them to professors who would gradually inspire the young men with the desire of learning theology."

On September 22, 1551, St. Ignatius wrote himself to Duke Albert to the same effect, repeating that the learners must be well prepared as well as the teachers:—

"This was our plan," he says, "as I have already explained to the illustrious King of the Romans. For the languages we choose masters capable of teaching the classics verbally and by the usual exercises, and also of leading them in a pious and pure life, by preaching, by the Sacraments, and by good example. When they have made sufficient progress, and are numerous enough, we give them a professor of dialectics, and in the following years a master in philosophy. All these teachers will strive to light a spark of love for religious doctrine in these young hearts, so that they may have a desire, as the term of all, to learn theology, before they are allowed to commence its study. Then, but not sooner, they will begin with good-will, and if possible in large numbers, their theological course; and we shall take care to procure them masters who will help them to make considerable progress. Thus, illustrious Prince, we may, with Divine favour, in a few years possess many theologians, well trained both in the higher and the lower branches of teaching, and ready to oppose heretics, to strengthen Catholics, preach with edification, and watch over souls throughout Bavaria. There will then be at Ingoldstadt an inexhaustible seminary of pious and learned men, and its university will flourish both in learning and virtue; for both of these are cultivated in our colleges with equal care."[1]

He adds that they are so few, that having had to send ten students to Pisa and the same number to Naples, he had found it very difficult to find two priests for each party of scholastics. He promises, however, to do all he can for Ingoldstadt. But the rumour of the withdrawal of two Fathers had reached Vienna, and King Ferdinand applied to the Pope and to Ignatius that they might be sent thither. The priests already there were too few for the work, and Le Jay was besides occupied in writing a "Manual of Theology." He did not live to do much more than collect the materials; and Canisius completed it. Ignatius had no persons under him entirely suitable for Vienna except Canisius and Goudanus, and the Pope's orders compelled him to send them immediately; but he promised that they

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 379.

should only be lent for a while, and restored to Ingoldstadt when the College of Vienna was sufficiently established. He withdrew them reluctantly, for the influence of their learning and admirable lives had produced the happiest results, and were still wanted among a people only recently aroused from the most torpid indifference to all religion. Canisius at first could assemble only a scanty congregation at Mass, even on Sundays; and of these many entered the church just before the consecration and went away immediately after it. The students were so irregular in their habits, that B. Peter was forced to dismiss many altogether from the university, and put in prison some who seemed less incorrigible. Duke Wilhelm's abhorrence of the new doctrines had not kept them out of Bavaria; and none competent to repress them had appeared till the Jesuits arrived in the town.

When St. Francis Borgia, still, to the outer world, the Duke of Gandia, went to Rome for the year of Jubilee, he passed by Ferrara, at the earnest entreaty of Ercole d'Este II., his kinsman, and remained there four days. He procured from the Duke a promise of a college for the Company, who had been long known there. Broët and Le Pelletier—Frenchmen were as yet chosen for that mission—had established themselves in the town in the summer of 1551, and opened a college. Under the protection of the Duchess Renée, Ferrara had become the headquarters of refugee Protestants. The Duke determined to put an end to this, and that very year Faventino Fannio of Faenza, accused of heresy, was hanged in the piazza of Ferrara, and his body burned. In the spring of the same year, one Giorgio Siculo was hanged at the windows of the Palazzo della Ragione, at Ferrara. He too was a heretic; though whether the Italian executions were for religious differences only has been disputed, and cannot now be fully ascertained. Renée could not consistently remonstrate, since the barbarous burning of Servet, the long tortures of Jacques Gruet, and innumerable other cruelties practised by Calvin, had filled Geneva with terror for many years past. In 1552 the state of things in Paris obliged St. Ignatius to send the "Angel of the Society," Paschase Broët, as Provincial of France. It is well never to cease recalling the unquestionable fact, perpetually thrust upon us, in the history of all countries and sects, and even in recent times, that if superstition be cruel, there is no greater mercy in unbelief.

Renée was nothing benefited by the reconciliation of her husband with Henry II. of France. On the contrary, Ercole wrote an urgent letter to his royal kinsman to beg him to use all his influence to recall

the Duchess to her duty,[1] and that monarch sent to Ferrara Matteo Ori, the inquisitor who had formerly examined St. Ignatius, with a letter which, as given by Protestant historians, seems incredible in its tone of insult and cruelty to the unfortunate Duchess, his own aunt. It represents "that the King not only approves, but indeed very earnestly prays and exhorts the Duke" to go nearly all lengths in persecuting Renée and her friends. There seems reason to think that Ori executed his commission with as much consideration for poor Renée as was in his power.

He arrived in 1554. In the night of September 7, Ercole caused the Duchess to be conveyed to her prison apartments in the gloomy castle of Ferrara, the Stanze del Cavallo. A fortnight after she sent for Le Pelletier, whom previously she would not see, and after he had carefully instructed her, and was convinced of her good faith, he heard her confession, which was made with all signs of repentance, and gave her Holy Communion;[2] and the same night the Duke and Duchess publicly took supper together, which announced to the population of Ferrara that Renée had recanted, and been reconciled to the Catholic Church. The recantation proved itself as worthless as it was likely to be. Six years after, on her husband's death, she returned to her former profession, and in 1560 left Ferrara for ever, at the bidding of her son, Alphonso II.

Borgia, when he arrived at Rome, was received by Ignatius at Sta. Maria della Strada; but he had separate apartments there. The Saint treated him externally as a prince; in their personal relations Francis was a novice. When he entered the house, the Fathers were about to dine; he was invited to enter the refectory, and there, setting aside the honours which all paid him, he requested as a favour to be treated as one doing penance; he ate humbly the unsavoury food given him, waited on the Fathers at their dinner, and then went to wash the dishes in the kitchen. The conditions prescribed by Ignatius for his admission were nearly fulfilled; for during the last two years he had provided for the interests of his family; but his entrance into the Society was not yet known. Before Christmas he heard that Charles V. wished to give him a Cardinal's hat; and in the beginning of the next year he found that the Emperor had actually applied to the Pope. On the same day that the news of this application reached

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[1] Cesare Cantù. Gli eretici d'Italia, Disc. xxvi.

[2] See Letters of Le Pelletier to St. Ignatius, Sept. 25 and Oct. 5, 1554. Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 525.

him, Borgia wrote several letters to persons in Rome, declaring, in nearly the same words to each, that he had taken vows in the Society of Jesus. He left Rome for the Basque Provinces that night. At Oñate he made a formal renunciation of all his property, was ordained priest, and immediately commenced his apostolic labours. St. Francis chose for the place of his first, or, as some say, his second Mass, the very room in which St. Ignatius was born. The vestments he wore, embroidered by the hands of his sister, Luisa, Countess of Ribagorza, are still at Loyola. Juan Borgia, his son, seems to have served the Mass, and received Holy Communion from his father's hands. His declaration and flight did not arrest the proceedings in Rome. Two letters, written by Polanco, and by Ignatius himself, to St. Francis, relate what happened.

My dear Father in Jesus Christ,—We have heard in many ways how pleasing your Reverence is to God, by your spirit of humility and simplicity; and we now see this still more plainly in His preserving you from the high dignity which was designed for you, from such a hat that none of those that Antonio Rion is accustomed to give in the Refectory can be compared to it. It happened ten or twelve days ago that, in leaving the Consistory, Cardinal della Cueva gave our Father to understand that they were resolved to make you a Cardinal. I was obliged that same day to go to Cardinal Maffei, and he also told me the same with great joy. I rejected the idea, because I reprobated the choice as entirely opposite to the spirit of our Order. "And I," said the Cardinal, "would like to see your Order become a nursery-ground for Bishops and Cardinals."

But Father Ignatius, after having conferred with Cardinal della Cueva, and sounded his dispositions, as well as those of several others, resolved to speak about this matter directly to the Pope, and did so in such a way as to convince him that your present state of life was more conducive to the glory of God than your elevation would be. The Pontiff even added that he envied your position or that of any of ours, and thought it happier than the Sovereign Pontiff's; for he said you have to think only of serving God, while his own mind was absorbed by many cares. And thus it was settled that you should not have the hat sent you against your will, or unless it was certain that you would accept it. Your Reverence can now decide whether you wish for it or not. Our Father told the Pope that the sole fear of receiving the Cardinal's hat had made you leave Rome, in spite of this cold and severe weather, and so his Holiness has cast his eye on some one else. Our Father also spoke of this to the principal Cardinals, and sent messages to the others, as well as to the ambassador, Don Diego de Mendoza, that they might distinctly understand the Pope's mind. Certainly every one would rejoice to see you in the Sacred College; but, after all, many are now convinced it would not have been a suitable thing. The project is therefore abandoned, since the decision is left to your Reverence; and I know you would

prefer going bareheaded in the sun and rain to covering your head with this hat. In return for the good news I send you, I pray you to say for me a Mass of the Holy Ghost, that I may obtain the Divine guidance to serve Him better.

By order of our Father Ignatius, your servant in Christ.

GIOVANNI DI POLANCO.

ROME, *June* 1, 1552.[1]

St. Ignatius was obliged to act in this affair with great circumspection. It seems at first as if, when he had convinced the Imperial ambassador and the Pope, since Borgia himself now owed him obedience, he had nothing to do but to forbid his acceptance of the hat. But he was not willing to cut the matter short in this way; for the Emperor, since the affair of Bobadilla and the Interim, was not well disposed towards the Jesuits, and it was necessary to treat his wishes with deference. By referring the decision to Borgia himself, Ignatius averted the danger of offence for that time. It revived, however, four years after. St. Francis now set himself at once to the active business of his new calling; he had no opposition to encounter from the Emperor, and when he wrote to ask his permission to lay down his high offices and enter the Society of Jesus, Charles answered "that he would not withhold him from the service of that Great Master whom he had chosen." The Saint made his residence at Oñate; it is a small town, not far from Loyola. There, Don Sancho de Castilla, Pedro de Navarra, Bartolomé Bustamante, afterwards Visitor in the Province of France, were under his direction. They lived on the alms which Borgia sometimes begged in the country round. His Superior bade him evangelise Spain. He set out accordingly, visited the nobles, almost all of whom were his kinsfolk, preached to the people, edified the Court of Charles V., and in most of the larger towns left where he did not find it the foundation of a college or house.[2] He went into Portugal, thence he returned to Valladolid. St. Ignatius named him Commissary in Spain and Portugal; this office was afterwards absorbed into that of Provincial.

When Strada came, in 1554, to Saragossa, his attempt to found a house for the Society was long baffled by the difficulty of finding a piece of ground; for the law forbade any new ecclesiastical building within a certain distance of those already standing. At last the land was found, the house finished,

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 62.

[2] In two years Borgia erected houses in Granada, Valladolid, Medina, San Lucar, Monterey, Burgos, Valencia, Murcia, Plasencia, and Seville.

the chapel ready to be inaugurated; and the Archbishop of Saragossa himself fixed Wednesday after Easter, 1555, for this ceremony, when suddenly, on the day before, the Vicar-General, Lopez Marcos, ordered Father Barma, the Superior, to defer it. The Augustinian friars, he said, declared that their ground was encroached upon. Barma persisted; the friars excommunicated him and his companions, declared the town under an interdict; and the townspeople, excited by terror, and not well knowing what was the matter, went about the streets crying "Misericordia!" They then surrounded the new house, and their signs of exasperation persuaded Barma that the wisest thing he could do was to withdraw; so, after fifteen days, the Society left the city. Then the Archbishop and the Nuncio interfered: they caused the matter to be legally examined; the Augustinians were declared to be in the wrong; the Jesuits recalled. All the city, all its magnates, even Lopez, the Vicar-General, himself went to meet them, and they were received at the door of their house by the Viceroy, who presented them the keys.

Under the wise and active superintendence of St. Francis, the Society of Jesus increased all over Spain in numbers and influence. He was, in fact, its real founder in the Peninsula. When Philip, now made King of Naples and Duke of Milan, saw Borgia's great success and the increasing usefulness of the Society everywhere, he revived the idea abandoned unwillingly by his father, and wished to make him a Cardinal. Philip was then in England, passing his dismal honeymoon with the ill-fated Mary; his sister Juana governed Spain in his name. She had declared herself protectress of the Society. St. Ignatius and Francis both supplicated her to dissuade her brother from this project, and Philip desisted at last, on her representation. Juana wrote herself to Ignatius, and expressed her satisfaction at his constant refusal of dignities for his Company. "For God," she said, "gives a distinct spirit to each Order, from which it cannot depart without great damage." Ignatius was so penetrated with this conviction, that he said he would never recede from it, if all the world were to supplicate him. When, long after this, he heard that Paul IV. wished to make Lainez a Cardinal, he said to one of his house, "Perhaps, in a few days, we shall have our Lainez a Cardinal: if this happens, I will make such a commotion, that all the world shall know how the Society receives such things." Finally, he added to his Constitutions, with Papal approbation, a prohibition to all the members of the Company against accepting any office without the permission of the General, who was never to give it except by express order of the Pope. Nor were those three Jesuits who were named Patriarch and Suffragans of Ethiopia any exception to this rule: there was

there no danger of honours or wealth, and these priests went out to find only exile, privations, and peril.

Some members of the Company proposed that this law should extend to the nomination of Confessors to princes; but to this Ignatius would not consent, because he thought it unreasonable to exclude any class of men from their spiritual care.

Joam III. of Portugal was the first King who asked for a director from the Society. He sent for Luis Gonçalez, and made several confessions to him; but Gonçalez declined remaining with him. He then sent for Miron, the Provincial, who also excused himself, saying the honour of such an office was inconsistent with his vocation. But St. Ignatius, when he heard what his Brethren had done, disapproved of it. He wrote to Gonçalez, that he was indeed edified by his refusal of what some desired, but he thought it right he should assist the King in any way asked of him; and King Joam being a pious sovereign, the charge of the royal conscience could not involve him in any perplexity. He need not fear being forced to accept preferments—those he could not receive without the consent of the General and all the Company. If the residence in a Court were a cross to him, he should carry it patiently, believing all that is done in obedience to be agreeable to God. Six months later he wrote still more fully to Miron. He said that, in accepting this office, they could not but work for the general good and for the glory of God, because the subjects of the King must benefit by the spiritual advice they would give him; that the Religious of his Society ought not to shun any labours from fear of risking their own piety, else they might withdraw entirely from the world. But this their Institute forbids. They must become all things to all men. If the world blamed them, or accused them of seeking consideration and influence, they should not disquiet themselves, but refute such accusations by their life. And Ignatius ordered that those whom the King or Queen might choose for their confessors should assent immediately. Miron was to communicate this decision to the King, and show the letter if required.

From many quarters these attempts to procure Jesuits for high offices long alarmed Ignatius. Albert, Duke of Bavaria, had in 1551 written to ask that Canisius might be made Vice-chancellor of his University at Ingoldstadt, with a canonry. A fragment of the answer of Ignatius repeats his usual objections:—

> First, the dignity and honour attached to the office, which we deem that it is proper as far as possible to avoid. Secondly, we reject all temporal rewards or return

for our spiritual ministry, or for works done for the good of our neighbours: so that, being as far as possible remote from all appearance of covetousness, we may with a more pure zeal seek the honour of God and the helping of souls. Thirdly, this office being fixed and permanent, would bind Doctor Canisius to remain in the University; whereas he has taken a solemn vow to go, at the bidding of the Pontiff, whithersoever he may be sent for the promoting of the Faith and Christianity.[1] . . .

But Ignatius had greater difficulty when, in 1553, King Ferdinand insisted on Canisius being Bishop of Vienna. The last Bishop, Christopher Wertwein, was a man of stern character; religion had languished there; no one had received holy orders in Vienna for more than twenty years. On his death, Blessed Peter was forced to act as administrator of the See. Canisius collected fifty young men in a house adjoining the college, and educated them in the principles suited to the ministry. Considering the state of Germany at that time, and the great good such a man as Canisius must have effected in a situation so prominent, there might well be some expectation that the resolution of the Saint would now yield. Geronimo Martinengo, Nuncio at Vienna, wrote urgently to Ignatius in support of the King's request. Diego Lasso, the ambassador of Ferdinand, did all he could to prevail on the Pope to order Canisius, by virtue of holy obedience, to accept the See. Ferdinand had promised Diego, as he owned afterwards, a bishopric for himself, if he succeeded. But Julius III. highly valued the holy General, and told Lasso he would do nothing to displease him. "If you can obtain his consent," said he, "I will readily give mine." "Holy Father," said Lasso, "he will never consent. It must be done without him, or not at all." "We want these Fathers," replied Julius; "I cannot offend them. If the King can find some way by which they can comply with his wishes without the dignity, they will do it." This answer was received as a suggestion, and at last it was agreed that Canisius should administer the bishopric for a year without receiving its temporalities or taking any obligation to remain.

Borgia's refusal of the Cardinal's hat so impressed a young kinsman of his, Antonio de Cordova, that he wished to follow his example, and enter the Society of Jesus.[2] He was well gifted by nature, good and honest. Prince Philip, who liked him much, asked his father to procure

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[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 382.

[2] He was the son of Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, third Count of Feria, and Catharine Fernandez de Cordova.

for Antonio the dignity which the Jesuits rejected, and this was immediately granted. But the young man desired, like his cousin, to shun the world and its honours. He wrote to Ignatius, "Father, since God has placed you in His Church to be the friend of those who go astray, I pray you to receive me into the number of your children."

Ignatius accepted him, and Antonio became one of the most useful members of the Society.

INGOLDSTADT.

DIEGO LAINEZ, ONE OF THE FIRST COMPANIONS AND SUCCESSOR OF ST. IGNATIUS.

## CHAPTER VII.

### JULIUS III.—LAINEZ AT PALERMO, TUNIS, AND TRENT—1550.

THREE months passed after the death of Paul III. before his successor was chosen. The vacancy in the Holy See had produced its usual effects in the poverty and depression of the Roman people, and the year of Jubilee began in gloom and distress. The Conclave meanwhile intended to do its duty, and to choose an upright and a reforming Pope. Five Cardinals, it was said, voted for St. Ignatius. When asked if this was true, he was silent and looked on the ground, after his fashion. The majority chose Del Monte, who had presided as Papal Commissioner in the Council of Trent. He was proclaimed in February 1550, under the name of Julius III. His impetuous temper alarmed some; his favour with the Imperial party, though not personally with Charles himself, promised well, in the opinion of others, for the peace of Italy.

But Rome was not destined even to enjoy a near prospect of peace.

The Farnesi in the north, and the Spaniards in the south, still kept alive the old dissensions; and France and Austria made Italy again a battle-field for their own unappeasable quarrels. The Spanish bishops, too, intolerant as they were of erratic opinions, were striving to appropriate some of the privileges hitherto reserved by the Pope to himself. Charles V., hearing of their pretensions and demands, said, "The bishops left home as parish priests, they are coming back Popes." One cause, at least, of discord was now easily removed; the Council might be reassembled at Trent without compromising the Papal authority; the bishops who remained there in defiance of Paul III. having dispersed at his death. Henry II., who at first was adverse, gave signs of acquiescence, and the new Pope consented to gratify Charles by sending to him the Bull of Convocation before it was published; but when the Emperor desired it should be modified, so as not to offend the Protestants, who rejected the Pope's authority in defining and deciding on all Church questions, Julius absolutely refused, and published it without altering a word.

Among those whose thoughts turned to Rome during the Jubilee year of 1550, was Leonard Kessel, the Superior of the Jesuits at Cologne. One desire he had, to see and talk with St. Ignatius. He wrote to him to beg to be allowed to visit him, even though he went the whole way on foot. Polanco replied on July 24, "Though your Reverence's visit to us would otherwise be most agreeable, our Father does not think, in the present circumstances, that it would be to the glory of God. It will be more easy if, with God's aid, you can leave behind you some one who can do what you are now doing."

In 1557 Ribadeneira and Salmeron, on their way to Belgium, called at Cologne. Then they heard that in the Stolckgass, near the Church of St. Ursula, in the very year on which he had hoped to see St. Ignatius, Kessel had met the Saint, and had had a long conversation with him. This unlooked for and marvellous realisation of his desire left Kessel overcome with joy. Twenty-five years later Kessel perished at Cologne by the hand of a mad Brother, who killed him and two other Fathers.

In Southern Italy new prospects of usefulness opened before the companions of St. Ignatius. One among their earliest pupils in Naples was Torquato Tasso, placed with them when he was but seven years old; his father's house was near their school, then governed by Oviedo. Torquato's love of his masters and of instruction was so strong, that he would rise before daybreak during the winter to attend the classes, and his mother sent men with torches to escort him in the dark. He profited

so well, that three years later he composed in Latin, both prose and verse, and knew something of Greek. From the first he was always grave and studious, never needing to be stimulated or reproved. He learnt also something better than languages; and, long years after, writing from his imprisonment at Sant' Anna to Jacopo Buoncompagno, Rector of the Jesuit College at Ferrara, to ask his intercession with the Duke, Torquato describes his First Communion at the altar of the Jesuit Church in Naples, and the profound and joyous devotion with which he received into his earthly body the Divine and Sacramental Body of the Son of God.

From Naples, where they had been known for some years past, the Jesuits had lately spread into other towns; and wherever they went they were beloved. Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily, and his wife Leonora, asked of Ignatius that one of his Society might be sent to reside with them and assume the office of Confessor. They were then at Palermo, and Ignatius sent Domenech, lately returned from Bologna. He, aided cordially by the Viceroy, established orphanages; enforced the decree of Innocent III. respecting physicians; procured merciful reforms in the laws concerning debtors; introduced the use of the catechism, then a novelty, in places of education; brought back several monasteries and convents to their strict observance; forbade the irreverent custom of walking about in the churches, and restored solemnity in worship and frequentation of the Sacraments. Some while after he spread these good works to other towns; and the people of Messina established a college there. Nadal was sent from Rome in 1548 to open it. Nine others accompanied him, who had spontaneously chosen him to be their leader. He began with the humility and caution enjoined on all the Society. To pacify the native Doctors in a discussion about precedence, he settled it by taking the lowest place, and used but half the Papal privileges he had brought with him.[1]

About the same time Cardinal Alessandro Farnese desired that Lainez might visit his archbishopric of Monreale, and reform it as he judged proper. Lainez worked hard and achieved much; he was welcomed by the clergy and the convents, and restored peace between the Chapter of Palermo and the monks of San Severino; he drew up regulations which were accepted by both parties, and confirmed by the Cardinal. After this

[1] About three years later Nadal offered to go with Antonio Doria to aid the Christians in Africa. His ship was wrecked in a storm on the island of Lampedusa. Nadal, thrown by the waves on a rock, clung to it till one of Doria's vessels coming near, saw him and threw him a rope.

Palermo desired to have a college of the Company, and the Viceroy supported this request. St. Ignatius sent Ribadeneira, who had been recalled to Rome from his studies at Padua, after four years, and he brought two scholastics with him. On their journey through Florence he fell ill, and a kind physician received all three into his own house, where his wife carefully nursed Pedro during seventeen days. After this they started again for Rome, and in six days arrived at Sta. Maria della Strada, "where we were received," says Pedro, "by Ignatius with that sweet charity which Thou, O God, didst give him for all his children, but especially for me." There Pedro heard that he was to join the new college at Palermo. The importance of the town made this a considerable establishment, and it was opened on November 25, 1549, in the presence of the Court. Lainez pronounced a splendid oration on "the alliance of science with religion;" and Ribadeneira, in the afternoon, explained the scope of the Society. He was moderator of the studies and professor of rhetoric.[1]

On the Feast of the Annunciation, in 1549, two members, much loved by Ignatius, were admitted to their solemn profession—Manuel de Miona and Polanco: the latter of whom had been two years his secretary, and who never lost that enviable office. This was the time when the death of Codacio having left the house in extreme poverty, which was aggravated by the state of Rome and the consequent lack of benefactions, an accident occurred, believed by the Companions of Ignatius to be a miraculous answer to his prayers. Polanco, diving almost by chance into some papers lying in a chest which stood open, filled with old scraps and rubbish, found a paper rolled up, in which was a large sum of money, in coin newly minted. This all the household regarded as a prodigy. When Lainez had arrived at Palermo in February, he was appointed to preach the Lent, in a church near the Viceroy's palace, but falling ill, he was sent to rest at Monreale. He employed his time amongst the new establishments of the Society in Sicily, which the Viceroy, together with King Philip II. and the Emperor, warmly protected. That of Messina began the year before, and in the first year they had collected many scholars, under twelve Fathers, of whom only two were Sicilians, the rest being all of different countries and tongues, whom Bartoli describes in the words of St. Augustine —"They made most sweet harmony, being different but not discordant," for though using many languages, they spoke with but one heart. The same testimony was given afterwards by Luigi Strada, a holy Cistercian

[1] Nicolas Delannoy was named Rector and professor of theology; Paolo Achille, minister and teacher of philosophy.

monk—"What I have seen in this Society of Jesus is very wonderful, and seems to me a Divine enchantment; men different in origin, country,

CATHEDRAL AND ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE, PALERMO.

and race, young and old, all so conformed in character, that they have, in truth, one mind and one soul."

From Sicily, as from Germany, Ignatius required to have letters sent him every week; he desired to know thoroughly, and guide carefully, with a paternal and anxious jurisdiction, those who were distant from him.[1] He watched over the novices, and was displeased when he heard that their Superior allowed them to follow the same rule as the Fathers in diet and rest. He desired that the custom which he had established elsewhere should be observed, and before Lent began, a physician was to be sent for and consulted as to what would be safe and salutary for each. The College of Messina rapidly increased and prospered. Many letters came from Father Nadal, its Rector, to Ignatius, relating conversions and successes; but when these diminished, and at last Nadal's weekly report was only a humble confession that he had nothing to tell, Ignatius kissed the letter, and said he valued its simplicity and sincerity as much as if it had told him great news.

The Company of Jesus had long worked in Africa. Juan Nuñez, who was afterwards Patriarch of Ethiopia, and Luis Gonçalez passed some years in Fez and Morocco, striving to procure ransom for the Christians carried into captivity, or consoling those whom they could not redeem, and reclaiming the unhappy renegades whom the Mohammedans had driven to renounce their faith. But Gonçalez had now charge of the novices in Rome, and Nuñez being required for the mission to Ethiopia, was sent to Portugal. A new chance of usefulness seemed opening in the crusade planned by the Emperor against the Infidels. Dragut at that time swept the Mediterranean from shore to shore, carrying a broom at his masthead, and he bore off many prisoners from the coasts of France and Italy. Charles V., warned by former disasters, prepared another expedition, with more precaution, and less contempt of his adversaries than before. Juan de Vega was to be its leader; he wished that Lainez should accompany him, and he obtained his request. He left part of his troops at the island of Favignana, and then went on to Africa. On landing, Lainez first set himself to establish a hospital; for the men sickened and died in such numbers under the hot African sun, that at one time between two and three hundred lay together waiting for burial. With his own hands he gave the medicines for the sick, watched by them during the night, heard their confessions, and prepared them for death. For

[1] It is a remarkable proof of the upright life and character of Ignatius that this vigilance has been quoted against him; so impossible was it to find any fault, that the enemies of his Order preferred to censure his good deeds rather than abstain from blame.

the success of this expedition, St. Ignatius ordered that the Holy Sacrifice should be offered by all his Society; and he procured from the Pope a participation for the army in the privileges of the Jubilee of 1550. He asked the same favour also for his children in India, Brazil, and Congo, and begged the Pope, Julius III., to say what were to be the conditions of the indulgences? His Holiness answered, "I make this condition only, that you and your Society shall exercise all my authority in all those parts of the world, and order whatever you think proper for gaining the indulgences." When the Saint humbly thanked him, and told him some good news of their successes in India, Julius wept for joy, and said "they were beyond measure dear to him." He extended these favours also to other places in Europe where the Society was known, and maintained the peculiar privileges of the Jesuits during the Holy Year of Jubilee, though such grants were commonly suspended among the other Religious Orders.

Ignatius announced the indulgences of the Pope to the army in the following letter:—

Ignatius of Loyola, General of the Society of Jesus, to the illustrious lords, to the noble and brave captains and soldiers, and all the Christians who are making war in Africa against the Infidels, protection and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in Him eternal life. His Excellency, Don Juan, Viceroy of Sicily, and head of this holy expedition, having written to ask me, in name of himself and the whole army, to entreat our holy Father the Pope Julius III. to open to you, who are detained in heathen lands, and fighting for the glory of Christ and the exaltation of our holy faith, the treasures of the Jubilee which he offers those who visit Rome and certain churches there; his Holiness, in virtue of his apostolic benevolence, has joyfully granted you this favour, provided you are repentant and go to confession. And thus you will fight against the enemies of the Holy Cross with so much greater zeal, courage, and determination, as you find more of the liberality of the most Holy God towards you, and of the Church His Spouse. Thus you will derive most precious fruits from this war, whether victory in combat, or eternal happiness to those who die after obtaining pardon for their sins. In order to announce that this favour has been granted to you, I have thought it right, in the Lord, to send you this letter, and sign it with the seal of our Society. Given at Rome, July 9, 1550.

This was announced to the army with sound of trumpet. Lainez exhorted all to share in the Pope's bounty, and the men filled the Confessionals night and day.

Tunis was taken on August 10, and Lainez said Mass in a mosque freshly consecrated to St. John the Baptist.

He practised the moderation he taught, and though he shared largely in the honours given to the successful army on their return to Europe, he

would accept no reward. Leonora, Duchess of Tuscany, asked the Pope to send him to Pisa. There, in 1551, at the Benedictine Church, he preached with his wonted success; and Pisa not long after had a college of the Society.

In the course of that year Lainez went again to Padua. The college was highly successful, and continued to pour out a stream of learned and pious men. Paschase Broët, who was then Provincial of Italy, was asked for by Cardinal de Guise to go to France. Ignatius despatched him thither in 1552. Lainez, named to fill his place in Italy, remonstrated, and said he wished to decline all authority, until he himself had learned better how to obey. The Saint insisted; but no sooner had Lainez entered on his office, than he showed he had rightly appreciated his besetting fault. He was annoyed that Ignatius removed all the best professors to his Roman College, leaving the other parts of Italy but insufficiently provided. The General answered, it was important to the Society that it should appear in its greatest eminence at Rome; besides, that the college there, both for the numbers and the rank of its scholars, deserved the best teachers. Lainez nevertheless again argued and complained.

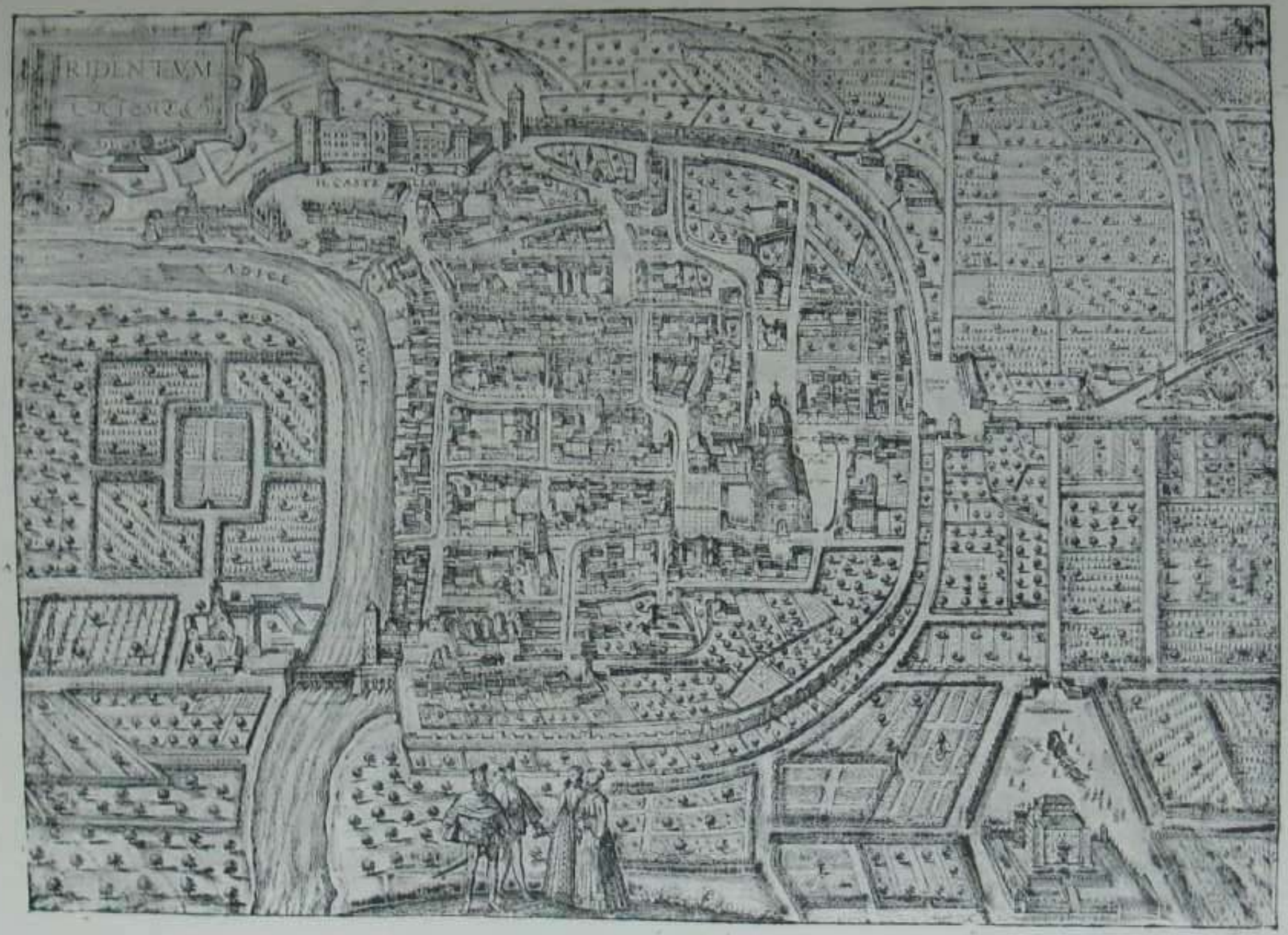
Ignatius sent him by Polanco this severe reproof.

This letter you must not, my Father, consider as coming from (me) your Reverence's son,—for that I am, as Polanco, since I owe you all love and esteem, —but as from the instrument or the pen of our Father, who has ordered me to write to you what it contains. He desired, indeed, some short time ago that I should write it, but when he heard that you were suffering from fever, he delayed it until now that you are recovered. Our Father is not a little displeased with you, and all the more as the faults of those whom he loves are the more painful, coming from those from whom he least expected it. He has, therefore, bidden me write to you in respect of several things, so that you may be conscious of them, and not continue committing them, but rather amend yourself; and this will be easy to you, with such good-will as God our Lord has given you.

ROME, *Nov.* 2, 1552.

Polanco then mentions three points in which he is blameworthy; but as they refer to names and circumstances no longer interesting, we will add only the conclusion:—

This dictatorial way of writing, which becomes no one towards a Superior, he does not approve; rather, he bids me tell you, you should attend to your own charge, and if you fulfil it as you ought, you do no small thing; but you need not give him advice about his own, which he only desires to receive when he asks it of you, and less now than before you entered on your own charge, for, in conducting it, you have not given him a great opinion of your fitness to rule. Consider




STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, SEAT OF THE COUNCIL. CATHEDRAL. EPISCOPAL PALACE.

TRENT, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

these faults before God our Lord, and pray thereupon three days, and after that write whether you recognise these faults or mistakes, and decide the penance which you think you have deserved, and send this in writing; but you are to undertake none till you have received our Father's answer.[1]

Lainez answered from Florence, that he had read over many times the last letter of Ignatius, and that he found in it abundant cause both to admire his paternal charity, to praise the mercy of God, and to humble himself and be ashamed of his shortcomings. He prayed Ignatius not to spare him such salutary reprimands, and he recognised these great faults in his conduct—that he had been heedless and vain enough to oppose his small judgment to that of a man so enlightened, that he had caused grief to his Superior, and had attempted to disturb the order of Providence in withdrawing from the ways God had appointed for him.

"As for the chastisement I deserve," he added, "having reflected during these latter days that it is now more than twenty years since I engaged myself to serve God according to the evangelic precepts; that I have had so much assistance, and profited so little by it, and that perhaps my life is not far from its close, I was seized with an ardent desire to die entirely to myself, that I may live for God only; and it appeared to me, that if men knew what I am, they would treat me as one wholly miserable and worthless. Therefore, my Father, when the letter from your Reverence was given me, I set myself to prayer, and having prayed with many tears, which seldom happens to me, this is what I decided and declare to you now, with tears in my eyes. I wish that your reverence, to whom I submit myself and resign myself entirely—I wish, I say, and pray you, by the mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ, that to punish my sins, and conquer my untamed passions, which are their source, you withdraw me from all authority, preaching, and study, leaving me no book but my breviary; that you make me come to Rome, begging all the way, and there employ me, till I die, in the lowest services of the house. Or, if I am not fit for that, command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first elements of grammar, taking no notice of me, and regarding me always as the outcast of the world."

Then, if the Father did not agree to this proposal, he offered to endure the same probation for a limited time, for two or three years, or as long as Ignatius thought fit. If this offer also was refused, he proposed other penances, and that every time he had to write to the General, he should first pray, and meditate on what he intended to write, and afterwards read it over, taking care to say nothing that could grieve his good Father, and striving only to give him pleasure. But the Saint, satisfied

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 129.

with so much humility, set him to a task more profitable to the world. He bade him compose a Summary of Theology, which should serve as an answer to the Lutherans; and to secure him leisure, he gave him as assistants in visiting the colleges of Italy, Martin Olave, who had known Lainez at Trent, before he entered the Order, and John Baptist Viola, once Rector of the Jesuits in Paris. Viola was over-anxious, and when his unceasing activity was less successful than he desired, he took his failures too much to heart. Ignatius bade him keep his mind in peace, and imitate the Guardian Angels, who watch and serve us, but do not lose their tranquillity when their care is made useless by the perversity of man. Ignatius retained his high value for Lainez as long as he lived. He once said there was no member of the Company to whom it was so much indebted, and he considered him his greatest treasure. And this opinion had considerable weight in the decision which made Lainez the second General of the Order.[1]

On May 1, in the year following the accession of Julius III., the prelates and theologians were summoned to meet a second time at Trent. Cardinal Crescenzi, just ordained to the priesthood, who said his first Mass at the opening of the Council, was its president. The Nuncios were Pighini, Archbishop of Manfredonia, and Luigi Lippomani, Bishop of Verona, one of the family who had so much loved Ignatius and his companions.

But those who hoped that peace would come with time and change were disappointed. The unhappy nepotism of Paul III. had bequeathed an inheritance of perplexity to his successor. Julius III., when Cardinal, some months before, made a promise to Paul that, if raised to the throne, he would give back Parma to Ottavio Farnese; and now, when the Cardinals remonstrated, he said, "I would rather be a poor Pope, with the character of a true gentleman, than rich, under the reproach of services forgotten and promises unfulfilled."

But Charles V. coveted Parma, and Henry II. demanded it for his son in law, Orazio: it seemed likely to be a cause of lasting discord and embarrassment to the Council and to Italy. Henry refused to send an ambassador or bishops to Trent while his demand for Parma was resisted. The secretary of the French embassy at Venice, Jacques Amyot, was commissioned to make a representation to the Council, and he had some difficulty in obtaining an audience. One of the envoys of Charles V.

[1] The expression quoted by Padre Fluvia is very strong, "Solia dezir que era *el todo de la Compañia:*" which may be thus translated—"He was accustomed to say that Lainez was the backbone of the Society."

at Trent was Martin Olave, who, when Ignatius entered Barcelona, in fashion of a mendicant, more than twenty years before, was the first person who gave him alms. He resided some time in the court of Charles as chaplain; he had a wish to go to India, and wrote to ask the advice of his friend Polanco, who said he had better first come to Rome. This offended Olave. He fancied they wanted him to enter the new Society, and he had an extreme prejudice against it. He resolved to break off altogether with the Jesuits. But so strong an attraction seemed to follow this obstinate aversion, that at Trent he sought out Lainez and Salmeron, and then by their advice went to Rome. He entered the Society, and was the first of its members who taught theology in the professional chair of the Roman College.[1]

The Council proceeded as formerly, treating of dogma in the morning and of discipline in the afternoon. They treated first on the Sacraments and the duty of residence in bishops. Lainez and Salmeron were sent by the new Pope as before, and their reception at Trent on July 27, 1551, was highly honourable. The Legates, the Bishop of Trent, and others desired to lodge them in their houses, and Lippomani wrote to Ignatius, "If I were not bound to submit to our Sovereign Pontiff, I should complain of the Fathers Lainez and Salmeron, who have placed themselves in another lodging than mine; for my house is at their service, and that of all your holy Society."

On September 8, called on to open the debate as theologians of the Holy See, they used the exceptional privilege granted them of speaking three hours at a time. Lainez began by humbly expressing his regret that he was obliged to speak before he had heard the opinions of so many illustrious men. Then, taking up the subject of discussion, he showed briefly the wisdom of the Council, which ordered him to draw his proofs from Scripture, Tradition, the Councils, the authority of the Popes, the ancient Fathers, and the consent of the Catholic Church. For the heretics, he said, who claim to speak from Scripture only, see it under the shadow of their passions, and pervert its meaning. He added this announcement, which filled his hearers with admiration, that he intended to quote no writer whose works he had not read entirely through, and that in each he had compared all the passages relating to the subjects they intended to consider. Lainez quoted thirty-six authorities, from which he repeated long extracts

[1] He remembered with compunction the dislike and misrepresentations of his earlier days. He sometimes said, "Me miserum! quia eam nimis diu ignorans fugi! sæpe etiam de eadem detraxi." "Alas for me! I have kept aloof from the Society so long; I have even often spoken ill of it." How many, if they were honest, might say the same!

by memory, not displacing, it was said, a single word.[1] His enunciation was so imposing, his voice and his eloquence so impressive, that he charmed his learned audience; and in the evening, when Salmeron had spoken, those bishops who had not heard these two in the former sessions, said this was a bright day in their lives. Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, wrote afterwards: "The Fathers Lainez and Salmeron have splendidly supported our side against the Protestants, respecting the Eucharist. I think myself fortunate in living in an age when I can see and hear these Fathers, who are as learned as they are good."

The president, Cardinal Crescenzi, took Lainez for his counsellor, and advanced nothing without his advice. Lainez had fallen ill in August; but Crescenzi would not part with him to rest two or three weeks at Verona. He expected daily the arrival of some Protestant disputants, and desired they should be met at once by this formidable antagonist. But as his ailment was at that time a quartan ague, the prelates agreed that they would not meet on the days on which it seized him, or would only transact matters of small importance. When St. Ignatius wrote to say that he was sending Father Nadal to replace Lainez, Salmeron replied that two Fathers in strong health could not do what Lainez was doing, though so ill. The questions concerning the Sacraments were resumed. De Montfort, the Imperial ambassador, urged that the two points on which the Protestants seemed most determined—marriage of the priesthood and Communion in both kinds—should not be considered till the Lutheran deputies arrived; and this request was acceded to.

Hitherto, though the ambassadors of the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Wurtemberg were present, and also the Greek Archbishop of Thessalonica, no Protestant theologians had taken part in the discussion. Charles V. called on them to appear, and Melanchthon, by desire of Maurice of Saxony, drew up "the New Confession of Augsburg," which was to be presented to the Council as a statement of the Lutheran faith. All the Protestant cities sent deputies; Sleidan,[2] the dishonest historian of the Council, who has misrepresented so many details of its proceedings, came from Strasburg. In November all entered quietly into Trent, not waiting on the presidents to announce themselves. But, by order of Julius III., they were treated with civility. "For," said he, "a good father must show much forbearance to his children to draw them back gently to their duty."

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[1] One of these was Alfonso Tostado, Bishop of Avila, whose works fill twenty-five folios. Bellarmine calls him the wonder of the world.

[2] He wrote, says Maimbourg, "Avec assez de politesse et très-peu de sincérité:" "With a good deal of polish and a great want of truthfulness."

Maurice of Saxony deferred the arrival of his envoys till January 1552, wishing to gain time. When they appeared, they were in the utmost degree friendly and respectful with the imperial ambassadors, and on January 21 they spoke in the Congregation. They demanded—1st, a more ample safe-conduct for the Protestant theologians, because the Council of Constance had declared, they said, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; 2nd, that no new decrees should be published till these theologians had been heard; 3rd, that the previous decrees should be discussed over again; 4th, that the Fathers should, after the examples of Constance and Basle, declare the Council independent of the Pope; 5th, that the Bishops should be relieved from the oath they had taken to the Holy See. The Protestant deputies then retired; the Fathers, forewarned and instructed by the Pope, answered with extreme moderation. On the day when the next session opened, they promised a safe-conduct, which was actually given in the most ample form.[1]

The Council then proceeded to other points. They agreed to postpone till the arrival of the Protestants the discussions on Justification and some other disputed questions. They declared the present Council to be legitimate and Œcumenic; they affirmed the Supremacy of the Pope, as Sovereign and Judge; and they asserted that, were the oaths they had taken to the Holy See remitted, this would make no difference in their obligation to defend what they knew to be right and true, even with their lives. When the subject of the Blessed Sacrament was brought forward, the large majority of the Fathers, supporting the authority of the Church in giving Communion to the laity only in one kind, decided that equal grace was received under one species as under both.[2] In consequence, those points of the decree drawn up which related to the participation of the Cup and to marriage of priests were withdrawn, and referred to the Pope.

But suddenly the storm burst which was to disperse the Council, and banish the slight remaining hope of reconciliation, now crushed in the dismemberment of the Empire. Maurice of Saxony turned against the Emperor, for whom he had fought at Muhlberg. He had not concealed his designs so well but that the Duke of Alva warned Cardinal Granvella of his treachery. Granvella answered, "A drunken German head can form no scheme which I cannot easily discover and counteract." He was

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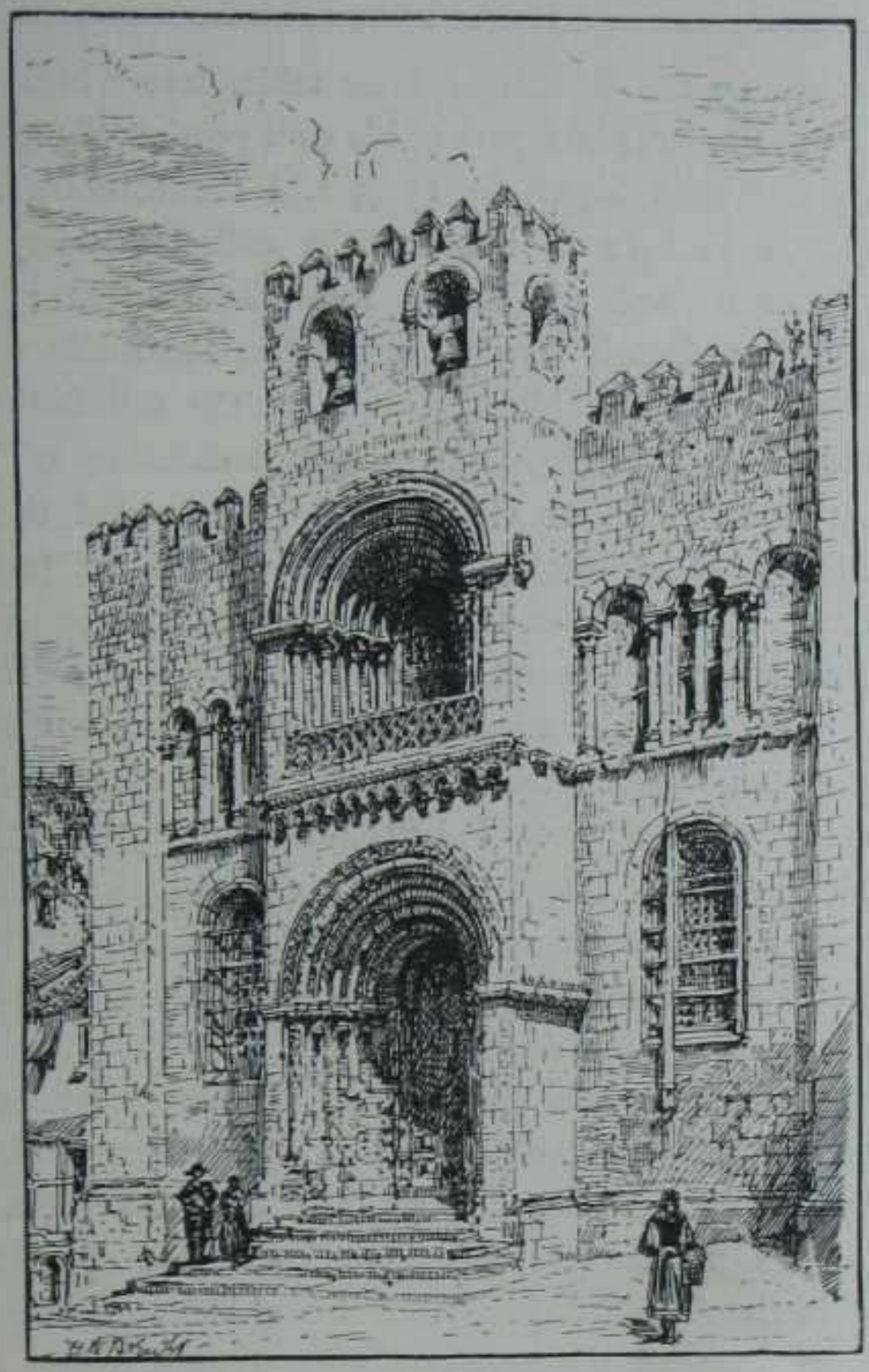
[1] Hefele, Lib. xliii. § 761, clearly shows that the safe-conducts given to Jerome of Prague and to Huss simply protected them from any illegal attack, but did not shield them from a judicial sentence, to which, in fact, both professed themselves willing to submit.

[2] Melanchthon, like Luther and many other Reformers, approved the Roman usage. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and the Duke of Bavaria, both wished the Cup to be conceded.

persuaded he could deceive Maurice, who, on the contrary, deceived him. And one evening, when Charles was about to sit down to supper at Innsbrück, an alarm was given that the Elector with a hostile army was already within the walls. Charles, suffering under an attack of gout, could not sit on his horse, but was placed in a litter, and had scarcely time to fly, leaving his supper to Maurice and his officers. The night fortunately was dark, and it rained hard; this favoured his escape, and he reached Villach, in Carinthia, in safety,[1] by mountain paths, lighted sometimes by torches of straw. There he was so poor, that he was forced to borrow 200,000 crowns from Cosmo de' Medici, giving Piombino as a security. Sienna rose, and expelled the Spanish garrison. After this, Trent was no longer a safe residence for the Fathers, and on March 8, 1552, they dissolved the Council. Crescenzi, already very ill, lived only three days after he reached Verona. And the illustrious Council of Trent did not resume its labours till ten years later.

1 It was the night between the 22nd and 23rd of May 1552. Maurice entered Innsbrück on the morning of the 23rd, and found that he was a few hours too late.

ALFONSO SALMERON, ONE OF THE FIRST COMPANIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS.



OLD CATHEDRAL, COIMBRA.

# CHAPTER VIII

## TROUBLES IN ALCALÁ AND IN PORTUGAL—1551–1552.

WHEN Ignatius was at Alcalá he had received great kindness from Mencia de Beneventa, who after his departure fell into great poverty. Ignatius hearing of this, wrote to Villanueva, Rector of the college newly started there, and desired him to assist this good woman. The college was so poor, that the Fathers wanted coverings to their beds, and had only their cloaks to throw over them during the winter nights. When they received the injunction of Ignatius, they every day, at dinner and

supper, set a plate in the middle of their table, into which each Father, beginning with the Rector, put a part of his own portion of food for Mencia.

The college had been begun in 1545, and the teaching and exhortations of the Jesuit Fathers in two months collected thirty young men around them, who desired admittance into the novitiate; its numbers constantly increasing, though very poor, because the funds were not proportionate, it had gone on working in peace, to the satisfaction apparently of all the world, when suddenly, in 1551, the Archbishop of Toledo, Juan Siliceo, without explanation or visible cause, suspended them from the sacerdotal functions, albeit they exercised these by the powers granted them from Rome. Some priests of his diocese, zealous but ignorant men, had adopted practices which were supposed to be those of the Theatines, as the Jesuits were called at Alcalá. They allowed Communion twice a day, and other singularities, which Siliceo laid to the charge of the Society. A letter dictated by Ignatius to Polanco, on January 2, 1552, gives an account of this incident. The Archbishop charged his Vicar at Alcalá to publish in all the churches a decree which forbade, under penalty of censure, all the priests of the Society to preach, confess, or administer any Sacrament, or even to say Mass.

The Jesuits heard of this decree only a short time before it was published, and immediately took the necessary steps with the Grand Vicar, showing the powers they had received from the Pope. The Vicar was well disposed towards them, asked a copy of this document, and sent it by a courier to the Archbishop. But Cardinal Siliceo ordered the decree to be proclaimed from all the pulpits a second time. The Superiors of the Society in Spain sent an account of this proceeding to Ignatius, and applied at the same time to the Royal Council of Castile. The Council ordered all the ministers of the King in Spain to support the Society, and charged the Governor of Toledo to communicate to the Archbishop the papal privileges of the Order. In consequence of this, the Jesuits who had left the College of Alcalá returned, and presented the decree to the Chapter. They obtained ready permission to resume their functions in the cathedral. But neither the decree of the Council nor letters from very high personages made any impression on the Archbishop; he was only the more angry. In this extremity Ignatius was forced to have recourse to Julius III., praying him to come to their assistance in any manner he judged fit. Julius proceeded gently; but he caused his secretary, Cardinal Maffei, to write a representation to the Archbishop, and to Cardinal Poggi, the Nuncio in Spain. When the draft of the letter to the Archbishop was presented by Maffei to the Pope, he ordered him

to add this sentence:—"And also, that this Society is so much loved, esteemed, and cherished throughout all Christendom."[1] These admonitions were all wasted on Siliceo, who yielded at last only to the personal insistance of the Nuncio.

Ignatius had foreseen this result, and from the beginning he had said to Ribadeneira, "This hostility is a blessing to us, since we have not deserved it: our Lord will produce much fruit by us in Spain, for we have always done most good where we have suffered most; the Archbishop is old, our Community is young, and must naturally survive him." When he heard that the difference was appeased, Ignatius wrote a letter of humble thanks to the Archbishop, as well as to the Nuncio, and King Philip. He believed and taught that more and better victories are obtained by concession than by conquest, and he wrote to Villanueva:—

Considering that the weapons of spiritual graces granted by the Holy See to our Community produce more fruit for the good of souls when used in concert with their own pastor, and that this should especially be observed in the Archbishopric of Toledo, where that prelate, as I do not doubt, will approve all that is done for the glory of God our Lord, I think I ought to recommend to you, by these presents, that you should depart in nothing from what you see to be according to his views, whether respecting preaching or giving the Sacraments, and the other ministrations in behalf of your neighbours. So, in the expectation that the Lord Archbishop will be to you father and lord, and help you in all that may serve for the increase of our Company and the glory of God, I do not wish that any person in the whole kingdom should be received into the Society against the judgment and opinion of his Lordship; and this I enjoin you to see to, and you must take care that it is enforced. May God our Lord be in our souls and give us grace to fulfil His holy will.[2]

*June* 1, 1552.

Ignatius comforted his brethren by assuring them an Archbishop would one day be appointed whose favour would exceed the hostility of Juan Siliceo; and it was granted to him to see this happen, in the last year of his life. For Siliceo died, and his successor, Gaspar Quiroga, came to Rome, and there showed the greatest admiration for our Saint, and delight in conversing with him. He rejoiced that the Company of Jesus was established in his diocese, and helped to spread it there.

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[1] Chrono-historia de la Comp. de Jesus en Toledo, p. i. p. 197.

[2] Cartas de San Ignatio, t. iii. p. 74. Some land Siliceo bought at Alcalá to hinder any extension of their college, with a large adjoining building, was sold to the Society by his executors, and gave them a new and vast establishment at a low price. And almost the same happened to them at Toledo.

But much greater and more lasting than those external troubles were the hindrances caused in Portugal by Simon Rodriguez, who, with excellent intentions, had introduced among his people certain ideas and practices not conformable to the spirit of the Institute. St. Ignatius, who had never seen him since he was sent to Lisbon, had wished several years before, and again in 1550, to summon him to Italy, that he might hear from himself how things went on in that distant province, and that Rodriguez might see and appropriate that system of government which Ignatius had established under his own eye in Rome. With this purpose, the Saint wrote in the summer of 1549 to King Joam, asking leave of absence for Simon, from August to April in the following year. But the King would not part with him, because he was at that time superintending the education of the prince, his heir. Luis Gonçalez afterwards succeeded him in this charge. It was natural that Ignatius should wish to see his old companion again after so many years, and learn from him in what way he ruled so important a province; perhaps all the more as he well knew Simon's characteristics, which before now had nearly made him desert his Community to satisfy his love of a contemplative life. Some reports, too, may have reached Ignatius that increased his anxiety, for he seems even then to have intended to remove Simon from the post of Provincial; but this he did not do till a later year. Almost all the members of the Community in Portugal had been formed by Rodriguez; they had attached themselves more than suited the spirit of a Religious Order to him and his methods; and it was desirable that this too personal alliance should cease. Ignatius wished all the more that his Constitutions should be practically introduced into Portugal, because they were opposed to several usages inconsistent with them, though tolerated by Rodriguez. He, therefore, appeared an unfit person to carry them out. Moreover, he had already been twelve years Superior and Provincial in Portugal, and the Constitutions prescribed a change every three years. But if Rodriguez were unwilling to come, it was possible that he might seek and find support in the King; therefore Ignatius wrote on January 1, 1552, to Joam III. and some members of the royal family, explaining his wishes and his reasons.[1] Simon had come for a short time to Rome in 1551. But the total change which Ignatius perceived in Rodriguez caused the Saint great pain. Nor could any words of his effect any change

[1] St. Ignatius feared lest the King's love of the Society was only owing to his affection to F. Rodriguez, and he knew that an intrigue had been going on to make the Portuguese province independent of the General. He informed the Superiors that if Joam showed displeasure at his action, they must give the King a letter in which Ignatius declared his intention to resign his office, as he could no longer carry it on as he ought. Cf. Cartas de S. Ign., t. ii. pp. 388–392, and t. iii. p. 1 *seq.*

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ.—*See p.* 108.

either in their mutual relations, or persuade him to cease to curry favour with the King, and to heed the guidance of his Superiors. He then named Diego Miron Provincial in Portugal; and gave Simon his choice—to go to Brazil, as he had formerly wished to do, or take the charge of superintendent in Aragon. He commissioned Torres, Rector of the College at Salamanca, to go as Visitor to Portugal, to see these orders complied with, and ordered St. Francis Borgia, who was in Guipuzcoa, to accompany him. He sent Torres several blanks with his signature, to be used as he found necessary. But the King had already seen that a change was desirable, and Rodriguez submitted with perfect readiness; so that Miron was installed as his successor without any delay. This was in May 1552. Then Rodriguez showed symptoms of change of mind; perhaps the regrets of those who were unwilling to see their gentle master replaced by one of stricter views and habits, worked on him to attempt a sort of passive resistance. On pretence that Ignatius had ordered him to do nothing without the royal permission, he applied to know if his removal was agreeable to the King. When he heard that it had been decided on with his consent, Simon declared that his health disabled him from going either to Brazil or Aragon. He left Lisbon immediately for the College of Coimbra, where the spirit of discontent entered with him. The Superior was not prudent, and much disorder followed. Then Torres interfered, and bade Simon repair at once to Aragon. The King, too, sent an order to the same effect. Simon obeyed; and Torres, thinking all was concluded, returned to Salamanca; but Father Gomez, the companion of Rodriguez, suddenly appeared at Court, where he and some other malcontents made a great stir, and endeavoured, by favour of the King and a few of the grandees, to procure the recall of their beloved Provincial, striving to throw discredit upon Ignatius himself. King Joam only desired that Torres and St. Francis Borgia might be summoned immediately to Portugal. This fortunate persistence of the King, aiding the wise authority of Ignatius, suppressed a schism which might have been dangerous, and Ignatius thanked his royal friend and patron in grateful terms.

Miron was a character almost opposite to that of Rodriguez, and chosen doubtless by Ignatius for this very reason: "a man of clear sight, exact, firm, and rather hard." At first he required rather too much of the novices and students. Ignatius warned him that this was a fault, and advised him to wait patiently for their progress towards perfection; reminding him that his business, as Provincial, lay in large and general matters, not in details. Ignatius wished him to follow his own example; and, after explaining his object to his subordinates, to leave them to work it out. "It is better," said he, "not to give minute directions. For in that case, if anything went

wrong, you would be placed in a position unsuitable to your authority; and those who are nearest the work can often judge best how to do it."

As soon as Rodriguez arrived at Barcelona, he pestered Ignatius with entreaties that he might return to Portugal. Ignatius answered him with great forbearance and consideration. The following letter is characteristic:—

From your letter of the 26th, I perceive that you are not comfortable where you are, and are distressed with sickness; and that, in your opinion, whoever holds your charge is bound to work; and you ask me for these reasons to let you return to Portugal, even without an office. I feel so inclined to please and to give you contentment in everything, so far as I may, in our Lord, that I have little difficulty in persuading myself to do what I think will procure it. I think I ought all the more to please you, as your bodily ills are great, nor would they let you bear external work. So I am content that you should return to Portugal, to your native air, which is better for your health, and, as you desire, without any charge. Meanwhile, it is suitable to your charity, that as you have hitherto served the Society in outward cares and efforts, so now, during the remainder of the life that God our Lord may grant you, you should protect it by your prayers and earnest wishes for the honour and service of God, and the help of souls, through its means. And in this intention I grant what you desire, that you may see to your own salvation without any other burden or obligations. And according to what I have said, I think that San Fins [1] would be very suitable for you, where I believe you would have all the advantages you can desire—air, water, and scenery. And while you will have there the leisure you wish for your spiritual comfort, you will be able to do good in the places all round whenever you desire. So you may remove thither, and I will write to the Provincial of Portugal that all comfort in temporal things may be provided for you, so that you may want nothing; and for your own person, you are to do as it shall seem good to you, in our Lord, no one imposing on you any penance or mortification, or moving you from one place to another. And thus I think the wish you have expressed not to be at the discretion of others is quite satisfied. As to what you say about evil reports, which have been sent from Portugal, and which you ask me to communicate to you, I hold it better, in my opinion, not to dwell on such things, but rather to bury all that is past, if there is something to be said on either side; for it brings little satisfaction, when a Father hears of his sons what he does not wish to hear, or the sons of the Father. I can tell you this, that I have been informed from Portugal that everybody there loves you much, and let that suffice on that point.

ROME, *December* 9, 1552.[2]

When Ignatius wrote this, he knew nothing of the proceedings of Gomez. The account given by Torres immediately afterwards, changed his mind

[1] San Fins was a country house belonging to the College of Coimbra, at the extremity of Portugal, near Valença de Mino.

[2] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 148.

considerably on the subject of his last letter. He wrote, therefore, again on the 17th, that Rodriguez was not to go to San Fins, but to some place to be settled by the Provincial in Portugal, who was to consult with three or four Fathers, and then announce his decision, which Rodriguez was to receive as if it came from Ignatius himself. These Fathers might choose for Simon's residence any place they thought suitable, whether one of the houses of the Society or not. He also charged the Provincial Miron to dismiss from the Society, or send to Rome, any one who would not comply with the new order of things.

Some time after, Ignatius thought proper to send for Simon Rodriguez to Rome; as, after what had passed, he could not be of any use in the Peninsula. The letter which summoned him runs thus:—

Master Simon Rodriguez, Beloved Son in our Lord,—After I had received, read, and considered your letters of February 10, and of March 23 and 26, and April 12, and many more, which I received from where you are; and because I feel and acknowledge that it is desirable for the greater peace and spiritual comfort in the Lord of those of our Society who remain in Portugal, and also that we may consult on the common subjects which concern the whole Society, and which cannot be discussed except in conversation, I have resolved, in our Lord, to give you a little bodily trouble by a journey to Rome. And so, as it is a matter of importance, I command you to come in virtue of obedience, on behalf of Christ our Lord, whether by water or land, as you find it more easy; and this must be as soon as possible; therefore, in eight days from the receiving this, set out on your journey, and do not delay. I pray God that He may lead and accompany you, and may give to all the grace always to know and to do His holy will.

ROME, *May* 20, 1553.[1]

Ignatius wrote a second letter on the same day gently insisting on the reasons for the journey, and removing any objections that stood in the way.

Again on the 12th of July he wrote:—

Son Master Simon, trust to me, that your soul and mine when you come here will find comfort in our Lord, and that all that we both wish, for the greater glory of our Lord, will be happily accomplished. Meanwhile, hold fast to what we see, with much devotion; and if you do not find much, yet God our Lord will give you more, if you strive to accomplish this journey. Remember, that when I had yet no authority over your actions, you did what I desired of you, and went to Portugal with all readiness, though you had the quartan ague at that time, and

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 211.

you got well; then how much more now, when you have not such a serious illness.

Son, Master Simon, set out immediately, and doubt not that health of body and soul will refresh us here, to the greater honour of God. Only have confidence in me, and you will remain satisfied in our Lord.

ROME, *July* 12, 1553.[1]

Whether Simon then showed signs of open resistance or no, St.

POPE JULIUS III. (DEL MONTE).

Ignatius wrote an order to Miron to expel Rodriguez should he refuse. However, he did obey, and came to Rome. He arrived in the July of 1554, and insisted on his cause being gone into. He appeared before a commission of four Fathers, all approved by himself, who found him guilty of several faults against obedience. And though St. Ignatius, who had

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 243.

treated him with the greatest kindness, remitted the penance imposed on him, he wished to appeal to the Pope and the Cardinal Protector. Anxious to screen the reputation of F. Simon, Ignatius gladly accepted his proposal to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. These incidents gave occasion for the treatise,[1] in the form of a letter, on obedience, which Ignatius wrote on March 26, 1553, to the members of the College of Coimbra. He wrote also to the Superiors, bidding them expel the recalcitrant there without delay; and Francis Xavier, on the other side of the globe, knowing nothing of what had happened, wrote to the same effect and at the same time. All these occurrences made Ignatius resolve to call Xavier, whom he destined to be his successor, from his spiritual labours in the East. There were other reasons also, which he detailed in a long and affectionate letter, which Xavier never received, for he was already dead.

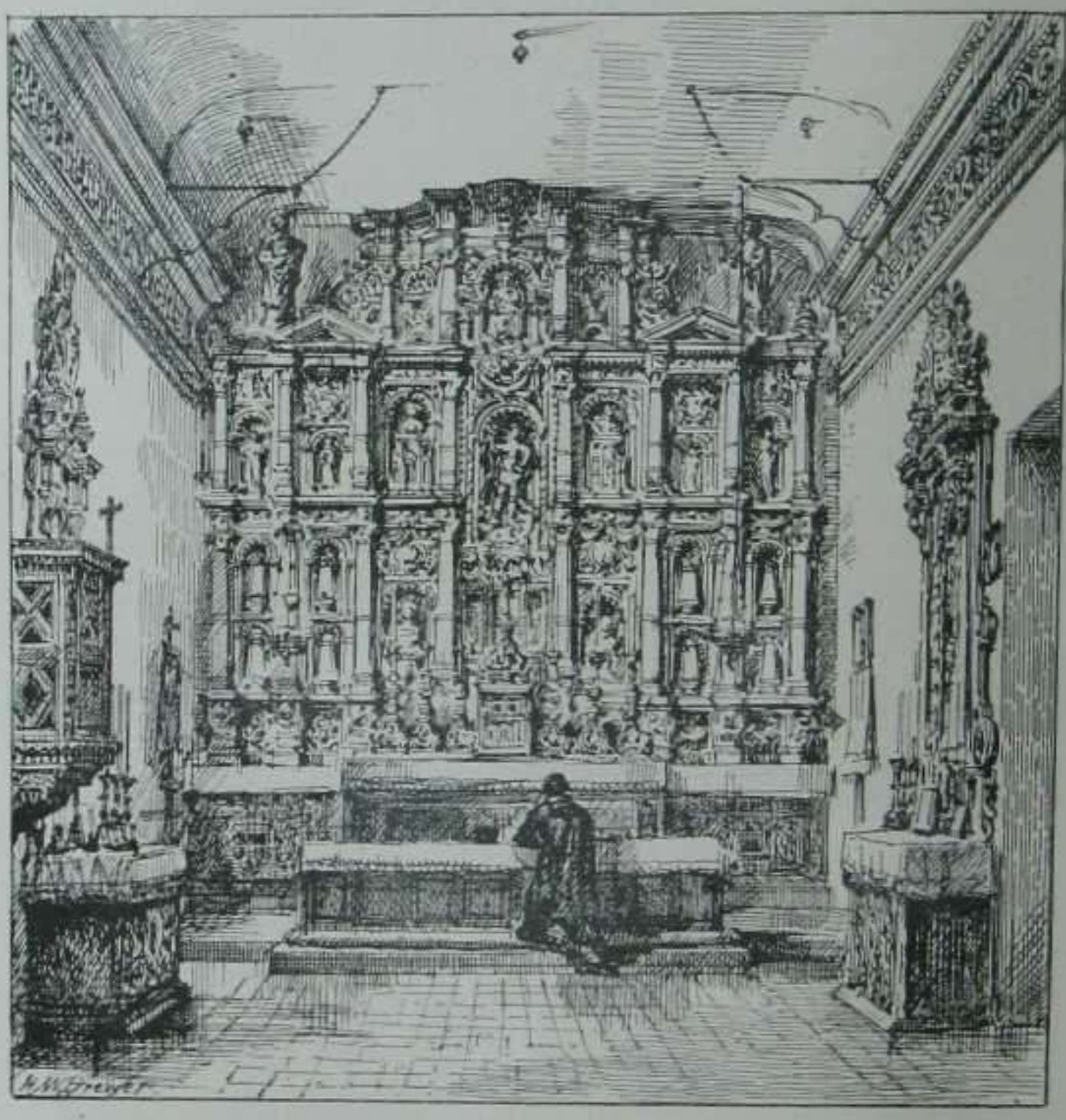
The removal of Miron was a grief to the great Archbishop of Valencia, Saint Thomas de Villanueva. He wrote to Ignatius that he and Domenech had been eminently successful in his diocese, and begged to have one of them again, or others like them. The Archbishop lived and died very poor, having given away almost all the large revenues of his episcopate for the love and service of Christ.

Emmanuel Godhino was made Rector of the College of Coimbra when Rodriguez left it. There were then one hundred and forty Jesuits within its walls, the greater part scholastics. Father Godhino dismissed many of them, and others, refusing to submit, went away. In all this affair there had been, perhaps, relaxation of discipline and departure from the rules of the Order strictly interpreted, but no moral offence that the world would blame; nevertheless, the conscience of Godhino was wounded. He thought he had perhaps been too severe in the acts which caused these young men to withdraw. At any rate, much scandal had been given, and all these occurrences had probably impaired the usefulness of the Society in the world's opinion. Godhino resolved that he would take upon himself the reparation: he went through the streets in the guise of a penitent, lashing his bared shoulders with a whip, asking pardon of God, and of those whom he or his Community had offended. He then returned to the College, and repeated the same penance in the presence of the scholastics. They, moved by his example, asked leave to follow it. On the next day, after long meditation on the passion of our Lord, the young men went in procession through the streets, like the flagellants of earlier times. Then they knelt before the altar of the Church of the Misericordia,

[1] He had written a much shorter, but similar one, to Gandia, in the July of 1547.

while Father Godhino addressed the people, who filled the church, and asked their forgiveness, if they thought the College had been censurable. After this, they returned to their home, its original austerity, and grave studies; and Coimbra from that time assumed the first place among the religious establishments of the Peninsula, which it continued to hold until the Company was suppressed.[1]

[1] Martin Navarro, a man of high character, who knew the College seven years, writes of it—"One thing appears to me miraculous; and it is this—more than a hundred students of the Society were assembled there, instructed at the expense of the King; all young, all full of life and ardour, permitted to go out at all times, and to communicate with persons of all sorts and conditions; they were as likely to find temptations to sin as encouragements to virtue; moreover, the inhabitants were almost all secretly hostile to them. Yet I have never, during the space of seven years, heard one single person, openly or in a whisper, seriously or in jest, say one single word unfavourable to these students. I must repeat that all this appears to me miraculous, for no one has ever before seen so great a number of young men living in perfect liberty amidst people ill-disposed towards them, of whom not one has ever given occasion for a word of reproach."

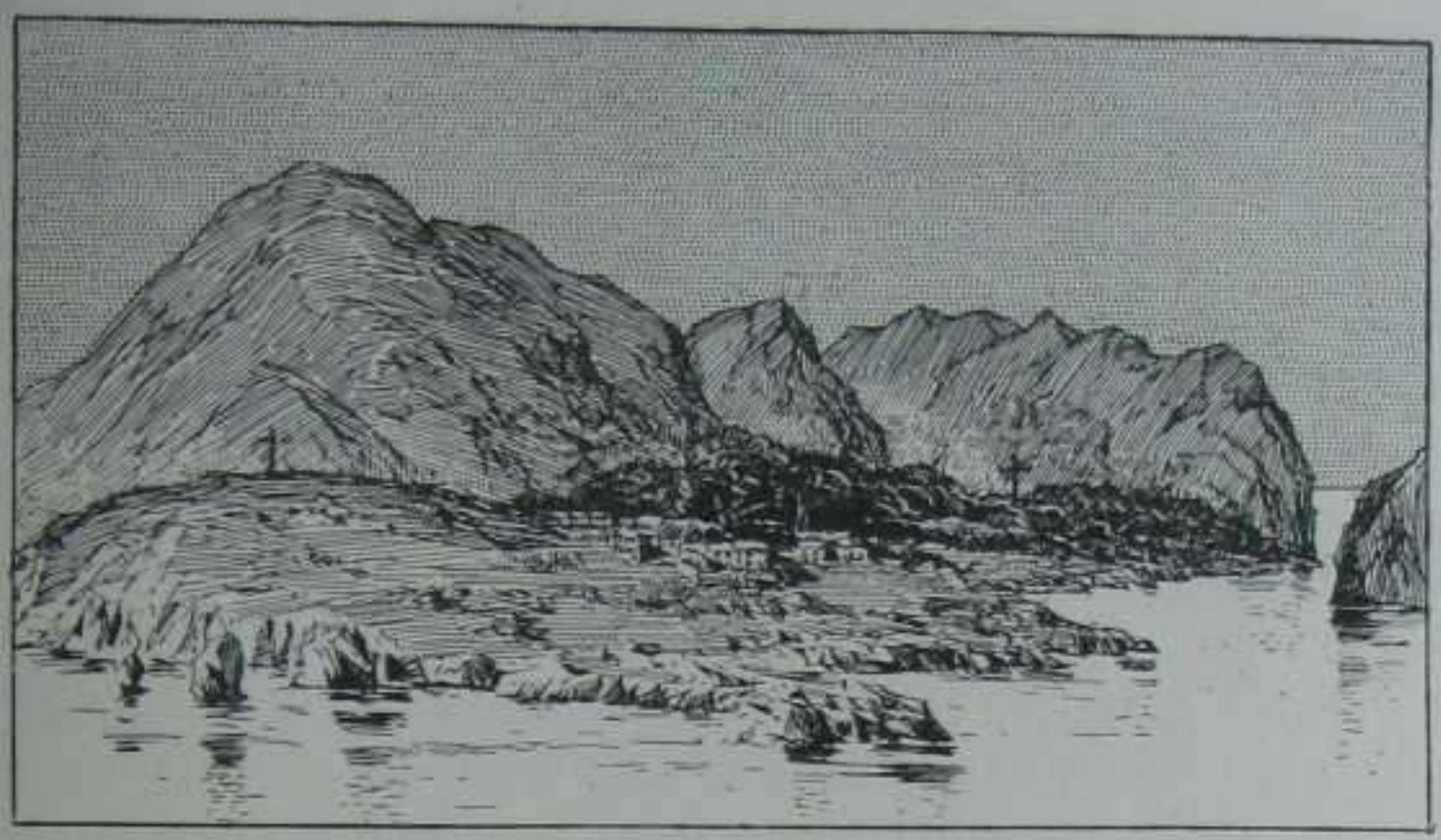


PRIVATE CHAPEL OF THE BORGIA PALACE, GANDIA.—*See p.* 440.

# BOOK IV.

## The Last Years and Death of Ignatius—

1551–1556.



SITE OF DEATH AND BURIAL OF
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.

ISLAND OF SAN CHIAN, CHINA.

# BOOK IV.

## *THE LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF IGNATIUS*—1551–1556.

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## CHAPTER I.

### EXTERNAL WORK—1551.

IN the year 1551 another eminent servant of Christ, destined like Ignatius for great things, entered the ecclesiastical state. St. Philip Neri, then thirty-six years old, received deacon's orders in the Church of St. John Lateran. He had formed three years before a small community at San Girolamo della Carità. The modern Oratorians give a charming description of their earliest Fathers:—"These servants of God dwelt in that house with great charity, without any kind of particular customs, or any rule, save that of the love and reverence they bore to one another. They had no Superior, but observed only the order of seniority; and so they lived a tranquil and almost a heavenly life, rivalling each other in the service of the Church, and in ministering to their neighbours." They were in number about fifteen, "simple persons and poor, but full of life and piety." Philip had the utmost veneration for Ignatius—he said he had learned from him the

art of mental prayer.[1] He introduced at Rome the devotion of the Quarant' Ore, which on the first Sunday of Advent is commenced at the Pope's Chapel, and thence goes on at one Church or other throughout the year. Ignatius adopted this observance for his Society in the latter part of his life. There was much similarity in the characters of these two Saints. Both placed charity foremost among Christian duties. Philip Neri, like Ignatius, was a great lover of cleanliness, and held dirt in abomination; he often quoted the saying of St. Bernard, "Poverty has ever had charms for me, but dirt never." With the Jesuits this was always a rule. Baronius applauded it; the martyr Campion, in his description of a perfect priest, includes "thorough ablutions" among the duties of every day. There was nevertheless an outward contrast between these two holy men: the demeanour of Loyola was full of a noble gravity; Neri would hop and skip in the streets, and when he was asked to show his library brought out a jest-book. He said he did these things that people might not fancy him a Saint. These differences did not hinder a close intimacy. It was a popular saying that the Jesuits wore no buttons on their cassocks because Philip Neri, talking in his familiar earnestness with Ignatius, had pulled them all off; and he often said that the face of Ignatius frequently seemed to him shining with a divine light. Ribadeneira was not satisfied with any pictures of the Saint. He believed that no portrait could ever resemble him, because human art could not convey the heavenly beauty of his expressive countenance. Father Tarugi, the future Cardinal, said the same thing; he thought he must be a saint, because the language of his eyes was supernatural. He was very intimate with St. Ignatius.

The letters which came sometimes from Xavier and his companions in the East were lent to Philip Neri, and read aloud to his Congregation. All Rome was interested in these reports; they detailed frequent successes, an immense amount of conversions, sometimes disappointment in the support he received from the civil power, without which no missionary projects have ever been fully or lastingly realised. Even this at length failed him completely, for neither King Joam, with all his profession of piety, nor his officers in the East, seemed to care much for Christianity, if it did not include commercial advantages. This indifference Xavier seems not for a long while to have appreciated, for he was thrown into agonies of grief and indignation, as he tells his friend Gaspar Barzée, when the Governor of Malacca broke all his promises. And thinking that God called him to depend on His Almighty aid alone, Xavier then formed that resolve of

[1] Memorie storiche della Congreg. dell' Oratorio, Giov. Marciano, Naples, 1692, t. i. p. 88.

wonderful heroism which he announces to Father Perez at Malacca:—"If any way is opened to me, you shall find me either in a prison in Canton, or in the Emperor's palace at Pekin." For it was death for a Christian to enter China; and yet Xavier thought to move the Emperor himself.

All his letters were full of the most ardent affection for Ignatius and the brethren he had left. In 1550 he wrote:—"I beg and conjure you, in God's name, my dear Brothers, to speak to me of all our companions, and of each one in particular; for having no hope of seeing them again in this life, face to face, I desire at least to associate with them in spirit." At another time—"I cannot cease to speak of the Society when once I begin.[1] If ever I forget thee, Society of Jesus, may my right hand be given over to oblivion." And he thanks Ignatius, with the most touching gratitude, for his expressions of affection. During the last year there were some hopes that they might meet again, for Ignatius desired him to return to Europe, and meant, though he did not write it, that Xavier should succeed him as head of the Society. But the recall, which was despatched at last, came too late: the work of Xavier was done.

He died of fever on the island of San Chian (Chang-chuang) on December 2, 1552, within sight of China, for which he offered his life. He knew that it was forfeited by law in any attempt to enter the kingdom. He was a true martyr, though not in the sense that he expected; and he died, like his illustrious Father and teacher, with none to give him the Last Sacraments. His own last Mass was his last Communion; his own prayers, and the answer God sent into his heart, his final preparation for the passage into eternity.

The apostolate which Xavier accomplished or began in India, has been differently represented as one or other prejudice influenced those who wrote. But one unquestionable benefit he conferred upon the world, he left for its admiration a character the most noble, lovable, and generous; a life not only eminent and extraordinary, but so irreproachable, that not a shadow of blame has ever rested on it, even in the narrative of hostile biographers, professedly writing with the wish to disparage or deny his work. Considering what hostility he often had to encounter from the Christians who should have assisted him, and the commercial and political complications which opposed frequent impediments to his most cherished plans, it is remarkable that no trace of imperfection, no slight imprudence,

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[1] "Si oblitus unquam fuero tui, Societas Jesu, oblivioni detur dextera mea." Words recalled by those of Father Southwell, the English martyr—"Divulsum ab illo corpore, in quo posita sunt mea vita, meus amor, totum cor meum, omnesque affectus"—"Separated from that Society which has my life, my love, my whole heart, and all my affections."

no failure of judgment in unprecedented circumstances, can be discovered; and the pages which profess to censure, afford to any impartial mind nothing but matter for praise. He was, like Ignatius, a rare instance of Christian perfection, such as has been seen only in the Catholic Church.

One important vocation to the Society had been effected or completed through the letters of Xavier; they fell into the hands of Nadal. More than ten years passed after the failure of Loyola's attempt to reach his heart at Paris, before he sought counsel from a holy hermit named Antony, then living where Nadal's family resided, in Majorca. It was given, in a very simple recommendation, to devote at least a few minutes every day to mental prayer. From this practice Nadal advanced to form a wish of associating some other persons with himself, that they might give their lives to preaching, and reforming the world. One of Xavier's letters, recounting his great labours among the heathen population of India, copied and shown from one person to another, reached Majorca, and it alluded also to the new Society founded by Ignatius, and now recognised by the Pope. Nadal saw it; he remembered Xavier and exclaimed, "This is indeed a great work!" And he resolved immediately to set off for Rome, not to join Ignatius, but to receive from him information or advice which he might make use of in his own independent schemes. Lainez and Domenech were at that time, 1545, in Rome; they proposed to him to go through the "Exercises." Nadal complained of this, as if it were an attempt to draw him into the Society. He represented to Ignatius that he did not desire to belong to it, and thought he had not the endowments needful for such a life. Ignatius advised the "Exercises;" the rest must come from above. "If God inspired you," he said, "with the wish to belong to our Society, He knows in what way your powers could be made useful." Nadal followed this advice: he entered on the "Exercises" under the guidance of Domenech; he doubted and struggled till he came to that part which is called the Meditation on Two Standards; then his heart was pierced, and his whole soul stirred up. One night, while he was watching in prayer and anxiety, the Lord sent a ray of light and comfort into his mind. His own pen has recorded, that, on November 23, being the eighteenth day of the "Exercises," he resolved, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, to follow the rules of the Gospel and vowed to enter the Company of Jesus. Nadal became a highly useful member. He was employed by Ignatius in different places, in offices of authority, not always without being suspected of extreme rigour. And on one occasion, the accusation reached Ignatius in such a shape, that he summoned Nadal to Rome, and caused an investigation to be made by

forty Fathers, who decided that Nadal was substantially in the right, but had been too harsh and hard with those under him.

The pious monk, Paul Giustiniano, who was called "il gran Giustiniano," a Camaldolese, knew Ignatius intimately, and when Ribadeneira afterwards, in 1561, saw him at his Monastery de la Frate, near Perugia, where he was Prior, he spoke with tender reverence of the Saint's virtues and sanctity, and exhorted the Order to persevere in the paths he had traced out.

The remonstrances of Ignatius on the subject of Abyssinia had at last prevailed on King Joam to send out the Bishop and coadjutors so long talked of.

In September 1553, Oviedo and Carneiro, summoned from Gandia, and chosen for coadjutors, left Rome for Lisbon with some other bishops. There they were to find Nuñez, who bore the title of Patriarch. They had as fellow-travellers Lainez and the large staff of the College he was to found at Genoa. When these two set out from their spiritual father's house for a perpetual banishment, some of their companions—Luis Gonçalez, Minister of Santa Maria della Strada, Olave and Ribadeneira, then at the Roman College—certain that they would meet no more in this world, obtained leave to accompany them a little way beyond the walls. They prolonged their parting—loth to leave the travellers, whose farewell had all the dignity of martyrdom and the solemnity of the grave—till long after the hour fixed for their return, and they did not reach their homes till late in the evening. Ignatius was highly displeased. He severely reproved Gonçalez, whose position in the house obliged him to set a good example. "I do not know," he said, "why I do not send you away so far that you will never see me again;" a reproof which pierced Gonçalez to the heart. Ignatius sent him for some days to the Roman College, and imposed a fast on all three. Poor Gonçalez on his way in the dark got among some excavations in the Piazza Altieri, and "only missed one hole to fall into another." When he got to the Roman College, he found his two companions had finished their supper, so he had to fast for the rest.

Ignatius sent by Nuñez a long letter, detailing all the strongest arguments for the union of all Christians under the Pope, which was intended for the Emperor Claudius.[1] Nuñez, after all, never assumed the authority of Patriarch. When he arrived at Goa, he found that one John Bermudes had declared himself Patriarch, saying that he was the true man, and that Pope Paul III. had entrusted Ethiopia to him; he had long worn the dress of a Bishop, and exercised patriarchal jurisdiction.

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 68.

Nuñez wrote to ask that he might return home, but Ignatius bade him remain, in hopes of some opening for greater usefulness. It was soon proved that the good dispositions of Claudius were as imaginary as most of his other attributes. He had little respect for Portugal, and less for Christianity. The Emperor very shortly after fell in a battle with the Arabs. There was not much to be done. Nuñez, accepting the place of retreat and subordination as humbly as he had received the office of command, remained in the College of Goa, waiting for leave to return, or for orders to proceed, distinguished only from the rest by being the most gentle, poor, and submissive of its inmates. But he had done already the work intended for him, and about two years after God called him to Himself.

The Blessed Alessandro Sauli, the Apostle-bishop of Corsica, had done much for its population, but a great deal yet remained to be done. He had been removed before half of the people had ever heard the message of salvation, and of those whom he had personally evangelised, many, or the most part, retained but little of his lessons, beyond an affectionate remembrance. In 1553 the Genoese Republic applied for priests to the Pope. He desired Ignatius to send two of his Order as missionaries. The two chosen were Silvestro Landini, the novice from Margrado, with whom Ignatius had been so much displeased, and Manuel de Montemayor. They found the island barbarous, its faith only nominally Christian. Charles V., when his deputies presented themselves to offer the allegiance of its inhabitants, had received them with contempt.[1] The Corsican clergy wore no distinctive dress, nor were their lives better than those of the laity. Some among them did not know how to say Mass or hear Confessions. The peasants had forgotten even how to make the Sign of the Cross. Superstition, sorcery, polygamy, were not at all their worst offences; murders were frequent; revenge an honourable duty. Some Franciscan monks were established there, but as yet had been able to do very little for the population.

The foreign priests went through the island preaching and converting. Their success was great. This awakened jealousies. The priest who held the office of Grand Vicar resented the double offence of their intrusion into his domains, and of the censure implied by their doctrine on his scandalous life. Others doubtless shared these feelings. He wrote to Rome such

[1] The story goes that the deputies addressed him as follows—"Sire, the inhabitants of the island of Corsica give themselves to your Majesty;" while Charles V. replied—"And I give them to the devil." This retort of the grave and silent monarch seems not very probable.

complaints of the arrogance, severity, and presumption of the strangers, that many Cardinals believed there must be some foundation for these accusations, and Cardinal Cervini made a formal remonstrance in this sense to Ignatius. He, in consequence, ordered Sebastian Romeo, who had long lived in the house and obtained his perfect confidence, to assume the dress of a private gentleman and to set off for Corsica. There he was not to make himself known to the Fathers, but observe their ways of acting when they did not know they were watched. Romeo went, and remained in the island long enough to procure plentiful testimonies to the worth and great success of Silvestro and Manuel. He brought to Rome letters from the Governor of Corsica, from magistrates, from the Provincial of the Franciscans, and some private persons, all praising the missionaries. The Cardinals, well satisfied, expressed to Ignatius their regret that they had been deceived.

All the histories of these times relate frequent instances of the rapacity and violence of the pirates of the Mediterranean. During the reign of Pope Julius II., the elder Barbarossa had the incredible audacity to attack the castle of Fondi, in order to carry off the beautiful Veronica, Lady of Correggio, whose fame had reached the ears of Saladin. She only saved herself from being transported to the seraglio at Constantinople by mounting a swift horse which carried her into the interior of the country, whither the pirates dared not follow. Forty years had brought no relief to the Christians, and since the sons of the Potter of Lesbos, in the early part of the century, first established the supremacy of the Crescent over its waters, till now, when the last Barbarossa triumphed mercilessly on all sides, and led numbers of helpless Christians into slavery, no attempt to subdue the Turks had been of much effect. The expedition of Juan de Vega had left a fortress at Tunis in the possession of Spaniards, but it did no other important good: piracy was hardly diminished, commerce almost paralysed, and the coasts of Italy exposed to the most daring attacks. They had small protection from the Christian sovereigns.

Charles, at the height of his authority, monarch of the most powerful and most extensive empire that ever obeyed one man, was forced to waste his strength against France, ever the deadly foe of the House of Hapsburg. He became weaker for every victory, and could not hinder Henri II. from conniving with the Infidels who landed on his coasts, plundered his subjects, and carried them into slavery, where they were often driven to renounce their faith. While all this went on from bad to worse, Ignatius set his mind to work, and devised a plan which could not fail to reverse this deplorable state of things; one that seemed a reflex of the old crusading

spirit, but guided now by experience and better knowledge to measures which would have had almost the certainty of success. The state of affairs was very desperate; for the Prince of Salerno, leader and instigator of the Neapolitan revolts, had recently fled into France, and there persuaded Henri II. to march against Spain. As Henri was too feeble to do this without assistance, he applied to his old ally Suleimán, and induced him to send Dragut with one hundred and fifty galleys, who landed in Calabria, and carried off large booty. But after long waiting in the gulf of Naples for the Freneh fleet, which arrived too late, Dragut retired without doing anything further.

Loyola, before he communicated with the Emperor, desired the opinion of Nadal, who was sent in 1552 from Sicily to Spain and Portugal; and Polanco wrote a long detail of the scheme in the name of Ignatius, which he prefaces by saying that he asks Nadal's advice, because he is not entirely assured of his own judgment in the matter; otherwise, he would ask counsel from no one, but repair at once to the Emperor, and devote the rest of his life, in spite of all impediments, to the carrying out this great object. Polanco wrote a second letter on the same day, Aug. 6, going more fully into the reasons; and suggesting how the expenses could be met. The frequent alliances of François I. with the Turk was one point which was brought out strongly in that letter. Perhaps Nadal discouraged the scheme at that moment. Time proved that it was absolutely necessary, but the accomplishment came too late for Ignatius to witness it. Saint Pius V. united at last with Spain and Venice; the Mediterranean was made safe; but Palestine remained in the power of the Mussulman. Genelli believes that Ignatius desisted because he became aware of the designs of Providence on this wonderful country, and knew the hour of its restoration to Christian masters was not yet at hand. The evils of piracy were soon felt personally by Loyola himself. In 1554, one of his Society, a Frenchman named Jean Godan, was sent from Gandia to Italy, and near the coast of Sicily his vessel, cast ashore in a storm, fell into the hands of some Algerine pirates, who carried him with all the crew into Africa. Ignatius seems to have been greatly distressed; he applied to the Viceroy, Juan de Vega, to procure a release; he bade the Superiors of the Order who were in Sicily to offer a ransom, and make the utmost exertions for their brother's restoration; they were desired every week to inform him what was doing. Unluckily the Algerines became aware of this great anxiety, and raised their demands accordingly; they negotiated too long; poor Godan died in captivity.

When Joam, King of Portugal, chose Miron for his confessor, he also

proposed to place him, along with another of the Company, at the head of the Inquisition. Miron referred to Ignatius, who forbade them to accept such an office. "For," said he, "the mission of our Society is to succour our neighbour, in teaching and in confession; but all conspicuous offices and places, such as commonly lead to bishoprics, are contrary to its object." Moreover, he would not let its members have the power of putting heretics to death; their business was to console these unhappy people with Christian tenderness; and, in the spirit of humility, to prefer these quiet duties to any that belonged to higher stations.

King Joam persisted, and renewed his request through Miron. Ignatius was then disposed to yield. Doubtless he meant to make it a labour of charity rather than of terror, and would have modelled the Inquisition of Lisbon after that of Rome, by far the most just and most merciful of any.

He wrote to Miron on June 24, 1555:—

I have received your letter of March 4. As to the charge of the Inquisition, in which his Highness intends to employ us, provided that it is not contrary to our Institute, I should be very much inclined to undertake it. This affair, however, requires much consideration. But both on account of the dignity, which accompanies it, of the time it will demand, and above all, because of the authority it gives to apprehend and to condemn, I fear much it is not a thing that is compatible with our way of acting. We shall consider the question here. For besides the learned men who ordinarily live in Rome, there are here at present Masters Lainez, Salmeron, and Bobadilla, and we shall all see what can be done to serve his Highness and for the greater glory of God our Lord, and let you know our opinion.[1]

Ignatius gave his judgment in a second letter to Father Miron on July 20 of the same year:—

By your letter of May 4, I learnt the wish of his Highness, that we should assume the charge of the Inquisition, under the Cardinal Infante, as the one who held that post is dead, provided it is not inconsistent with our Institute. I learnt, too, what answer you gave his Highness. The matter does truly deserve great consideration, and is one in which there are strong reasons for and against, and therefore, besides considering it myself and recommending the matter to God our Lord, I charged six others—namely, Master Lainez, Master Salmeron, Master Bobadilla, the Doctors Olave and Madrid, and Master Polanco, to say Mass three days with this intention, to consider, and consult together on this affair, having heard what Luis Gonçalez had to say, and marked what you have yourself written to me from Portugal, to treat the subject with him, and then give me their opinion in writing.

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. v. p. 232.

We have at last decided, in our Lord, to remit the affair to his Highness, and do what he may consider useful to the service of God our Lord. For since this charge is not opposed to our Institute, we ought not to refuse to labour in a matter which concerns so nearly the service of God and the purity of religion in that kingdom.

He then goes on to indicate the way of proceeding, so that all should be done by order of the Pope:—

If we assume the office (he says) we shall make some proposals to the King, which, without any damage to the result he desires, will place the Company in a position to fulfil this holy work in a more beneficial and edifying manner.[1]

Some unknown cause stopped the negotiation, and the Society remained exempt from any share in the power of the Inquisition. "Worüber," says Genelli, "sie sich nur Glück wünschen kann"—"Whereupon they cannot but congratulate themselves." But since Ignatius approved the establishment of some sort of Inquisition, it is fit to remind the reader that other ideas than those commonly conjured up by that word, now hateful to men's ears, would have accompanied his suggestion to Pope Julius. The inquiry which it proposed was not necessarily harsh, nor beyond legal control—it only meant the investigation of certain actions, words or writings, which, in Spain and Portugal, excited alarm on account of the conspiracies perpetually suspected and often discovered among the Jews and Moors; in Italy, because the German innovations had now penetrated everywhere. And let it be remembered that the innovators were quite as intolerant as the Catholic Church. Luther and Calvin,[2] and their imitators, punished and suppressed despotically wherever they dared. There perhaps was not anywhere so much freedom as in Rome itself—certainly no other sovereign in Europe allowed such personal attacks as we find against the Popes among the Italian poets, after the revival of literature and up to the eighteenth century. The Inquisition of Spain, in its original state, was almost wholly political; an arbitrary and rigorous effort of self-protection on the part of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was directed by Philip against heresies, and doubtless often with excessive

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[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. v. p. 255.

[2] The Protestant Robertson observes:—"Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome." Hallam is of the same opinion, except only as to Luther, whom he thinks less barbarous than the rest. But Calvin's cruelties were as atrocious and intolerable as those attributed to any Catholic Inquisition, though they have been smoothed over and almost concealed by nearly all his Protestant biographers. Guizot, from whom we might have expected candour, has even less than some Presbyterian writers.

cruelty; but the times were cruel, and we cannot judge the legislators of those days by any standard that would now be applicable. They knew no way of protecting their faith and country without terror, and this was so entirely in accordance with the national mind, that the Inquisition was at almost all times highly popular in the Peninsula. We know really little of its history. The relation of Llorente is unworthy of credit, and his unpardonable destruction of its archives makes all investigation hopeless.

We can only conclude, from various sources, that probably the number of punishments was insignificant compared with what has been stated, and the time short during which these terrible laws were rigorously enforced. The despotic monarch was then supported by a fierce and superstitious people; and other jealousies than those of religion instigated the eagerness of the Spaniards to destroy or drive out the Jews and Moors. During the war of the Comuneros, when the rebels were asked what was their complaint against the nobles, they answered, "They outrage our wives and daughters, they will not pay their debts, and they *keep the Moors and Jews in the country for their own convenience;*" and doubtless these strangers were willing to buy from the grandees the liberty to remain, with money extorted from the lower classes, who struggled at disadvantage against the wealth and commercial adroitness of the Infidel. It was well known that the Jews frequently passed themselves off as Christians, in order to obtain the emoluments of office, even of offices in the Church. Stories of bishops, even of an archbishop, discovered to be secretly unconverted Jews, crucifying in their horrible orgies innocent children, and still worse atrocities, exasperated the popular indignation into madness; nor did the Spaniards hesitate about inflicting death at the stake. When the plague broke out at Valencia, while Ignatius was yet a soldier, the townsmen believed certain sinners among them had brought down a judgment on the city from Heaven. They clamoured round the courts of justice, that these men, five in number, should be taken and burnt alive. The Alcalde was forced to yield, and could only save the poor wretches from the worst part of the sentence by secretly ordering that they should be strangled before the fire was lighted. In Spain the dread of heresy seems to have been perpetually reviving, even to an extravagant excess. St. Francis Borgia, who had given up so much that he might serve the Church, and when his life had been witnessed in Spain for many years, was accused after Ignatius' death of introducing heresies into the kingdom, and it gave him some trouble to procure a full vindication.

Gongora, the graceful poet, the generous and amiable nobleman, laments in one of his sonnets that at an *auto-da-fè* he had seen

Only one living man to feed the fire.

And when Archbishop Sandoval countermanded one of these solemnities, the people of Seville, disappointed and angry, made a disturbance in the streets.

The Inquisition was in fact accepted in the Peninsula as a protection. The Popes always interfered to moderate its judgments; they had recommended greater leniency to Isabella, Ferdinand, and Philip; they demanded also that the accused should be allowed to appeal to Rome, and there, it is asserted, they invariably received a milder sentence than had been given in Spain. But in Rome, if the compassion was greater, the vigilance was certainly not less. Ignatius himself was an instance of this, and his Order profited in no small degree, and in many places, by the investigations sometimes forced on him, sometimes invited, which were carried on by the Inquisition, and always ended honourably for the Society. He had indeed reason to be grateful to the Inquisition; and his personal experience might have made him willing to accept its direction, as King Joam proposed to him, as a means of doing good. It is somewhat surprising to find that one of the three, Father Foscarari, Master of the Sacred Palace, who, by the Pope's order, examined the "Spiritual Exercises" of Ignatius, before he gave his sanction to their use, was afterwards summoned by Caraffa before the Inquisition; and that Cardinal Morone was actually for more than two years its prisoner—a remarkable instance of the rapid spread of liberal investigation, or of the alarm and jealousy it excited. Despotic government, especially if irresponsible, may easily beget cruelty and deceit, vices readily found under an arbitrary rule and amongst a terrified people. But cruelty and falsehood, when practised by Catholics, ought never to be confounded with Catholic principles.

In Rome, for obvious reasons, the Pope has never been an absolute sovereign; in the days of St. Ignatius, and since then, he has always been a good man. The Inquisitors of Rome were a Court of learned divines, acute critics, high authorities on literature, ready to allow tacitly a considerable license to men of genius who did not infringe on certain points as to which the Pontiffs were susceptible. If their jurisdiction was not what now appears to us humane and reasonable, it was at least in accordance with the spirit and general opinion of the times. The prisoners of the Holy Office, for a long time past at least, probably from the beginning, were kindly treated. The revolutionists, who in 1848 professed to throw

CHAPEL OF CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT. OBELISK AND SACRISTY. THE FIGNA. PALACE OF THE ROTA.

EXTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.—*See Appendix.*

open the Inquisition to a curious and indignant world, were obliged to collect from cemeteries and old iron shops the bones, chains, and instruments of torture which many a traveller looked upon with pious horror; quite forgetting that he might, if he were a North Briton, have seen similar and thoroughly genuine relics in his own country, not older than the time familiar to English imaginations in the pages of Scott as "Sixty Years Since." And it is wise to remember that the Duke of York of the last generation was the person who, as Bishop of Osnaburg, first caused the use of torture to be made illegal in Hanover; moreover, that burning alive, and with all aggravations of cruelty, has been practised, discussed, and approved by men speaking the English language not unfrequently up to very recent times.

It is honourable to the sons of Ignatius that the first Churchman, nearly the first writer,[1] who dared to lift up a voice against the burning of witches was the Jesuit Father Frederic Spee, stationed in Franconia. He was the author of some religious poems, printed with the title of "Trutz Nachtigall," which were said to have initiated the modern German literature, by showing to the nation the unsuspected resources of its noble language. He had the miserable duty of preparing for their dreadful punishment the poor wretches condemned to the stake. Some of these were children of six years old, or *even younger!* When the Archbishop of Mainz asked him why his hair was grey while his face looked not more than thirty years old, he answered, "It is because I have had to accompany two hundred unhappy creatures to the stake in the few years I have lived here; and I believe they were all innocent!" Spee printed in 1631 his "Cautio Criminalis," urging greater precautions against condemning suspected persons without proof. Yet he dared neither deny the crime nor protest against the capital punishment. He did enough, however, to deserve that Görres should call him "one of the greatest benefactors of humanity." Another Jesuit, Père Adam, was for a long while almost the only persevering and successful protector of the Huguenots at Sedan. None knew better than those humane and acute men the two-sidedness of Christian charity, and that religious toleration, like all other liberty, never was, never can be, other than a compromise.[2]

If the Inquisition of Torquemada has passed away, and its re-establish-

[1] It is supposed that Weier, a German Protestant physician, preceded Spee by a few months.

[2] The wise and merciful instructions given, in 1657, by Pope Alexander VII. to the Roman Inquisition—which make one shudder to see what tyrannous cruelty had been once exercised against the unhappy women accused of witchcraft—relate to that crime only, and make it almost evident that mere heresy was not in question.

ment has become impossible, it is well also to remember that the passions of men, excited by differences of creed or race, are now, as ever, rampant and difficult to control; and that persecutions and cruel injustice may and do exist even in our own times, among other than southern populations, and under religious systems which are not Catholic.

PASCHASE BROËT, ONE OF THE FIRST COMPANIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE COLLEGES OF THE SOCIETY.

IN 1550 the Roman College began an existence, at first impeded by jealous opposition, discouraged by want of funds and room, then rapidly progressing, and becoming at last, according to the hopes of Ignatius, a place whither all European nations sent their sons, and where numbers were prepared for the priesthood. Many of these attached themselves to his Order. Ignatius had said at first, "We must navigate against wind and tempest—*es menester navegar contra el viento y la tempestad;*" but the College soon floated into smooth waters. Father le Pelletier was the first Rector. On February 16, he, with thirteen scholastics from the professed house, removed into a small residence hired by Ignatius at the foot of the Capitol. The classes, opened there, were soon so fully attended that they required a larger house. Our Saint found one near the Minerva, belonging to the Frangipani; he took it, and St. Francis Borgia enabled him to start it by a gift of 6000 gold crowns. Ignatius offered to call the College by the name of the founder; this Borgia refused. As the external teaching was gratuitous, it withdrew some pupils from other schools. This caused resentment and jealousies in the city; and one day some masters, whose scholars had deserted them, made their way into the College, and attacked with great fury one of the Jesuit professors. This incident caused Ignatius to write to the Rectors of Colleges a letter worthy to be given here:—

> The devil commonly takes pains to impede those things that work most against him for the benefit of souls, as we find by experience here in Rome, in the new College, and observe also in other Colleges in Italy and Sicily, and, indeed, on all sides. Here a great zeal has seized some schoolmasters, so much, that one day lately, some came to the College and joined the audience of Master Joaquin, and found fault with him publicly, though they were in the wrong, and caused great scandal; so that the Cardinal of San Giacomo, our protector, put them in prison. This very week, two boys being missed from their fathers' houses, the mothers came to our chapel during the Mass, cried out and made an extraordinary disturbance there, and also in the College, and

at the house of some of the Cardinals, as we heard from some of them, saying we had made the College on purpose to steal away people's sons, and that we kept theirs, and other things of like kind; though, in fact, neither of these (boys) had entered either our College or our house. I thought it right to mention these things, as a warning that your Reverence may be the better prepared for similar accidents.

Therefore, if any schoolmasters should come and say that the masters of the College are ignorant, let them confess with humility that they are more ignorant than they would wish to be, although they try to serve God and their neighbours with the small talent that the great Father of families has bestowed on them; and finally, let them modestly excuse their presumption. Let them take care also not to admit any pupil to our schools without the assent of their parents, with an eye to the public good, because the harm done by the disturbance and alienation of minds would be greater than the benefit in receiving them; and there will be no lack of ways to aid the laudable desires of those who wish to enter, sending them to other places, or as God may instruct you.

*January* 23, 1552.[1]

In the College there were professors of philosophy and humanities, but it was not till three years later that it possessed a chair of scholastic theology, first filled by Martin Olave. Ignatius appreciating thoroughly the excellence of the methods used by the University of Paris, employed in his new College only professors educated there—Cialart; Des Freux, who explained the Scriptures; Ruggieri, Roilet, and Balthazar de Torres. Father Quintin Cialart, won by the instructions of Adrianenssens at Louvain, replaced Le Pelletier as Rector in the Roman College; many others succeeded him during the next six years. Quintin removed to Tournai, where Bernard Olivier much wanted him. When he left the College at Rome, Cialart assembled the inmates to receive his parting instructions. They were these:—"1st, Practise carefully the virtue of holy obedience; 2nd, preserve the utmost reverence for Father Ignatius; lastly, all your life long ask of God that He may be pleased to give you the true spirit of the Society." Cialart possessed this spirit in an eminent degree. His charity was ever vigilant; he often at night carried out relief to some miserable family who would have felt wounded if their distress were known to their neighbours. If he heard of dissensions, he applied himself at once to make peace; he sometimes invited persons to meet each other at dinner who had been long estranged, and so led them to become friends. If he found in the street a ragged boy, who seemed capable of being taught, he took

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 34.

him, and put him into some way of learning a trade. When Cialart heard that his sister had fallen into great poverty, he knelt down and thanked God for this blessing. But he sent her, at the same time, a large sum of money. He once undertook a penance, that was to last a year, because an impious wretch had thrown the Sacred Host on the ground and stamped on it. In the summer of 1556 the plague was rife in Belgium. Cialart nursed the sick, administered the dying, caught the plague, and then shut himself up to die alone. But Bernard Olivier, just then returned to Tournai, insisted on seeing him, gave him the Last Sacraments, and caught the disease from his friend. Cialart died two days before St. Ignatius. Olivier recovered partly from the plague, under the care of the Carthusians, but he died in less than a month after. The Saint demanded extreme tenderness of conduct towards his scholars everywhere, because, without strong love, he was not sure that the strictness with which the rules of such an establishment must be enforced, would not result in a harshness that might estrange the hearts of the pupils; and this was contrary to the fundamental principle of the Order—"that they must always govern by love." A year or two before he died, he spoke of the Rector at that time, Martin Olave, and said that he hoped he would be retained after his death. "For you will not easily," said he, "find another so affectionate." But in the year following his death a change was thought necessary, and Nadal took Martin's place.

When Polanco, charged with the expenses of building the Roman College, found his funds exhausted, and had nothing more to pay the workmen, Ignatius shut himself up to pray. Then he called Lainez, Madrid, and Polanco, and said:—"Though I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, I am persuaded the Lord will not abandon us. Do you, Polanco, keep on the College six months longer, and I will take care of it afterwards."

It was evening when this happened; but soon afterwards two persons sent him a large sum of money, not knowing of his embarrassments. And during these six months, so many gifts came in that the Fathers were not only well maintained, but they paid off all their debts. Olave wrote to Ribadeneira, then in Flanders, that what was happening in Rome convinced him their Father Ignatius was truly a Saint: for his people took all this for miraculous. Ignatius actually made a purchase for the College amounting to 50,000 crowns, while it was still very poor; and this sum was soon after presented to them.

From its commencement the College rapidly increased. The pupils of the Jesuits, it was said, everywhere learnt more in six months than others in two

years. Even Protestants withdrew their sons from other schools to place them with the new teachers. Instead of seeking scholars, they were obliged to be cautious in accepting those who presented themselves. In the preceding year the Rector of Louvain, Adrian Adrianenssens, had received a student of the University against the wishes of his master, who was highly incensed, and attacked the Company without measure. Ignatius blamed Adrian, and bade him ask pardon of the Louvainois.

Another case, in which he was personally concerned, gave him occasion to prohibit generally all such admissions. In 1553, a young man named Octavius Cæsar entered the Company in Sicily, without the consent of his father; yet apparently not very much to his displeasure, since after the son's admission he gave the consent asked for. The youth's father was secretary to the Duke of Monte Leone. St. Ignatius summoned Octavius to Rome, in accordance with his usual rule of expatriation; the father changed his mind, followed his son, and appealed to Julius III. He declared that the young man had acted against his wishes, and demanded an investigation. His mother, too, arrived at Rome. With the impassioned nature of her countrywomen, she ran from house to house, complaining of having received a great injury, and exciting pity by her tears. Cardinal Caraffa, moved by her entreaties, and perhaps by his own dislike of the Society, ordered our Saint, on pain of censure, to restore the son to his parents. But since the truth had not yet been fully shown, and Octavius had been led by no persuasion, but through a strong vocation to enter the Company, Ignatius thought it his duty to disobey. He appealed to the Pope, who, when informed how the thing had really happened, cancelled the sentence of Caraffa, and decided that the reception of Octavius had been entirely legal. He also named a commission of Cardinals, who should judge of any such cases in future. In the following spring, Ignatius addressed this circular to all the Rectors of Colleges:—

As it is our intention that young persons should be instructed and trained in our Colleges and the schools belonging to them, in learning and virtue, and that thus good edification may be given to their parents in this way, as well as by the other exercises of charity—that is to say, by Confessions, preaching, and those other things which the Company is wont to practise; it has appeared to us fitting, in the Lord, to order all of you, and strictly enjoin you, on behalf of God our Lord, that no youths who may be still under the care of parents or guardians be admitted into our Society, either in any College, or by sending them elsewhere, without the will and consent of those who have the charge of them; and much less ought they to exhort or persuade such scholars to enter our Order. For though it be in itself a thing permitted and praiseworthy to help those who are arrived at years of

discretion, and also to exhort them to a state of perfection, that is, to Religion, yet in our schools to exhort in this way, or to receive any one, we consider not advisable, for the greater service of God and the universal good, which we must aim at, rather than that of individuals, as reason demands. And to make known to you this our order and decree, we have written to all the Colleges to the same effect. We recommend ourselves much to your prayers.

ROME, *March* 3, 1554.[1]

It was particularly among the impressionable minds of Italy that such a declaration as this was necessary. It had its full effect in allaying the fear entertained by parents lest their sons should be persuaded by the Jesuits to join them; in Perugia, more particularly, the result was immediately visible in the large number of boys who were sent at once to the schools of the Society.

Bernard Olivier, the son of a worthy burgess of Auson, in Lorraine, had distinguished himself in the University of Louvain. He was destined by his parents for the Church, but preferred liberty and adventure. His father, disappointed and angry, told him he should have no assistance from him, even if he fell into the greatest distress. Bernard answered carelessly, "That matters little, I will contrive not to beg at your door." In his mother's heart lodged more compassion; she gave him some money, and he set off for Rome. There he offered his services to a notary, and like another Whittington won the promise of his master's daughter. For the notary, appreciating his talent for writing, his intelligence and honesty, lavished affection on him. Shortly after, Bernard was called on to defend the Franciscan Fathers against a Cardinal-archbishop who had attacked their privileges. He did this with so much cleverness that the notary told him he should be his heir, and the husband of his only child. But a dangerous illness changed all Bernard's fortunes; for one of the companions of St. Ignatius attended him, and he rose from his bed resolved to join the Order. Ignatius did not at once consent to his request, and would not promise him admission. At last, Bernard, impatient to leave the patron whose friendly intentions he had disappointed, went to the house of the Fathers and told the doorkeeper he would never return home again. Ignatius, who liked energy, was propitiated by this presumption, and allowed him to enter the novitiate. Bernard in time became the Father Minister of the house. His docility and renunciation of self were the

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 89.

admiration of all. He was placed afterwards over the new Roman College, but his health failed; and he was bidden to try the effects of his native air. He presented himself at his father's house at Auson, and meeting him at the door, asked alms and hospitality. The father refused harshly; he had not recognised his son. "But," said the suppliant, "I know your son Bernard, who left you in search of adventures, and I can give you news of him." Then he was brought into the house, and told his own history, without discovering himself. At last the old man exclaimed, "Why, it is Bernard himself," and wept for joy. They were a happy family that day; the neighbours all came to bid the wanderer welcome. He commenced the work of his apostolate at once, and exhorted or instructed all the country round, till he was sent to Brussels to prepare the mission of Ribadeneira.

The system established by Ignatius for his Colleges was, speaking generally, that of all Catholic schools at that time, and particularly that of Paris, both in literature and in philosophy and theology. He added some directions which concern the moral education of the young men. Some little information on the subject is given by the Saint himself in answer to a person who had inquired respecting the day-pupils, who did not reside in the house:—

1. Every one, whether rich or poor, is admitted to the lessons or exercises in classics and literature, out of pure charity, without any remuneration being accepted.

2. Those who are under guardians are received from their hands; and if the youths are judged fit to continue their studies, they must be examined as to whether they will be obedient to their masters, in matters appertaining to learning and morals, will be quiet, abstain from bad words, and observe due decorum in everything. Then if they agree to this, their names are inscribed in a book, and are seen to that they may be carefully taught and become good, as if they were members of the household.

3. It is customary, as much as possible, to make them hear Mass every day, and the Catechism; and a sermon, when there is one, every Sunday and festival; also to confess every month; and they are trained to recommend themselves to God; and finally, they have a careful education in classics and religion.

4. For the little ones who cannot be ruled by words only, a corrector is to be kept at the expense of the College, on the spot, to keep the young ones in awe; and if the master orders it, punishes them, though they are to be beaten only when nothing else will do; and if even this does not suffice, the incorrigible are dismissed.

5. As for the teaching in the classes or various schools, according to their capacity, they are taught literature, Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew, if they have the ability; and when there is a suitable number of persons already advanced in these studies, and that it is not more convenient to send them elsewhere, they

VIGNA DI SANTA BALBINA, COUNTRY HOUSE OF THE ROMAN COLLEGE, ROME.

learn also logic and philosophy, and the Society provides lecturers, who go through the course of arts, and finally that of theology, as they do at Paris. And these not only give lectures, but exercise all the scholars in composition and disputes, and various conferences, which perhaps are more useful than lectures.[1]

Ignatius considered that education is chiefly an affair of experience and tradition. He abstained from theorising, and took the systems that existed ready to his hand, trusting for success to the spirit and perseverance with which they were carried into execution. But he maintained, above all things, this great principle, that the intellectual teaching should be subordinate to the training of the moral and religious character; and the Society have ever kept this particularly in view. They endeavoured also to improve and enlarge constantly their scholastic system, both as to the matter and the manner of teaching. The plan, which has always been retained in its chief features, unites all advantages. It can only be understood and judged by experience, but it partakes fully of that character which St. Ignatius applied to the Society generally; it bends to the exigencies of time and place, instead of requiring that these should be accommodated to itself.

Ignatius dreaded that the reading of classic authors might introduce into young minds a paganism of taste and morals. He thought long and deeply on the subject, as we find from a letter written by him to some unknown person, who must have been a prelate or Cardinal, and about the year 1550:—

I now write to salute your Lordship, praying the Holy Spirit to enrich you greatly in these festival days with His spiritual treasures, and also to communicate therewith a desire that our Lord has given me these many years past, concerning which it would be very grateful to me to learn your opinion, which also may assist not slightly in its execution. . . . Seeing that young people are so disposed to receive and retain first impressions, whether good or bad, and that the first images that are offered to them . . . are of so much importance for all the rest of their lives; and considering also that books, especially classics as they are commonly taught to boys, as Terence, Virgil, and others, contain amongst many things useful to be learnt, and not useless, but profitable rather for life, some other things very profane and unsuitable, and injurious even if only heard . . . and so much the more, if these are placed before them, and inculcated in books which they hear and in which they study, habitually having them in their hands. This considered, it has seemed to me, as it does still seem, that it would be very expedient if we were to remove from these classic works all the parts that are unedifying or noxious, and replace them by others of a better sort, or, without

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 555.

adding anything, leave only what is profitable, taking away the rest. And this appears to me up to these last years most desirable for the good Christian life and good training of youth; but not being aware how it could be done, I have not gone beyond the wish. Now, seeing that our Lord continues thus, ever increasing this His work in our Company, by the means of His servants, not only with Colleges, but also with Universities, of which there are already two under the direction of our Society, at Gandia and Messina, it seems as if this matter has become much easier to carry into effect, at least in those places where the Company has authority. But in this I should like much to hear your opinion, because if it appears to you, as to us, as I have said before, much may be done for the glory of our Lord God, as hereafter I will explain.[1]

This plan was realised afterwards, and with the happiest results. In attempting its adaptation, however, it is needful, says Genelli, to bear in mind the wise maxim of Ignatius, that the best things are not best at all times and in all places. He indicated Terence particularly as one of the authors to be expurgated for the benefit of his scholars, which was sometimes done, we are told, by the substitution of conjugal for profane love. The drama generally was encouraged by the Society, and some plays by Jesuit poets are extant, which, if written in a living language, would raise their authors to a high place in modern literature. The elegant tastes which Ignatius had brought from the Court of Germaine de Foix revived in his directions for his young pupils. They cultivated music and acting, poetry and declamation; they had frequently *assauts d'esprit*, and at Rome he brought to these a distinguished audience; the disputes lasted many days; they were occasionally printed. The professors made harangues at the opening of these performances; the theatricals came at the close. It is a somewhat strong instance of the approbation with which dramatic performances were favoured in those times in the highest quarters, that when Paul III. had visited some years previously the ducal family of Este at Ferrara, a part of the entertainment was the performance of the "Adelphi" by daughters and sons of Ercole and Renée; Princess Anna, then fifteen years old, personating the hero. Leonora d'Este, afterwards made illustrious by the loves and misfortunes of Tasso, was one of the younger actors.

The Colonna family had long been powerful and earnest friends of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius was greatly grieved at the scandal which

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. ii. p. 446.

was given to the world by the quarrels of Ascanio Colonna and his wife Juana de Aragon, which ended at last in an open separation, and he resolved to make an extraordinary effort to reconcile them. St. Ignatius had already written a long and earnest letter but full of respect to Doña Juana, giving her twenty-six reasons why she should end the quarrel by trusting herself to her husband loyally and going to live with him. In the November of 1552 he set out with Polanco to visit the Duchess, who was at Alvito, a village just across the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples: she was nearest at hand, and probably the more reasonable of the two, and he would begin with her. Juana received him cordially, and his errand seemed perfectly successful, for the divergent spouses lived together again in outward harmony for some time. But then "persons interfered," it was said, and their discord became worse than before. Juana preserved her reverence for Ignatius, and after his death gave the Society a house on the Quirinal, called the Casa Sant' Andrea. Borgia placed the novices there under Ribadeneira. She was an accomplished and beautiful woman, friend and sister-in-law of that Vittoria Colonna so often mentioned among the patrons of literature in Italy in those times. Spite of the weather, St. Ignatius walked on, lame though he was, through wind and rain, through ice and snow, and made the journey one long mission, preaching and hearing confessions at Alvito and Ceprano, and even in the hostels on the way. He exhorted the people, roused the clergy, and left in many places traces of his passage. The Cardinal of Burgos was at Alvito, and aided in these reforms.

On their journey home, Polanco, always liable to attacks of ague and fever, became very ill. Ignatius wrapped him in his own cloak, and with a real which had been given them in alms, procured a horse for him to ride on.

St. Ignatius, in a Latin letter addressed to the Margravine of Berg, says:—

As for myself, He to whom all the innermost heart is known, Who Himself gave me this longing for the salvation and perfection of souls, knows what inward affection I have for all Germany and Flanders, and particularly for the inhabitants of Berg, and other subjects of your Excellency; so much, that as soon as He grants me opportunity and power, I will do for them whatever I am able.

The German College was founded soon after, in 1552. Ignatius designed it to train secular priests for Germany, where the scandalous and careless lives of the clergy had in effect made them the chief promoters of heresy in

doctrine. He could spare but few members of his Society to send thither; besides, in the then state of men's minds, furiously prejudiced against the Holy See, they were less likely to be easily influenced by priests of the Society of Jesus, who were pledged to the Papal service in a peculiar manner. Germany had few resources at this time; the ancient Catholic teaching had nearly died out. Except at Cologne and at Ingoldstadt, where John Eck had preserved the ancient traditions, the clergy and their methods were treated with contempt, and those of Luther and the Protestants had superseded them.

The regular Orders were obnoxious to the people in some places, in many others the secular priests were ignorant and despised. Ignatius had long sought for a remedy, when, in 1552, Cardinal Morone, who had been the Papal Legate in Germany, and well knew the state of things, conversing on these subjects with the Saint, but ignorant of his views, told him he ought to bring some young Germans to Rome to educate them for the Church. Ignatius agreed with his ideas, and adopted them at once. They agreed that the Pope must be immediately consulted. Morone undertook to speak to him, and he procured also the interest of Cardinal Cervini, who had much influence with Julius III. There seemed a difficulty at first on the score of means; the Papal treasury was exhausted; the two Cardinals represented that many of the Sacred College would contribute. The Pope promised his support, if the Cardinals would give theirs. A consistory was assembled; thirty-three Cardinals approved the undertaking and promised assistance. Morone urged the claims and the utility of the intended College in an eloquent discourse; most of the persons present were already favourable. Some even desired to fix a sum which each should give yearly; but this the Pope disapproved. He promised his own donation in these terms:—"As it becomes us to set the example in an undertaking so holy, pious, and praiseworthy, we will contribute yearly 500 golden crowns." The planning and directing of the new College were left with Ignatius and his Company; he was enjoined to draw up its code of regulations. He set about the work with his wonted activity. On July 29, 1552, he sent an outline of the statutes he proposed to Cardinal Carpi, then at Viterbo.

He wrote also at some length to Le Jay, on the next day, July 30, to beg him, Canisius, and the other Jesuits in Vienna to look out for students; but Le Jay could hardly have received the letter, for he died on August 6. Ribadeneira was summoned from Palermo to open the German College. He met on the way with an accident which delayed his arrival. At Valineto, a village eight leagues from Rome, he was lodged for the night in an upper

1. Church and Professed House of St. Roch. 2. First College of the Society, S. Antão o velho. 3. Royal Palace.

LISBON, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

room approached by a very steep stair. Next morning he rose before daylight to set off on his journey, and in the dark stumbled and fell downstairs, from the second floor to the ground. He was taken up senseless, but after another day and night he was able to reach Rome. Ignatius had heard of the disaster, and went to meet him full of solicitude and love. When the German College was fairly begun, and twenty-four youths ready to enter it, Ignatius procured them a house near to Sta. Maria della Strada. It was formally opened on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude. Ribadeneira preached in St. Eustachio before several Cardinals on that day. In this, as in many other inestimable reforms, the world owes gratitude to Ignatius; for when Lainez, long before, proposed the establishing of such Colleges to the prelates assembled at the Council of Trent, his suggestion received little encouragement. The necessity of a higher and much more careful education of the clergy, which would ensure them a large amount of learning, without taking them wholly from that intercourse with the world which is desirable for men destined to work in it, was not yet sufficiently understood. Some time later Cardinal Morone, President of the Council, revived the idea, and warmly recommended it. He was able then to enforce his arguments by the example of the German College, already three years in operation at Rome.

Ignatius wished England and Ireland to share in the privileges of these Germans, and when Reginald Pole went thither in the reign of Mary, he wrote to offer to "receive at Rome or at the German College some young men, who speak the languages of those countries, and who were of good character. We shall take care that they are well educated, in order that when they return home they may be able by word and example to be of benefit to the public."—June 2, 1555. The Pope's Bull, instituting the new College, was given on August 31, and the Rector received the privilege of granting Doctors' Degrees. Ignatius named as the first Rector, Father André des Freux, who had been employed some time as secretary-general of the Society; for there were but few Germans then in the Society.

On November 21 the young men first arrived from Germany, bound themselves by promise in writing to remain ever true to the faith of their fathers, and obedient to the Pope. They attended the lectures of the Roman College; but as philosophy and theology had not yet been taught there, Ignatius asked permission from the Pope to erect professorships for these, which was readily granted; and hence began that eminence of the Roman College which has never diminished while the Jesuits have taught there.

In 1553 Ignatius wrote to Morone thus :—

Since the arrival of your Reverence, which we desire so much, is delayed longer than we expected, it seems to me I ought to give you some account by letters of your German College. . . . Their habitation, up to this time, is in two houses near our College; though we are seeking larger ones, as the number increases, and will increase daily. There are twenty German youths, besides a Rector of our Society, and two others, whom we keep with them for their spiritual help and government. They are exemplary and learned men. Besides these, there are other four in the College, who serve in external things for a salary, and do their duty very well. Among the twenty youths, many are well grounded in the liberal arts. They are practising themselves till the October of this year, either in languages, or logic and philosophy, which they studied before in Louvain or Cologne or Vienna, and will then be fit to learn theology. The others will continue to study languages or philosophy, as may be suitable. In modesty and Christian manners they give a very good example, and we hope by their lives and their teaching they will be good labourers in the vineyard of God our Lord. We have already given them several preceptors in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and also prepared some in logic and physics. That they may accommodate their teaching to the greater or less capacity of the pupils, the classes are put in competition one with another. The course of the liberal arts is finished in three years, in the manner of Paris and Louvain, and other renowned Universities. For scholastic theology and the Sacred Scriptures we shall this October appoint several lecturers, and these, like the others, are the best we have been able to find in all our Society, robbing the other Colleges, because we judge this to be the greatest and most universal good, for the glory of God our Lord.

ROME, *Feb.* 25, 1553.[1]

And three centuries later, Theiner, known not to have been always friendly to the Jesuits, said, speaking of Germany:—"I never cease admiring the incredible efforts of the Fathers in perfecting establishments for clerical education, and still more the magnificent results with which these have been rewarded."

In 1544, Paul IV. granted permission for three Colleges of the Society of Jesus to be established in the East. An Archconfraternity of the Holy Sepulchre was to be constituted at the same time. These powers were obtained by the entreaties of a pious Spanish nobleman, Pedro de Zárate, of Bermeo, Commander of the Military Order of the Holy

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 177.

Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and the hopes of Loyola revived. He never relinquished his strong solicitude for the Holy Land, which had attracted him so forcibly in his early years. Even when the will of Providence had shown him that he must fix himself at Rome, he did not renounce the cherished visions of his youth. He longed now, with all his former earnestness, for the conversion of the Infidels, the liberation of the Holy Places from Mahometan rule, and that union of all Christian sects in Palestine with the chair of St. Peter which was indispensable for their holding any strong or dignified position in the presence of Islamism. Polanco wrote about this time to Father Bernard Olivier at Louvain:—

No one has been sent yet to Jerusalem, but three Colleges are to be founded by authority of the Pope—one at Jerusalem, which is to be the head, one in the island of Cyprus, and one at Constantinople. Some of our Religious will go there when the time comes; many are asking earnestly to be despatched on this mission. During these last months the Pope has sent a Patriarch to the Nestorians, and he declared in the Consistory on this occasion that he wished also to send some of our Society. But since it has been found that a communication between them and ourselves can be made through India, it is resolved to succour them from that side. It is probable that they, as well as other Eastern sects, will fraternise with us more readily when we have a College at Jerusalem; for these heretics come from all quarters to the tomb of our Saviour.

Unfortunately, Zárate found little sympathy amongst the wealthy and noble; those who were willing and able to promote such works wanted a College for their own town or country; but with little encouragement he proceeded to Spain, carrying with him the powers of the Holy See, and letters from St. Ignatius to Philip, then King of Naples, to the King of Portugal, and to St. Francis Borgia, whose interest would be useful at the Spanish Court. Salmeron counselled his Superior to send Simon Rodriguez, recently recalled from Portugal, to Jerusalem, whither he had always longed to go: there he might wait the opportunity of establishing the College. It seems there was no want of affection or confidence in Ignatius for his early friend, since he agreed to this; and Simon actually went as far as Venice, where he became extremely ill, and had to relinquish his mission. He recovered, however, and returned to Portugal. The subject of these establishments in the East was revived before Ignatius' death; but nothing was ever effected.

The steadfast patron of the Society, Joam, King of Portugal, died in the year 1553. Ignatius bade all his people say masses or prayers for

his soul, and for his Queen and children. The Society of Jesus lost no worldly advantage in this change; it continued prosperous and highly valued in Portugal and Spain, in spite of fierce hostilities, so long as it had a legal existence.

NICOLAS DE BOBADILLA, ONE OF THE FIRST COMPANIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS.

MUNICH CATHEDRAL, RESTORED.

# CHAPTER III.

## PROGRESS IN GERMANY—1552.

THE time had now arrived when, by Ignatius' decision, Canisius and his companions were to remove to Vienna. Duke Albert, the University, and the town of Ingoldstadt, all saw their departure with regret. The Fathers started on their journey on foot, according to their custom. They reached Vienna in March 1552. Two others were there before them, sent by Ignatius from Rome. They opened a numerous school immediately, with excellent success. King Ferdinand dreaded lest some of these useful labourers should be taken from him. He begged Ignatius not to think of it. The answer was, "that he had indeed been advised to recall one at least to send elsewhere, but that he was inclined rather to increase than

diminish the religious staff of Vienna. The Society was truly not numerous enough to supply the Colleges which asked for them, but he would set these aside for awhile, and none should be withdrawn without Ferdinand's consent." Canisius, moved by the woful condition of Germany, where, over large districts, religion was well-nigh extinct, and many knew nothing about the articles of their hereditary faith till they heard them attacked and misrepresented by Protestants, asked Ignatius to order every priest in the Society to offer Mass once a month, that God might turn the light of Catholic truth towards this people, and all those who were not priests to pray for the same intention. Ignatius liked a request so accordant with the spirit of his Society, and answered by an encyclical letter, to the effect indicated by Canisius, concluding thus, "wherever the Society exists, no province shall be exempt from this charitable duty, even at the most distant limits of the Indies."

Next year Duke Albert again addressed himself to the Pope and to Ignatius, asking for Canisius and some others of the Society for the College which he was at last about to commence. He referred our Saint for all details to his private secretary Schwickhard, whom he sent to Rome to transact this affair. Ignatius gave him the Bull of Paul III. and the statutes of the German College in Rome—flourishing at that time, and successful in its training of young candidates for ordination. Yet it had recently seemed on the verge of failure, and but for the great energy of Ignatius, ever unsubdued in what he saw was a good cause, the house would have been closed. In a year or two from its commencement, this College, which had received such large promises of assistance, and which had gone on hitherto with excellent results to the young scholars, fell into great poverty. Many Cardinals and others, who at first helped liberally, now suspended their contributions; for the state of the Catholic world was more and more troubled, that of Rome deplorable in a high degree. Pope Julius wondered that God could permit him to be so afflicted. In the winter of 1554 the College was desperately poor. Ignatius had been frequently advised to close it. Otto Truchses, its patron, and the warm friend of Ignatius, told him it would be better to cease the struggle against misfortune. The war now furnished him with an honourable opportunity of laying the burden down. "If any one is tired of it," said Ignatius, "I will take his share upon myself. I would sell myself, if I had nothing else to dispose of, rather than desert these Germans." In a short time the aspect of affairs had brightened. King Ferdinand, moved by such perseverance, promised 400 gulden yearly, and other donations poured in.

There was rejoicing in Rome the winter of 1544: the English Parliament had formally petitioned that the kingdom should be again united to the Church, and Cardinal Pole, the most dignified and conciliatory of ambassadors, was sent to announce the ready affection with which Julius III. accepted the return of his erring children. For a while England was again Catholic, and but for the short rule of Mary, the hatred entertained for her husband, and the illegitimate birth of Elizabeth, which threw her on Protestant support, this better state of things might have continued, and the world would have seen, perhaps, the problem of constitutional freedom and Catholic piety carried into action, which is now only the distant hope and consolation of generous minds.

Reginald Pole had naturally attracted the esteem and affection of St. Ignatius. The son of the heroic martyr, Blessed Margaret Pole, a scholar, a theologian, a man of the highest character, he was in the forefront of the Catholic reaction. And when, in 1553, his royal cousin, Mary Tudor, mounted the throne, he went to aid her in the work of restoration. Ignatius had written to him on August 7, that year, a letter in which he warmly acknowledges the constant kindness which the Cardinal had shown to him and his. "I can never weary," he adds, "of congratulating you, and of thanking our Lord God, who has deigned to open this door for the return of England to the bosom of Holy Church, and to the purity of our holy religion and the Catholic faith. We are all the more hopeful because we know for certain that the cause of her errors was the wickedness of her princes, but not of her people; and the Divine Mercy will hear the holy desires, so long fruitless, of your Reverence, and of all whom God, our Lord, has preserved, and *who have not bent the knee*," &c. He adds that "not only does he say Mass and pray for the Legate, and for the return of England to the faith, but that he has ordered all his brethren at home and abroad, and even in India, to do so till the need lasts."[1]

In the letter of congratulation to Cardinal Pole on the reconciliation of England, full of gratitude for what had been done, St. Ignatius proposed that some young Englishmen should be sent to the German College, to be trained up for work in their native land. And in a circular letter to the Society, he told how Julius III. had read Mary's letter of union five times over before the Cardinals in Consistory, weeping for joy all the time.

When Charles V., with Ferdinand, his brother, fulfilling the treaty of Passau, had assembled in 1555 another Diet of Augsburg, in the hope, per-

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 263.

petually reviving and disappointed, of restoring peace, he did not at first convince Julius that he ought to send a Nuncio thither. But at last Morone was commissioned to go and enforce the observation of the decrees of the Council of Trent. He arrived towards the end of February, and in March the news of the Pope's death recalled him to Rome.

The Diet, many months after, resulted in the "Religionsfried," obtained by so many concessions to the Protestants, that Ferdinand shuddered, it was said, in signing it, and Paul IV., by that time seated on the throne, was highly displeased, and sent Delfini to remonstrate. But the Diet of Ratisbon, which followed, only confirmed the Protestant victory. It was a promise of toleration after all; but toleration means putting up with an evil which it is impossible at the time to remedy. Sometimes it is productive of good, at others it makes the evil all but irremediable.

Ferdinand now prepared a lasting victory, "desiring earnestly," he said, "to spread this holy Order over all his States." He wrote on October 20, 1554, to ask Ignatius to send twelve of his Society to found a College at Prague, and promised "to receive them with all his royal favour." He desired that two at least should be professors of theology. On November 22 following, Ignatius replied that he had sent so lately fifty of his Society to various missions and colleges that he could supply no more for a year, but he would furnish the King with the twelve subjects whom he asked for during the following year. Whereupon Ferdinand wrote again to Ignatius the next year, saying that he felt no common joy, for he now entertained considerable hope "that God had chosen this admirable and blameless Order to work much good in these last times, and show this mercy to Christendom." He adds that he had instructed Canisius, who had recently arrived at Prague, to examine the locality, and what way and manner the College would be founded and maintained.[1]

In Prague there was a monastery nearly deserted, belonging to some Dominican friars. The few Fathers who remained there were willing to exchange it for a convent of St. Agnes of the Sisters of St. Clare, which was then empty, and the Jesuits were put in possession of the Dominican house. Ferdinand charged Ignatius to pursue this affair. The Saint had chosen some of his Society, and was about to send them, when for some unknown reason an order given by the Pope forbade them to depart. The prohibition was soon recalled, and they left Rome for Prague about the 12th of February 1556. Paul IV. was fond of long speeches, and addressed them, when they went to take leave, with much amplitude. As it was Lent, and

[1] See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. pp. 484, 532, 534.

they travelled the greater part of the way on foot, they were quite exhausted when on April 21 they arrived at Prague. Later on Canisius received from Ignatius the letter[1] which named him Provincial. Blessed Peter was surprised and distressed. He wrote instantly to pray the General to remove this burden from him; for he had no fitness, he said, to rule others. St. Ignatius answered that he ought to bend his neck under the yoke of obedience, and seek no escape. He must trust to God, Who had chosen him to do great things for His honour, and Who would help him with His especial grace. Canisius represented that he had long ago vowed never to choose any place or any object for his own use; and that this could hardly be made consistent with these new functions. This objection also Ignatius set aside. "A Religious," he justly said, "can make no vow without the assent of his Superior." So Canisius exercised the duties of Provincial at Prague, where B. Edmund Campion was to be professor in the College. It was prosperous from the beginning, and none belonging to the Society better fulfilled their sacred mission.

But an act of liberality, which appeared remarkable in those times, brought censure on B. Peter, and perhaps revived the old accusations of heresy. On the borders of the Moldau were living many Jews, and many Christians separated from the Catholic Church. These were chiefly of the sect of the Hussites. The Council of Constance was remembered by these people with a bitterness that excited a proportionate enmity against them among the Catholics, and the city of Prague was astonished and wrathful when the children of these unbelievers were admitted to the free instruction given at the Jesuit College. Some persons wrote threatening letters to the Rector and professors, some attempted to frighten away the pupils. But, like all former hostilities to the Society, this passed away, and the wise patience of St. Ignatius, communicated to his companions, overcame opposition with such forbearance and humility that no trace of irritation was left behind.

It seemed at this time necessary to form a new Province of the Order, now widely spreading in Lower Germany, of which Belgium was part, and Ignatius named for its Superior Father Bernard Olivier. But he had chosen one who was already in Heaven. When our Saint heard of the death of his friend, he sent through Polanco instructions to the three Colleges of Louvain, Cologne, and Tournai, to choose two or three Religious suitable for this charge: their votes as usual were to be given separately in writing, the Fathers not consulting one with another; then the result

[1] Dated June 7, 1556. Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. p. 281.

was to be sent to Rome. Again death arrested the nomination: this time the General himself was called away, and the office remained vacant for a long while. Canisius had been summoned during the autumn of 1555 to Munich, and that winter Duke Albert wrote on Dec. 12 to Ignatius. He asks in this letter for the professors promised to him. The delay was not on the Saint's side, but on that of the Duke's councillors. At last Ignatius sent him a copy of that part of the Constitutions which relates to the foundation of Colleges, and said he referred all to the Duke's decision. Albert, upon this, set himself to remove difficulties, and on June 8, 1556, Ignatius writes to the Duke's secretary, Schwickhard, whom the Duke, two years before, had sent to Rome to treat the subject directly with our Saint:—

Though I could not write earlier on account of my health, I have now remitted the Prince's letter to the Pope, by one of our brethren whom he always receives with pleasure [*possibly Lainez*]. He did not read it in his presence, so I can say nothing more on this subject, though we had already, as we were bound to do, expressed at a proper opportunity our opinion of a Prince so pious and so earnest in defence of the Catholic religion. We have also hastened to send to you the College [*the professors and Jesuit students*] before the heats of the season come on, for this reason among others—that an unfavourable report which had begun to spread in Rome after the Diet of Augsburg, and that the conjectures of some persons not among the least considerable might be silenced by opposite facts. For all who learn that the illustrious Duke has called members of our Society to Ingoldstadt, and established a College for them there, will at once understand how far they have been mistaken in saying and supposing, I know not what. I also procured that the College itself should be brought before the Pope; and while they kissed the foot of his Holiness, and received the Apostolic benediction, two of our brothers, Diego Lainez and Giovanni Polanco, who accompanied them, spoke much to his Holiness of the pious desire of the illustrious Duke of Bavaria to protect the Catholic religion, and for that purpose to form in Ingoldstadt a permanent seminary of clergy faithful to the Apostolic Chair. All this seemed very agreeable to the Pope, and when he had inquired a good deal about those sent, and had earnestly exhorted them, he ordered, as he dismissed them, that they should have money given them for their journey. But when ours answered that they wanted nothing besides the blessing of his Holiness, for the illustrious Duke had provided for them so liberally, he and those around him seemed pleased and edified. Then they were taken to pay their respects to some of the principal Cardinals: so that enough is known of the departure of the College of Ingoldstadt, with edification of those who hear of it, to the glory of God.

I have nothing more to add, but to recommend the new College to your charity and friendship, and pray His Divine and Supreme Goodness to give us so abundantly of His grace that we may know and perfectly fulfil His most Holy Will.

In a letter to the Duke, Ignatius, after repeating nearly the same things, goes on to say:—

Besides the Rector, Master Thomas (Lange), a theologian, there are going two other Doctors of Divinity, who will be professors of that science, and others, who, after completing their course of philosophy, have taken their degree, and begun their theological studies. Others will be professors of Latin and Greek, and of Hebrew if required; others are scholastics, who have made marked progress in classics, and will prove of use to the common good. Most of them are of Upper or Lower Germany. All have shown themselves full of zeal for the Catholic faith and of the virtues of religious men. I offer them to your Grace for your service, for the glory of God, in the same spirit that I would offer myself, if my health and the necessary business of my charge would allow me. I have impressed on them that they should devote themselves to what is contained in the Articles, and moreover to exert themselves as far as possible, even without any obligation, and I am convinced that your Grace and your illustrious successors will protect and favour your College, as you promise, so long as these brethren prove themselves serviceable for the State. And I hope that not only their usefulness will not cease, but that it will daily become greater according to the custom of our Company. It was very agreeable to us that Father Canisius, by the gracious permission of the illustrious King of the Romans, should assist at the founding of the College of Ingoldstadt, and I have already written to him to be at Ingoldstadt as soon as possible. And that he may be the more efficacious in promoting the success of the new Colleges, I make him Provincial for Upper Germany, Bohemia, and Austria.

*June* 9, 1556.[1]

The eighteen Jesuits arrived, after a month's journey on foot, at Ingoldstadt, on the 7th of July 1556, the feast of St. Willibald. The College was the Benjamin of Ignatius, the last he lived to found.

Not long before his death, Ignatius again recommended the most strict fidelity in their engagements to his sons at Ingoldstadt, and his wishes on

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. pp. 493, 495, 627.

both sides were fulfilled. The Dukes of Bavaria had never any cause of complaint; and the Jesuits continued to live under their friendly protection until the Order was suppressed. B. Canisius never ceased his labours till his death at Fribourg in 1597.

THE CLEMENTINUM.

JESUIT COLLEGE.

THE OLD BRIDGE AT PRAGUE.

BALCONY ATTACHED TO THE STUDY OF ST. IGNATIUS, THE GESÙ, ROME.

# CHAPTER IV.

## ST. IGNATIUS' LIFE AT SANTA MARIA DELLA STRADA.

IF we could judge Ignatius by any human standard, we should say he had now attained a full and triumphant happiness in the success of all the great objects of his life. The "Spiritual Exercises" had received the solemn sanction of the Pope. He had collected, formed, and consolidated the Institute bearing the precious Name of Jesus. He saw it in action over almost all the known world, producing inestimable fruits; and when it had too much of that prosperity which he dreaded, he saw reverses borne with such meekness, such self-renunciation, such resolute humility, that the lesson of edification was never more forcible than when his brethren were struggling against aggression or contempt. He had heard that one of his Society had received in India the honour of martyrdom: Father Antonio

Criminale was killed in defending his Christian converts against the Badages on the Pearl Coast, off the Straits of Manaar. The number of the Society amounted to about 2000, although only thirty-five had been added to the original ten of the Professed.

His two Colleges at Rome were now in full exercise. In about five years a hundred priests had been formed in the Roman College, and sent out to evangelise Europe. Two hundred came in their place. He had defied successfully the difficulties that long impeded his German College, which lay very near his heart. He saw other Colleges arising in distant countries, patronised by kings and the highest persons in the Church. Three were flourishing in Lower Germany; two in France; Portugal had seventeen institutions belonging to the Jesuits; Castile, ten; Aragon and Andalusia had each five; the new Colleges at Coimbra and Alcalá were already celebrated. Twenty-eight of the Order were employed in Brazil; one hundred in the East Indies. Italy alone had three provinces—the northern contained ten Colleges, those of Venice and Padua were become eminent. Ignatius retained the Roman province, including Naples, for himself. His friend Juan de Vega had introduced the Jesuits into Sicily; they were protected there by Charles V. and King Philip. Messina, Palermo, and several other places had asked to have Colleges or missionaries. Even the unmanageable Corsicans were brought into a less savage state, and petitioned that Landini and Montemayor might remain with them. Of the two German provinces, that which included the Netherlands was not authorised by Philip II. till so short a time before Ignatius died, that this new success was never known to him. But at Vienna and Ingoldstadt he saw his Society established, and exercising a beneficent influence. The Wayvode of Transylvania had asked that some Jesuit missionaries might be sent him. They were invited into Hungary and Silesia. Crommer, the historian, ambassador of King Sigismund at Vienna, solicited priests for Poland. This request gave much cause for thankfulness, for at that Court the Bishops most in favour were Laski and Vergerio, apostates, both from the Church and their vows of celibacy. Paul IV. sent Lippomani, Bishop of Verona, to strengthen the influence of Hosius, his Nuncio, with the King.

About ten years after the arrival of the companions in Rome, and about eight after Ignatius had taken possession of the residence given him by Codacio, they were enabled by some rich patrons to buy the house adjoining theirs, whose unreasonable owner had constantly annoyed them, kept their refectory dark, filled the courtyard with noisy animals, always giving out that the priests wanted to drive him away. They had still not space enough, and now hired the next house.

When Ignatius sought a definite site for the Roman College, a gentleman proposed taking a spot which was vacant, near their own residence. "No," said the Saint, "the whole of this will be wanted for the house of the Professed, and there will be none to spare; on the contrary, two paces more room will be wanted"—a sentence quoted as prophetic, and probably suggested by a conversation with the architect Labaco, a clever man, the father of one of the Society, whom Ignatius employed during these latter years.

The modern House of the Gesù stands partly on the ground occupied by the house obtained by Codacio. It encloses the three rooms, reverentially preserved—two of them which Ignatius inhabited are now chapels. There, he was as poor as any member of the house. All his library was his Bible, a Breviary, and the "Imitation of Christ." The furniture of his room was, like that of all the others, only a wooden table, a chair, a bed, and a candlestick.

At his scanty dinner he often received strangers, or some of his Professed Fathers from a distance; but the meal was even then plain and poorly served. Bobadilla, on some occasion when his portion of the ill-cooked spinach placed on the table was small and unsavoury, said, "Modicum venenum non nocet!"—"A little poison will not kill us." Ignatius would allow no special dainties to be served for him. He was once angry that the brother in charge of the refectory placed before him a bunch of grapes when the others had none.

He would not, even for the sake of his beloved seminaries, depart from his rule of never asking temporal favours in any shape. When a College in Portugal begged him to procure for it a grant of some church endowments, he referred the affair to the ambassador—"For," said he, "we must concern ourselves with things divine and eternal, not such as are temporal and earthly." A deposition on oath is still extant, written by Le Pellétier, Rector of the Roman College in 1551, declaring that no property belonging to the College had been given to the Professed House. This was because adequate endowments were desirable for the support and education of the students; but for the Professed Fathers St. Ignatius would not allow the smallest encroachment on that privilege of poverty which he called the wall of defence of a Religious Order, and bade his brethren cherish as a mother. The alms that were given him he spent on absolute necessaries; all beyond these he gave away. When the Rectors of two Colleges disputed about some point in which their respective establishments were interested, Ignatius made them exchange places. Margaret of Austria frequently sent him two or three hundred

crowns. He commonly dispensed the greater part at once, keeping an account.

Near the House of the Fathers resided a woman of bad life, before whose door the priests were forced to pass on their way into the town. To annoy them, she swept rubbish from her house into the pathway. Ignatius ordered Father Emerio de Bonis, who was then sacristan, to go to her with a civil remonstrance, and entreat her to deposit her ashes and dust elsewhere. Now Emerio was very young and shy, and a novice in the Society, so he persuaded an elderly Father to carry the message for him. Ignatius commended his modesty, but reproved his disobedience. He made him stand in the refectory, and ring a bell, saying aloud at the same time, "I will and I won't, dwell here don't," "Volo et nolo non habitant in hâc domo." The offence seems small, but the house was sometimes disturbed by unquiet spirits, whom it was necessary to quell or to dismiss. He was forced in this way to part with a relative of Juan de Vega and also with Don Teutonio, son of the Duke of Braganza, near relative of King Joam of Portugal, who gave him trouble. These incidents no doubt partly caused him to say to Polanco, "that, if he could wish to live longer, it would be that it might become more difficult to admit postulants to the Society." Sometimes even the Fathers relapsed into some fault. One had particularly tormented and resisted Ignatius, who, when saying Mass, was heard to utter this exclamation: "Forgive him, O Lord; forgive him, my Creator, for he knows not what he does." And an inward voice answered him: "Leave him to me, I will avenge you." Soon after, the Father came in consternation to Ignatius, and besought his pardon. He had seen a vision in a church, which terrified him into submission. He was exemplary after this, but much afflicted. Another rebel, who was a priest, took the rather odd fancy of walking about the house with his nightcap on, instead of the biretta; and when Ignatius remonstrated on the indecorum, he answered, "I myself can judge what is decorous or not." He was sent away.

Ignatius always sought occasion to practise this virtue of obedience, which he enjoined so constantly. Alessandro Petronio, his physician, seeing him very weak from the Lenten fast, ordered him to have some chicken served for his supper, though it was the Wednesday in Holy Week. Next day he found this had been done. Petronio wondered, for he did not expect such compliance. Ignatius said, "But one must obey." Before this clever physician had been called in, a younger man who attended the Saint advised extreme warmth, hot wine, an exciting diet, and keeping the windows shut, though it was August. Ignatius knew the treatment

and the medicines to be all wrong, but he complied, that he might set an example of obedience to his new Order. He was almost dying, when Alessandro was summoned by the other Fathers, and all the previous system was reversed. Petronio treated him for an inflamed liver, which probably was his real malady, as under this prescription he recovered.

Though now past sixty years old, infirm, and broken in health, yet he often said that at a sign from the Pope he would take his staff and go on foot into Spain, or embark in the first vessel he found at Ostia, without oars, sails, or provisions, and not only willingly but with joy. A nobleman who heard this said, in surprise: "But where would be the prudence of doing this?" "Prudence, my lord," said Ignatius, "is the virtue of those who command, not of those who obey." He thought it an imperfection to be too desirous to serve God in one particular way. When Lainez spoke of his great longing to preach to the heathen masses in India, he said: "And if I felt such a wish arising in my mind, I would tear it out." Lainez was surprised. "Are we not obliged," said Ignatius, "to go wherever the Pope may send us? At his command I am equally ready to go to any country, and prefer neither east nor west, so that if I were inclined to any particular place, as you are, I would force my mind in another direction till the balance was even." He had, indeed, no wish for himself, except to be soon admitted into the Lord's presence. When one of the Fathers spoke to him of some work for next year, "Good Jesus! dear brother," said Ignatius, "where do you find courage to endure the idea of living so long?" He was accustomed to ask his brethren these three questions—If they were ready to obey in whatever occupation he chose for them? If they thought they were better fitted for one office than another? If under certain circumstances they would prefer one office to another? He expected a sincere answer to these inquiries, and that they should express to him any particular inclination or ability which they might possess or suppose. But the Saint was best pleased with those brethren who, like Nadal and Manare, declared themselves to have no preferences, and referred all entirely to his judgment.

It was remarked in him that no person seemed less agreeable to him than another; no deficiencies or faults produced aversion in him; he was beloved by men of opposite characters. His charity prompted this beautiful and wise remark: "That there was not one in the house who did not in something give him an example to imitate, or some cause to humble himself by comparison." When he heard of a Brother saying to another, that Ignatius was a great saint, he sent for him, reproved him sternly, told him

it was blasphemous to dishonour sanctity by finding it in a sinner like him, and he made the offender eat his meals in the scullery for two weeks together. His Confessor, Diego d'Eguia, had uttered expressions of admiration of his great virtue, and said he wished that he might outlive Ignatius at least a few hours, in order to be able to reveal what he knew. When this came to the knowledge of Ignatius, he made d'Eguia do penance publicly in the house on three successive evenings, and recite three psalms which mention restraint of the tongue. Diego continued to say all that he dared to say, and they believed in the house that Ignatius prayed to God to take d'Eguia first, and that in answer to this prayer Diego's death preceded that of our Saint by a short period.

As he approached the confines of the other world, and its light seemed to stream upon him, his countenance appeared like that of one already beyond the conditions of mortality; his sons said his face was a face for Paradise. He prayed God sometimes to arrest the overflow of consolations, that he might be more careful and humble in His service, and then he thought God continued them in order that since he had grown so old and useless, he might be at least fit for prayer. In saying Mass, he was all his life interrupted by his emotion. The beginning of the Canon, "Te igitur, clementissime Pater," particularly affected him. Once, at the "Memento of the Living," Father Nicolas Delanoy saw above his head a bright flame, and rushed to the altar to put it out. But the countenance of Ignatius showed him that he was witnessing a prodigy. The Saint was so attenuated by abstinence and fasting, that his existence appeared a wonder. The examination of his body after death proved that he must have endured much pain. He took but little nourishment; sometimes during the whole day only a few chestnuts. He said once, "If I lived on the strength of nature alone, assuredly I should soon die."

Cardinal Carpi was used to say, in allusion to his indomitable spirit and perseverance, "He has driven in the nail, nothing can pull it out." Yet there was so little of an imperious nature in him, that when directing the persons who were chosen to hold offices of trust, he seldom gave a positive injunction; his way was to explain his orders in such a manner that obedience became the spontaneous choice of those who heard him. Often when consulted by Superiors, in the hope that he would give some special instructions, the answer was only, "Do your duty." Those who failed in the missions on which he sent them he consoled with a generous kindness; he never allowed them to be discouraged, or to feel that his favour towards them was diminished. If he was obliged to receive a complaint, or an unfavourable report of any one, he would have it made in writing. "For,"

said he, "the pen writes more deliberately than the tongue speaks." If he refused a favour, those who asked it did not leave him discontented: he gave the reasons, if possible; if not, his kindness averted all resentment, and suggested some equivalent. He was very solicitous for that part of Christian love among his Brethren which regarded their mutual edification and correction. When there was a ruling imperfection in one who consulted him, he bade the person examine himself frequently, and named another in the house who should, every day before dinner and at night, ask him if he had committed it, and a second who was to warn him when he fell into the fault. Sometimes these admonitions were to be given in writing. At Sta. Maria della Strada the Fathers assembled every Friday to hear or tell each other of their imperfections. Four were appointed for this. Martin Olave, then head of the Roman College, took the lead, and desired some of his companions to tell him how often he had fallen into a particular fault which he was trying to overcome.

The members of the Society were forbidden ever to visit a woman alone; some one was always to accompany the priest, and remain within sight, though not within hearing. Once an aged Father transgressed this rule. He was an excellent man, and Ignatius knew there was nothing to blame in his intention. Nevertheless, he made the poor old priest beat himself with a scourge, while eight of the Fathers recited the Penitential Psalms, and this Ignatius considered an indulgent sentence. After this occurrence, he wrote some rules for decorum and modesty, which the Minister was to publish and enforce in the house; and Ignatius was little pleased when he found this had not been done. He said to Ribadeneira, "I framed these rules with great consideration, but the Ministers do not correspond by their own care. Yet I tell you the rules have cost me much time and thought, and that I have made prayer on this subject seven times and more, and shed many tears." He ordered Lainez to read these rules aloud in the refectory, and to exhort all to keep them. He desired all to be present, even those of the original number who were then in Rome, though these generally were exempted on such occasions, on account of their many occupations. While they were listening, a loud crash was heard, reverberating through the house. When the discourse of Lainez was ended, and they went to see what was the matter, they found that a roof had fallen in the garden, over a place where they were accustomed to assemble after supper, for it was August. It must have crushed many or all of them, if it had not been for the discourse of Lainez. When St. Ignatius saw the ruins, he gave thanks to God, and then said to Ribadeneira, "It seems as if our Lord designed to show that these rules are not displeasing to Him."

These rules of modesty descended even to minute directions, for the head, the eye, and the voice. A novice who was exemplary in his actions, looked about him more than Ignatius approved. He warned him by this mild reproof: "Brother Giovanni Domenico, why do you not show by the modesty of your eyes that modesty which God has given to your soul?" But after this public exhortation, the rule of external decorum was very scrupulously kept; so much so that one day the Fathers told the Saint of their being accused of hypocrisy. "God grant such hypocrisy may increase among us," said Ignatius; "but I know no hypocrites in the Society, except these two," pointing to Salmeron and Bobadilla. He was alluding to their being so much more holy than they appeared externally.

His patience was suitable to one in whom nature was subdued; and he never moved hand or eye spontaneously, or without a motive. The Infirmarian once, in sewing a bandage round his throat, ran the needle into one of his ears. Ignatius showed him the wound, and said, "Look, brother, what you have done," as calmly as if he felt nothing. When he was watching the building going on at Santa Balbina, from some stairs in the vineyard,[1] his lame leg failing him, he fell from the top to the bottom. He appeared not to be hurt, and certainly took not the least notice. It seemed no way to discompose him, though Diego de Guzman, his companion, was persuaded that without a miracle he must have been killed.

One day, while he was discoursing in the house of some friends on divine things, the Father Minister, Codacio, came from the Gesù, and with a troubled countenance made some communication to him. He only answered, "It is well," and went on conversing. When he took leave he said, "Do you know what I have just heard? We owe money for our house, and the bailiffs have just come to seize our furniture." His friends were shocked. "If they take away our beds, we can sleep on the floor," he said; "it is good enough for poor men like us. Had I been there, I should have made one request, and that is for some papers of mine; for the rest, it matters little."

But Girolamo Astalli, who heard this, became security for the debt, and next day the worthy Doctor Arce, knowing nothing of the matter, sent to Codacio a gift of 200 scudi, which paid off the whole. Arce had offered this sum for masses when he was very ill; Ignatius refused the money. Besides the Saint's own rules on this point, he said it was wrong to under-

[1] Possibly the staircase which still remains on the north side of the house.

CARDINAL REGINALD POLE, AFTER RAPHAEL.

take the saying a large number of masses for a special object. It happened often that it was very burdensome, or almost impossible, to discharge the obligation. Arce now sent the 200 scudi as an alms, which arrived very opportunely. Then Ignatius ordered much prayer for him in the Society, according to the benefactor's wish.

As the Society of Jesus grew in importance and in the Pope's favour, Loyola found excessive caution necessary to exclude unsuitable persons, and no relationship, no intercession of any one availed in such cases. Lainez had two brothers in the Society. One, Martin, was exemplary; the other, Christopher, incurred a summary dismissal. When Ribadeneira begged for a little money to support Christopher till he reached Spain, Ignatius answered, "No, Pedro; if I had all the money in the world, I would not give a farthing to one who is expelled from a religious house for his own fault." A disposition to obstinacy was an extreme offence in his sight. He dismissed Francisco Marino, a Portuguese of considerable learning, and highly useful as Minister of the Professed House, because he persisted in showing this propensity, even after going through the "Exercises," which, as Nadal had predicted, failed to soften him. When Ignatius heard, in the usual nightly report, some instances of this, he called up Francisco, though he had already gone to bed, and made him leave the house instantly, although he begged to stay till daybreak. Another Marino, Antonio by name, a Spaniard, and Doctor of the University of Paris, who was the first who ever taught philosophy at the Roman College, offended in something of the same way, had some views of his own respecting the Institute of which he made no secret, and which Ignatius failed to dislodge. Marino was summarily dismissed. As it was very difficult in those times to find any one to take his place, and there were scarcely ten professors in the College, Luis Gonçalez lamented over the loss of Marino. Ignatius only said with a smile, "Do you go and convert him."

Before resolving on an expulsion, he always considered the matter maturely, and usually consulted some of the other Fathers; but once decided, he was prompt and peremptory in the act. A young man who, though strongly tempted to withdraw from the novitiate, appeared to him reclaimable, he had much patience with; but being told that to all the expostulations of the elders to whom Ignatius had sent him he only answered that he would stay that night, but would go in the morning, the Saint said, "Will he go to-morrow? That shall not be, for he shall not sleep in the house to-night." And the novice was dismissed at that moment. Leonard Kessel was fearful lest he should be thought too severe, when, having but fifteen subjects, he sent away half. Ignatius

answered that he had done right, and bade him send away the others, and remain alone in Cologne, rather than tolerate any infringement of the rule. If the Fathers interceded for a culprit, Ignatius said, "Would you have received him as a member, if you had known him as we do now? Certainly not. You must allow me then to send him away. We must try those who are received, and if they do not bear the test they must go. I will let you accept subjects; you must let me dismiss them." When he showed the house to any stranger he sometimes said, "This is our prison, and we leave the door unlocked that we may have no prisoners." Nevertheless it was not always a great offence in the eyes of Ignatius to wish to leave the Society. He had patience with the weakness of human nature upon which the devil finds it easy to work till grace has taken full possession of the soul. Andreas, a Flemish priest, persisted in his resolve to return home. Ignatius bade him go to the Holy House of Loreto on his way, and gave him eight pauls, a usual but very insufficient provision. When some of the brethren begged that he might receive more, "It is not well," he said, "to encourage temptations in those whose return we expect." And Andreas actually changed his mind at Loreto, and returned to ask his readmission into the Society.

If the fault committed was not very grave, nor publicly known, Ignatius bade the Superiors be indulgent, and often he inflicted no penalty beyond a reprimand. In all cases, trivial or important, he showed the offender so clearly the nature, degree, and consequences of his fault, that he was touched to the heart. Maffei heard him once address a brother of distinguished talent, but a wilful character, on whom remonstrances had long been wasted, with such energy, and warn him of the Divine vengeance with such zeal and force, that the offender fell at his feet. Those who stood around called out for mercy; the very walls of the room seemed to tremble. But this, says Maffei, was an unusual occurrence. For his affection for all his Brethren was so tender and earnest, that he lived among them as a most kind father among dutiful sons. Whenever he met them, his countenance and words were full of love; he never suffered any opportunity to pass of giving them pleasure; he watched over them, and cared for all their wants like one who was their servant as well as their master; he anticipated their requests, and made a note of what he thought would be wanted.

But it seemed as if the resolve to quell all natural feelings made him appear coldest to those whom he valued most. When he had shown his recognition of their zeal and abilities by the employments he gave them, he was more stern in reproof, less expansive in the show of affection,

with them than with others. So it was with Lainez;[1] so with Nadal; so with Polanco, who was constantly about him, "Que era su segretario, y sus manos, y sus pies"—"Who was his secretary, and his hands and his feet." This Father told Ribadeneira that till Ignatius' illness became dangerous he had not for years spoken to him with any demonstrations of friendship. Lainez said he sometimes lifted up his wounded heart to Heaven, and said, "O Lord, what have I done to harm the Society, that *El Santo* treats me with such severity?" And Nadal received sometimes terrible rebukes in the refectory, that even made him shed tears. Codacio, the generous patron and benefactor, who had done so much for the Society at its first starting, and was afterwards made Minister of the house he himself had obtained for them, was frequently found offending, and reproved; but he took it not at all to heart, and still said, "O soave Padre!"—"O sweet Father!" and declared that not even blows should drive him out of the Society. Polanco in 1547, "with more zeal and charity than experience and prudence," had tried to press on Cosmas the Great of Tuscany certain methods of perfection before he had won the prince's confidence. St. Ignatius warned him that nothing but misfortune could follow from it, and that it gave colour to what enemies said, "that the Society wished to rule the world." He bade him to go and serve the sick several hours in the hospital. It was indeed only with advanced and nearly perfect characters that Ignatius compelled himself to this apparent sternness; with the young or untried he showed almost maternal indulgence.

There was a wall required on one side of the house, to enclose it from the street. Ignatius ordered that the novices should take a part in this humble labour. One of these, a youth of high birth and well known in Rome, was ashamed of this occupation. Ignatius saw his downcast looks, his endeavours to withdraw from observation, and said to the master who was overlooking the work, "Do you not see, Brother, that this novice is tempted by shame?" The master said that he had been ordered to employ all the novices on this work. "When I give you an order," said Ignatius, "do I deprive you of your charity and discretion?" Then, going up to the young man, he spoke to him as if he saw that he was not strong enough for such labour: "Go back to the house, and do not come here any more," he said; "this is not employment for you." Upon this same work Lorenzo Tristano, a brother—a mason by trade—

[1] Thus Ignatius ordered Polanco to write a very severe reprimand to Lainez for some faults which would appear very pardonable in one who had added such lustre to the Society in the Council of Trent. See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 137, Nov. 2, 1552.

was employed. He was a grave and mortified man, and so silent, that Ignatius said that he laid more stones than he spoke words. While he was paving a corridor of the house, Lorenzo let fall an apple which had been given him, and which he had kept to relieve his thirst, and because he was ashamed of being detected in such a luxury by the Saint, he pretended to take no notice of it; but Ignatius rolled it towards him with his stick, which he always was obliged to use, and whenever Lorenzo tried to escape by turning away, the Saint rolled it in front of him again. But he said not a word of reproof.

A lay-Brother, named Giovanni Battista, very humble and mortified, who was serving in the kitchen one day, and thinking as he looked into the fire of the pains of hell, which awaited all mortal sin, and of his own offences, thrust his hand into the flames, and held it there till it was shockingly burnt; but when the stench of the scorched flesh brought the Minister into the kitchen, Giovanni, conscious that he had done a foolish thing, threw himself on his knees and asked pardon. The other brethren and the General hastened to the place. Many thought that a man absurd enough to make himself useless in this way ought to be expelled; but Ignatius, pitying his sufferings and the motive which had caused them, prayed for him so earnestly all that night, that God was merciful and sent him a speedy cure.

The Saint would sometimes give orders which had no object but to ascertain that the minds of his brethren were sufficiently supple and docile: he would order the cook and the Professor of Theology to change places; he would summon the priests who were about to say Mass, and bid them take off their vestments. Once he did this as the priest with the chalice in his hands was just leaving the sacristy; he bade him put on his cloak and leave the house; the priest without a word did as he desired. "Were you disturbed at my order?" said Ignatius. "Not in the least." "Know then," was the answer, "that I do not want your services, but wish to establish you in obedience, and be assured you have merited more by leaving the Holy Sacrifice than if you had offered it; for the Scriptures tell us that obedience is better than sacrifice."[1]

To one who had asked, with more persistence than Ignatius approved, for leave to go on a pilgrimage, he not only refused the request, but imposed a penance on him instead. So, too, when a priest once came with his cloak on to ask leave to go out, he said, "Go back to your room and take off your cloak, and then come back to me and ask leave." If any one

[1] 1 Kings xv. 22; Eccl. iv. 17; Osee vi. 6.

PORTRAIT OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, AFTER COELLO.

threw himself at his feet and did not rise at his bidding, Ignatius went away and left him. He bade a lay-Brother sit down, which the man was ashamed to do, for there was a gentleman present. Ignatius made him put the chair upon his head, and remain in that way till the visitor went. He dismissed an Infirmarian who had led an exemplary life, though all the Fathers pleaded his cause, only for an unbecoming jest. The poor man was sent away without his habit, or any money, to travel 1200 miles home. It was a lesson constantly repeated by Ignatius that discretion is an excellent part of valour, and he perpetually warned those who had a point to carry for the advantage of the Society, that when gained, it might be of less value than the goodwill which would be lost by an unguarded or impetuous disputant. He said there were two sorts of labourers in the Society: the first, those who built up and did not pull down again; the second, those that construct and destroy at the same time, raising by their imprudence an opposition more mischievous than their zeal could do good. He was so afraid of making enemies by a too apparent victory, that when Martin Olave had entangled in the meshes of an argument some monks with whom he disputed, Ignatius forbade his returning again to the point of altercation. And he begged him to omit entirely one discussion in a work he was going to publish, which was likely to raise much irritation on the other side.

Father Reginald, a learned Dominican, came to see St. Ignatius on May 23, 1553, and told him wonderful things about a nun belonging to his order, who was in a convent at Bologna, of which he had charge. She appeared to be of great holiness, and of marvellous prayer, in which she became lost to all external things save to the voice of obedience. She seemed to bear also the marks of her Saviour's wounds, which the friar had himself seen and touched. When he pressed Ignatius to say what he thought of her,—"Of all your Reverence has told me," said the Saint, "that which appears to me the least suspicious is her readiness to obey." When the friar left, Ribadeneira begged Ignatius to explain his opinion. He answered, "God works chiefly on the soul, sometimes so that His gifts flow over even upon the body, but this rarely, and only in the case of persons very dear to Him. The devil, as he cannot work on the soul, often produces fictitious appearances on the body, betraying the foolish into illusion and pride." And this proved to be the case of this Dominican nun.

A Flemish priest, who came from France to seek admission into the Society, thought doubtless to make himself more acceptable by relating a wonderful vision, which he seems to have sincerely believed in as a

prodigy. Ignatius bade him submit himself to the judgment of six learned doctors; and when these decided that he was deceived, though he entirely acquiesced, Ignatius sent him to serve six months in a hospital, and then for some time made him share the work of the lay-Brothers at Rome. After this, Ignatius, fully satisfied, sent him to France as Rector of one of the houses there. A hermit named Antonio de Mallorca, renowned for his severe life, came to Rome and talked much with Ignatius. Nadal asked what he thought of him. "Before three years are over," said Ignatius, "he will leave his hermitage and his penitential life;" and so it proved. He would have given an opposite opinion of Saint Peter de Alcantara, whom he must certainly have seen in 1554, when this Saint came to Rome to ask the Pope's confirmation of his Congregation of Reformed Franciscans. For Peter was truly a saintly character, and did great service in the world and in the Church.

The young heiress of Loyola, Doña Lorenza, the great-niece of St. Ignatius, was much sought in marriage, and the intercession of Ignatius was asked by the Duke of Albuquerque, and by the Duke of Najera, the son of his early friend. He refused to interfere. But perhaps he was pleased when after all she was betrothed to Juan, son of Francis Borgia. Another Juan had asked the friendship of Ignatius, who wrote to him:—"I have no claim on your benevolence, except that I am the Brother of Francis, and a great sinner. I do not know which of those recommendations you will think the greater."

Another time he answered a letter from the Duke of Najera,[1] on the matrimonial project, rather more at length. This was his letter:—

May the sovereign grace and eternal love of Christ our Lord aid you, and visit you with His supreme gifts and spiritual graces.

Don Juan de Guevara gave me yesterday your letter of February 21. I will make this single excuse for not having answered it sooner. Those who have renounced the world to follow Jesus Christ with more perfection, ought equally to renounce and forget all worldly matters, that they may apply themselves with burning ardour to meditation and the pursuit of celestial things. Therefore they shun all merely social duties, in order to expend a greater zeal on the things of God; but if any occasion were offered me when I might serve you for the glory of God, I would seize it eagerly, and in proportion to my insignificance I would show you how much I think myself bound to you and all your family, for the favours and affection by which your departed ones have bound me to you. And so the only thing I could do was to recommend you to our Lord; I have always done this, and will do so to the end. I will pray God to give the greatest possible happiness to

[1] See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iii. p. 118.

you and yours; that He may defend and direct you by a special protection of His grace, for the glory of His name.

As for the marriage about which you write to me, it is of such a nature and so foreign to my profession, that I consider it a matter in which it is impossible for me to interfere. And it is certain that ten or eleven years have passed without my writing to any of the family of Loyola. For I considered that I have quitted it and all the world once for all for Christ, and I ought not in any way to take it up again, as if it were my own.

But if, nevertheless, you judge that it concerns the glory of God that these two families and estates should be united, if you think that this would serve both the end that we should always keep in view and the interests of the two families, then I think you should write to the lord of Ozaeta, and Martin Garcia de Loyola, my nephews, and come to an understanding with them. From both must come the decision, as I have explained at length to Juan (de Guevara); therefore I leave all the affair to your better judgment.

I pray God to show us always the light of His most holy will, and to grant us, in His infinite goodness, the grace to accomplish it entirely.

ROME, *August* 26, 1552.

Olivier Manare, when he was questioned by Father Leczycki (Lancisius) as to what he had known of Ignatius, sent thirty-seven answers, some referring to matters already detailed. We give some of the rest here:—

"When I was on the point of leaving Rome to conduct the new colony to Loretto, I went with my companions to demand the blessing from our holy Father, who was accompanied by his secretary, Giovanni Polanco. I looked fixedly at him, thinking within myself that I might perhaps never see his face again. When we had almost got to the outermost door he sent Father Polanco, desiring me to remain to receive a message. 'As our Father has observed,' said Polanco, 'that in your last interview you kept your eyes too much fixed upon him, which is a proof of arrogance, he commands as a penance that at least once every day in your examination of conscience you take notice whether, in speaking to any person to whom you owe reverence, you have looked too long in his face; and after your examination you are to say a Pater and an Ave, and in the weekly letter which you are bound to send to him, you are to inform him whether or not you have performed this.' This penance he made me persevere in for fifteen months.

"He used to permit me, or any other recently admitted novice, and even invite us very kindly, to sit down beside him and talk with him, as it chanced, in the garden or elsewhere. When I was ill he deigned to visit me, comfort me with fatherly kindness, and offered me a box full of manna; and said to me, 'Look, I have just received this manna, Olivier,

from the Vice-Queen of Sicily, and I make you a present of it to recreate you, that you may use it under the doctor's advice.' Sometimes he sent for me, and also for others, to his private table, and helped us with his fork, and used to give us a pear or an apple, which he had deftly peeled for us with his own hands. We used very often to hear him talking to himself, and letting fall expressions of great humility, as, 'Poor me! Sinner that I am! My poor soul! My wretched soul!'[1] and such like. In speaking or writing of the Society, he used the same kind of phrases—as, 'this poor little Society.' He never praised the Society, or praised it very sparingly. His room was very lowly, and its furniture very mean. He cautiously concealed his own virtues, and did not reveal the secrets of his soul or his devotional exercises and practices to any one, and wished them to remain unknown. Thus Father Diego d'Eguia, an aged and holy man, exclaimed more than once, 'Oh, if I could but tell you what I know of Master Ignatius! Oh, if my lips were not closed, how many and what great things I could show you!' for he was then or had been a short time before confessor to Ignatius, who had commanded him, in virtue of holy obedience, never to reveal a word on such subjects during his life-time. Although he was so very weak, and might have lived with greater comfort in the College, he chose always to live by alms in the house of the Professed.

"I have heard from Father Luis Gonçalez how, when Ignatius was very ill, in the time of Pope Julius III., some of the elders went to visit him, and as they were lamenting that in case of his death, which he so longed for, the Society would be in danger of perishing, he replied—'The first generation I hope are good, the second will be better, and the third will be better still.'"

"And so I trust it will be," says Manare, "for it is clear that the Society is now better and more perfectly formed than it ever was before."[2] . . .

"His mass occupied rather more than an hour, because he was impeded by frequent ecstasies and tears. On this account he celebrated less frequently, especially in public. . . .

"I have never seen any picture of the blessed Father which much resembles him. The one which hangs in the refectory where he used to dine is hardly like him at all; but the statue in plaster which used to

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[1] "Pobre de mi! Pecador de mi! Mi pobre alma! Mi miserable alma!"

[2] Chateaubriand, writing in our time, says, "Les Jésuites se soutinrent et se perfectionnèrent jusqu'à leur dernier moment—They went on improving up to their last moment."

be exposed at the Roman College when the vows were renewed is very like. One day, at the hour of recreation after dinner, as I was with our Father Everard Mercurian, his Assistants,[1] and some of the elder Fathers, Brother Ludovico Jappi wished to see if I remembered the features of Ignatius, and taking the statue I have spoken of, he dressed it up as much like the Saint as possible, in the hall-porter's room, and disposed it on the bed as if he were lying down to rest, with a cassock and a biretta, and then called to me that a gentleman was waiting to see me. I went down to see him, and Ludovico said that he was very weak, and was lying down in the room. I went in, and when my eyes fell on the statue as I entered the door, I cried out, 'Father Ignatius! Father Ignatius!'

"But the face of Ignatius, as Philip Neri of pious memory observed to me, shone with a superhuman light, so that no resemblance could approach to it.

"He was admirable in speech; for it was grave, not impetuous or hasty, but solid and efficacious, and that of a real saint. He was never heard to say a word which seemed spoken by chance. . . . None ever left him without comfort, instruction, and contentment, even if he failed in obtaining the purpose for which he came; such grace was there in his words.

"The same propriety and precision were equally conspicuous in his writings. This good breeding he desired and exacted from his subjects. I recollect to have seen a letter to one of us, in which he severely reproves the writing because of its blots and blunders. He says—'I myself send off thirty letters to-night, not one of which I have not looked over twice; and when I write with my own hand, which I often do to persons who are worthy of reverence from their position, I sometimes write the letters twice, or even three times over, that there may be no blots nor blunders to disfigure them.'"

This fastidiousness is conformable to the principle Maldonado attributes to the Institute, which enjoins "that everything should be done as well as possible." "To do everything at its appointed time, and to throw oneself thoroughly into the duty of the moment, was the principle of Father Maldonado," says his biographer. And St. Francis Xavier liked to repeat—"Be great in little things."

"As he always resigned himself into God's hands with great indifference of mind, so he desired greatly that his subjects should in the same manner resign themselves into the hands of their Superiors. An act of my own,

[1] Father Everard was then General. The Assistants are the General's Council, and represent the various "tongues" of the Order. See p. 304.

as I understood from Sebastiano Romeo, greatly pleased our blessed Father. He sent for me in Rome in the year 1553, and proposed to me three places, to one of which he purposed sending me, and exhorted me to tell him candidly to which of them I preferred going. I replied that I had no inclination except to obey. He encouraged me several times to tell him, or, at least, to give him some hint of my inclination; and when I always answered that I could not really give any other answer, but that I was ready to go to any place, and, if necessary, to death, under obedience, he dismissed me kindly, and afterwards said he had been gratified by my indifference and submission. Nevertheless, the holy Father used willingly to follow the inclination of his subjects, provided there was indifference and submission, and he was glad when it agreed with his own views, because, as he said, that way of government went on better, and was less onerous.

"At the beginning of my Rectorate of the Roman College, perceiving that the passion of anger was again rising, which when I was a subject I had hardly ever felt, and I thought I had subdued, I was grieved at this, and went to Ignatius for counsel and help. He exhorted me to the contest, and told me that indignation kept in hand, and guided by reason and the fear of God, is a great assistance in good government: that I must therefore take care so to hold it in, as to prevent its breaking loose, and for the rest, need not think much of it. I have more than once heard him say that he wished the men of our Society to devote themselves, like the Angels, wholly to the salvation and advancement of mankind, yet at the same time continue ever unchanging and constant.

"One whose name I have forgotten, complained that he was frequently interrupted in union with God, and distracted by being so often called to the door by strangers; to which Ignatius answered:—'Receive those who come to you for help or spiritual advice with great charity, but as soon as you are called or as you go to them, make some ejaculatory prayer, asking God to assist by your means the soul of him who sends for you; then direct all your thoughts and words that you may be of spiritual help to that person, and your interruption will be no useless distraction, but a great advantage to your own soul. . . . But if people come to bring you news, or for useless conversation, speak to them judiciously of death or sin, of what it is to offend God, of the judgment, of examining their conscience, and of confession, and repeat this as often as they come. Those who want help will return for their good, and those who do not care about their own souls will leave you in peace, and not return.'

"Three things he used generally to recommend strongly to his sons,

and especially to Superiors, which are great helps to religious discipline—cleanliness in the whole house and in dress, silence, and keeping inclosure—these, he said, were signs of a healthy discipline. He was so particular about cleanliness, that he often visited the rooms himself, to see that the beds were neatly made, the books arranged in order on the table, and the floor swept, and that nothing should be seen but in its place, as the nightcap underneath the pillow and out of sight, the broom under the bed or in some dark corner, and the candle and shoes put away. He would not permit any conversation, except at the hour of recreation after meals. When he heard any over loud noise of voices or of footsteps going up or down stairs, he immediately opened the door and called the delinquent, and admonished him of his duty. Frequent penances were on this account imposed by the Minister because we spoke loud or walked noisily, or banged the doors. As to inclosure, Ignatius would not suffer the house-door to remain open for the smallest space of time, if not necessary, nor the keys to be left hanging in the door. . . .

"He was very attentive about order in the various offices, and, however busy or ill he might be, he wished the Minister to inform him every day of anything of importance, and on the following day to come for his commands. Consequently the management and discipline went on admirably, and from his example the rule and custom has been established that the Rector sends for the Minister every day.

"He was strict about subordination. One day, being Rector of the College, I was as Rector arranging the students at the door to go out in order to the sermon at the House of the Professed, when one of the Fathers who happened to be present, trusting to his own authority and to his favour with Ignatius, ordered one of our scholastics to go and clean his shoes before he went out. Pretending not to perceive this, I gave the order for all to start. The Father in question reported the affair to Ignatius, but the Saint in a fatherly way pointed out to him that he ought to respect subordination, and to allow the Rector of the College to exercise his authority without interfering.

"He would not permit the introduction of any novelty, however good itself, without the sanction of authority. Martin Olave, though Superintendent of the College, who was a grave, pious, and learned man, as well as very dear to Ignatius, having given a new order that the lesson from the (new) Roman breviary, which had been compiled by Cardinal Quiñones,[1] and was in general use in the Society, should be read during meal-time—because usually the lesson contained the history of the Saint on that day

[1] The well-known breviary of Quiñones, abolished by St. Pius V.

commemorated—was publicly and severely censured by him at supper. For this purpose a Brother Antonio Rion was sent from the Professed House, who was bitter and witty in administering a reproof. This had not only great effect in establishing better discipline, but all of us who were present were greatly edified by the remarkable humility and tranquillity of Father Olave, who was so distinguished a religious. It was not the thing in itself that was reproved,—for this Ignatius desired should be continued, and the lessons were afterwards read till the reformed Roman Martyrology was substituted for them,—but because a good thing was not done in the right and orderly way. . . .

"When he sent me to govern the new College at Loretto, he gave me hardly any instructions how I was to conduct myself towards the Governor of the town, the Canons, and others; and I inquired what rule I was to observe, because the rules of the Roman College could not be acted on there, on account of the character of the place, and the great concourse of pilgrims, and in like manner it would be very difficult to observe the rules of the Professed House. He answered, 'Olivier, do as you have seen, and as God will inspire you. Adapt the rules to the place as you best can.' I asked to what offices I should appoint the different subjects whom he assigned to me. He answered briefly, 'Cut your clothes according to your cloth; only inform me of all your arrangements.'

"But it happened once that I did something contrary to a command I had received from him in writing. I told him that I had imagined him as present, and had judged that he would say, 'Do as you propose. For, had I been there, I should have bidden you to act in this way.' He answered me that I had acted according to his wishes. 'Man,' he said, 'gives you the office, but God must give you prudence. It is my wish that in future you act thus, without scruple, and do what you judge to be expedient under new circumstances, notwithstanding the letter of the rule.' . . .

"He desired that the members of the Society should have the same devotion in doing any work or office of charity that they have in prayer and meditation,—this was the very spirit which actuated him,—since indeed it is our duty to do nothing at all, except for God's love and service and for His honour and glory. . . .

"He used often to say that an obedience which comes only from the will, without the submission and consent of the judgment, is imperfect, and that any member of the Society whose judgment is in opposition to his Superiors stands on one foot only in the Society, and is very near to a fall.

"He was so jealous of poverty in the House of the Professed, that sometimes when the sick required a particular sort of wine which he had at the College, he would not allow a single flask to be brought without giving back as much in exchange. This I have seen several times. He measured perfection of poverty in matter of clothes not by mere cheapness, but by durability and moderate excellence. For this reason he allowed me when Rector to change the Roman cloth we made use of at great cost to our health and to our purse, because when worn-out it was useless, and when new it wore us out, as it was so heavy. He permitted us to get Flanders cloth, called superfine, which is of moderate price and durable, and which when worn-out is useful for repairs. . . .

"When he heard of persons of honourable condition being in poverty, but ashamed to beg, he had regard both to their necessities and their pride, and gave them things to do, for which he might send them alms under the form of payment. I know of two or three whom he so assisted, and one of them who received more than fifty gold ducats at once.

"He had very great confidence in God, so, when it was necessary, he stayed at nothing, though the cost was great and his means were slender. Whilst I was Rector of the Roman College, and we numbered twenty-eight inmates, the holy Father ordered me to prepare and furnish rooms and furniture for one hundred, and this at a time when all the money we possessed was five light gold pieces, which Polanco kept for the College and fabric. He wished to give me these, assuring me that he had nothing else by him in the house. When I thought of the buildings in progress at the country house at St. Balbina, and at the College itself, I was ashamed of accepting them. However, we both determined to obey, he in collecting money, and I in borrowing furniture and keeping up the College. In the midst of these proceedings, Ignatius came to see what preparations were made for the Brothers whom he purposed sending to us. He found a great dormitory filled with bedsteads, chairs, and tables. When he had looked at everything, he turned to Polanco and said, 'What, Master Polanco, are our Brethren to be lodged here? Are they to be exposed here to all the inclemencies of the winter which is close at hand? Where is the ceiling? Are they to have nothing but the tiles of the roof above them?' 'But, Reverend Father,' said Polanco, 'we have no money, and we cannot borrow any more.' 'Let the ceiling be made, Polanco,' he replied, 'and do not suffer the Brothers to sleep without one. God will provide for His servants.' It was a hired house, yet he willed that it should be made. Polanco

obeyed, for the command was positive, and he had often experienced that the holy Father never ordered anything imprudently. The next day, as Polanco was setting out to borrow of friends, or of the bankers, he was met by the Archdeacon of Navarre, a Spaniard, by name Mondragon, well known to me, who begged Polanco to accept of 500 gold crowns, and return them by instalments as he was able. Besides this, a Portuguese, who was Procurator of the Order of St. Jerome, brought a much larger sum, with the same conditions. Not long afterwards these sums were repaid out of the alms of devout persons, and all our debts were paid off, as I believe, through the prayers and merits of our Blessed Father.

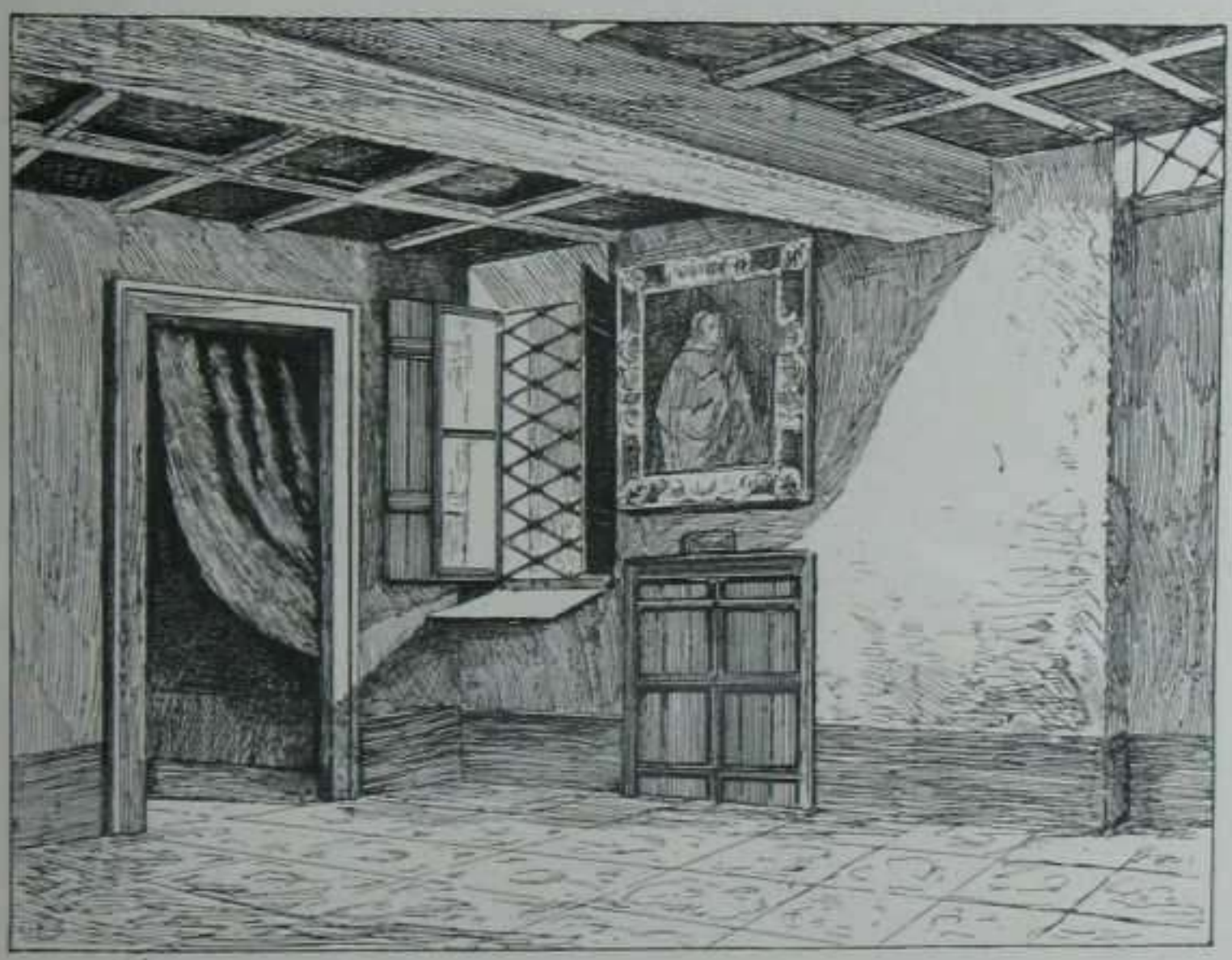
"About the same time Father Guy Roilet, Rector of the German College, being greatly burdened by debt, went to our Blessed Father to ask assistance. . . . It was near Christmas time, and Ignatius, after listening to the sorrowful tale, asked him with a smile if he had anything for the students to make merry with at the feast. Guy replied, 'O Father, we have barely bread, for the baker says he will not let us have any more.' 'Be of good heart,' said the Saint, 'God will assist you. Meanwhile, provide some kids[1] and other things for the young men to feast upon, and leave the care of all to God.' Thus he dismissed him comforted and cheerful, and on the day following Pope Julius III. sent 500 gold ducats to Ignatius, which he divided between the Roman and German Colleges. . . .

"I have often heard, especially from Father Lainez, of his great diligence in the examination of conscience, and in the particular examination also, and how he used to compare one examen with another, one time with another, and one week with another; so careful was he about his spiritual progress. His heart was almost always fixed on God, even when his attention seemed otherwise directed. Very often as he was walking in the garden I have seen him stop a little while, and raise his eyes in contemplation. . . .

"He wished especially that religious services should be done correctly and beautifully. Thus when the offices for Holy Week were celebrated in our Church, he was anxious that, while keeping our customs, they should be performed as well as possible. He therefore used to send for those who were to take part in them, and make them rehearse several times in his presence, noticing them very carefully, so as to correct any slip.

[1] In Rome to the present day the flesh of kids is used very much as we use lamb or veal.

"When he was going to send any Fathers to a distance, he used to make them come to him the day before they started, equipped for their journey, with their hats and staves and cloaks, to see if anything was wanting. This I have seen several times."



PLACE WHERE HE DIED. FIREPLACE OF HIS TIME.

ANTEROOM OF ST. IGNATIUS AT THE GESŬ, ROME.

POPE PAUL IV. [CARAFFA].

## CHAPTER V.

THE POPES OF ST. IGNATIUS' LAST YEARS—1555–1556.

JULIUS III. had died on the 23rd March 1555. He had long ago retired as much as possible from public affairs. During the latter part of his short reign, his time was chiefly spent in his house and gardens still seen between Rome and the Ponte Molle. The outer world was troubled, and he forgot it whenever it was not forced on him. He was, as a rule, exceedingly kind to Ignatius. His favour, however, once appeared diminished, when the Spanish bishops and priests, who resided in Rome, were incensed at an order of Charles V. requiring that they should all obey the decree

of the Council of Trent, which obliged them to reside at their sees and benefices. They attributed the measure to the Jesuits, and complained bitterly of their interference to the Pope. Julius, when in his turn he complained to Charles that his privilege as Pope was intruded upon, received for answer "that the decree was not the Emperor's, but made by the Council over which the Pope himself had presided, and that he was bound to enforce it." The Jesuits were known to approve the law of residence; they were in favour at the Court of Castile, and their enemies represented to Julius that they had partly influenced Charles to give this reply. The Pope showed such extreme displeasure that no one dared remonstrate, not even Cardinal Carpi, till Julius received from Ferdinand, who had become Emperor, a letter[1] begging to see Ignatius on a matter of the gravest import and secrecy. The Father was then admitted to an audience. Julius restored him at once to more than his former kindness. He called his Chamberlain, when Ignatius took leave, and said, "I desire that when the Father Ignatius comes, he may be admitted immediately, and I am to be informed, whoever may be with me at the time." And he sent next day an alms of 500 gold crowns to the Professed House. He had the year before given a revenue of 1500 crowns to the Roman College. At the petition of Borgia, he gave a vacant College at Saragossa to the Society. Once, when Ignatius went, as he frequently did, to ask some spiritual favour, Julius added, "And have you nothing to ask me for your temporal wants?" Ignatius answered, "No." The Pope then commanded him, on his obedience, always to apply to him for assistance when the House of the Professed was in difficulties, and bade the Father who accompanied Ignatius to remind him of this.

The Conclave which assembled after the death of Julius could not give a more unquestionable proof of their desire to see the Church piously reformed and wisely governed than by electing Marcello Cervini for their new Pope. He had always been exemplary in life. He had sometimes controlled and even reproved the late Pope, whose words were not always guarded, nor was his demeanour at all times suited to his dignity. He condemned his family partialities, though these were moderate and stopped short of scandal; nor would Marcello ever allow his own relations even to enter Rome. He promised an absolute neutrality in political matters, and with this Charles V. was well satisfied. He made retrenchments, and caused a scheme to be drawn out of many reforms; but he first set himself to restore solemn worship in the churches, which had but recently and imperfectly recovered from

[1] See Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 531.

a state of incredible neglect. When St. Ignatius waited on Pope Marcellus to offer him the services of his Order, the Pontiff received him with the utmost kindness, embraced him, walked up and down the room with him, and conversed earnestly on the best ways of spreading the faith of the Church and restoring its discipline. He wished for these purposes to have always some of the Society near him, and desired that every member then at Rome should be brought to him that he might personally know each. He said to Ignatius, "You are soldiers ready for battle, and I mean to make use of you." The rapid and extraordinary success which had everywhere attended the Society made great impression on Marcellus. He said, "Since the days of the Apostles, no man has lived to see so much result of his exertions as Ignatius." He particularly loved Martin Olave and Lainez. Olave he had taken with him the year before to his bishopric of Gubbio, and often called him "my master." Lainez had been his Confessor and intimate ally at the Council of Trent, and now he asked that these two should be allotted to him as Papal theologians. Ignatius was well pleased, but would not confirm this choice himself. He referred it to the decision of the majority of the Fathers, as it was his usual custom to do. In former years, when Marcellus, then Cardinal of Sta. Croce, discussed with Father Olave the best ways of reforming the Church, he insisted that nothing could be so efficacious as to supply it with bishops and pastors from the Society of Jesus, who were so well trained in all the knowledge that perfects both the intellect and the soul. Olave represented to him the particular objects and system of Ignatius, whose heart was entirely devoted to the Church, and who was persuaded that he had restricted the Order in certain respects only to the great increase of its utility in others. And this opinion was so strong, he said, in Ignatius, that, after frequent controversies, he maintained it as fully as ever. "I yield then," said the Cardinal, "to the judgment of Ignatius, for that has more weight with me than any other argument."

But time was not granted to Marcellus to do much. And while all good men congratulated each other, and thanked Heaven for a Pope so fitted to heal the wounds of the Church and of Christendom, he was suddenly struck with apoplexy, and died on the twenty-second day from his election. Of all the reforms projected by him, that which alone survives was connected with ecclesiastical music; and it was owing to the sublime genius of Palestrina, one of whose compositions is known as the "Mass of Pope Marcellus," that Church music was saved from being condemned.[1]

His successor, Cardinal Gian-Pietro Caraffa, was of a stern and hard

[1] It was in great part a beautiful adaptation of some old Benedictine chants. On the MS. was found written, "Adjuva me, Domine, Marcellus."

character, but his election was again a proof of the conscientious temper which now prevailed in the Consistory. He was known to be an inflexible and peremptory reformer. He had been fervent and austere among the Theatines; and when placed in the Papal Chair, he added to the Theatine spirit that of a splendid and despotic sovereign. On the 21st of June the ambassadors of Mary and Philip were received at Rome.

The Fathers of the Society thought that misfortune was impending over them when Caraffa became Pope. Ignatius himself looked grave, which seldom happened to him; but he retired to pray, then assured them that they would still find a protector on the throne. And so it proved. The new Pope was crowned on June 5. He took the name of Paul IV. He received the ceremonious visit of Ignatius and some of his brethren graciously, and some days after sent for him again, and granted some requests which the Saint made for the Society, and for Ferdinand, King of the Romans. He even gave a singular mark of confidence in Loyola. The Cardinal Saraceni, who was said to have managed everything for the Pope during the first year of his reign, having come to him with some petition, Paul referred him to Ignatius, and confirmed his answer beforehand. Otto Truchses said he often heard Paul speak with such admiration of the Jesuits, that he should desire for himself no other advocate with the Pope than Ignatius.

It seems as if old hostilities must have been at work, when any signs occurred of some diminution of this goodwill. The fables related since of the concealed wealth of the Jesuits perhaps already existed, for one of the Cardinals sent a poor nobleman of Rome to Santa Maria della Strada, desiring Ignatius to give him money, as he much wanted it. Ignatius gave him all he had in the house, which was a very small sum, and only said, "The Illustrissimo who sent you must have supposed us much richer than we are. I wish that I had more for you." And one cannot but think the sun of courtly favour did not shine on Ignatius when he was once allowed to wait fourteen hours in the ante-room of a Cardinal, or when the house was searched in 1556 by Papal authority for concealed arms. Paul withdrew the yearly donation hitherto given to the German College, and many Cardinals followed his example; but this was no proof of enmity. The ill-fated elevation, however, of the free lance, Carlo Caraffa, to the post of Cardinal-nephew, brought on a war with Spain, which, among other disasters, added to the many difficulties of Mary of England, and embittered her death. Rome was poor and harassed, the treasury exhausted, and full of terror at the memory of like disasters in the siege during the days of Clement VII. Philip II. preserved his respect for the Chair of St. Peter, and even ordered prayers to be offered in all the churches, "that the Pope might be

victorious over all his enemies," while Philip's own army was advancing to the gates of Rome.

Meanwhile, in the city, supplies began to fail. Ignatius saw that he could not keep his beloved German College much longer; but he would not dismiss the students—he dispersed them among the residences and various friends of the Society in the neighbourhood, where famine was not yet imminent. All except himself now despaired of the College. It turned out that while others wanted, the people belonging to Ignatius always had enough. Luis Gonçalez said, "This seemed to be a miracle." "It would be miraculous indeed," said Ignatius, "if God had failed to support those who trust in Him. Is it the first time you have seen that our supplies always equal our wants? For my part, I would undertake as willingly to support a thousand as a hundred, for the one is as easy to God as the other." A Father said he could not understand by what rule Ignatius was guided in this. "The more hopeless matters are," said Ignatius, "the more we ought to trust in God." He explained his expectations of external aid to Bobadilla. "But," said another, "these are uncertain resources, and even if not, they are insufficient." "And would you not have me look to God for anything?" said Ignatius. One day when the bell rang for dinner there was not a morsel of bread left, or any food. At that moment a supply was sent for the whole house. Another evening their stores ran short of firewood, wine, and bread. Next morning a pious matron sent them a load of wood. When this was taken in, the door by accident was left open, and hastening to shut it, they found that flour and wine had been left. Who sent it they never knew. Brother Giovanni della Croce, who was charged with the domestic expenses, coming one day in a time of great need from St. John Lateran, met a man as he passed the Coliseum, who, without saying a word, came up to him and gave him a hundred crowns of gold. And a second time Giovanni received another mysterious donation as he went out early in the morning to make purchases for the house. A man came up and put into his hand a purse full of ducats. Giovanni could not see who he was, for it was not yet daylight, and he thought this might be some device of the evil spirit. So he went into the Church of the Minerva to pray. But the ducats proved to be gold and not ashes, as Giovanni feared.

The Spanish ambassador, Marquis de Sarria, showed displeasure because Ignatius had not appealed to him for relief. The Saint said to Ribadeneira, "I will open my mind to this lord, and tell him how for thirty years God has taught me to depend on Him alone. If the Marquis offers us aid, I will accept it readily, but our trust is in God." His brethren believed it had pleased God to reward this confidence by a glimpse into

CHURCH OF STA. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA, ROME.—*See Appendix.*

futurity. For he declared that a Pope would one day be the patron of the German College, and adopt it as his own. Gregory XIII. fulfilled this prophecy. But Ignatius died while the war still lasted, and the condition of the German College continued precarious and disturbed.

The Congregation of SS. Paul and Barnabas, usually called Barnabites, at Milan, had been most kind to Father Manuel Miona when he fell sick there on his way to Rome. They continued in friendly relations with Ignatius, and a few years after desired to incorporate their Society with his. This, in the year 1552, they requested of him, through the Blessed Alexander Sauli, Archbishop of Genoa, then Vice-Legate at Bologna. Our Saint answered, as he had done in similar cases before, that he highly esteemed the Barnabites, but that each Order had its own particular character and aim, and that it was more for the glory of God that they should preserve them independently. He could not indeed have acceded to their wish, for he had already rejected the same proposal from the Theatines and the Somaschi; besides, it was obviously impossible that the Jesuits, trained by long and strict discipline and instruction to a distinct purpose, could profitably amalgamate with men accustomed to a different tone of thought, many of them advanced in years, and all formed to other practices.

The Prior of the Chartreuse, Gerard Hammontanus, long continued to send donations to the Community, and these were sometimes more acceptable than he was himself aware of. Once, at a period of extreme necessity, Ignatius received from him one hundred crowns. He thanked him in the following letter:—

May the great grace and eternal love of God and our Lord Jesus Christ enrich and prosper your Paternity and your holy Brotherhood with a perpetual increase of spiritual gifts. Though we have seldom written during these last years to your Paternity, yet our union with you in prayer has been frequent, so that on both sides we have often in that lapse of time felt that our mutual love has not vanished, but increased. This, on our part, we find in our lively remembrance and daily growing inclination towards you; and on yours, not only by the letters of our people, which relate the continual benefits that they receive from your Paternity, but by our own experience of your generosity, which reaches us even as far as Rome, for which we give the greatest thanks to God, the cause of all good, and to your Paternity. For your liberality came at the right moment to help the necessities of this College, and this proof of your great love has exceedingly strengthened the bond of our reciprocal friendship. May the Lord Jesus graciously reward you, in the riches of His great goodness, for these and all other kindnesses that you have shown His poor. The Brethren in Rome are well; myself the Lord has visited with a malady of six months' standing, but I am now a little better; the rest your Paternity will learn from our Brothers, to whom we write more particulars. We all desire humbly to recommend ourselves to the prayers and sacrifices of your

Paternity, and of your honourable brethren, who are ours. Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the eternal salvation and life of all. Amen.

ROME, *Aug.* 21, 1554.[1]

The pious and liberal German Carthusian deserves that we should here add his answer :—

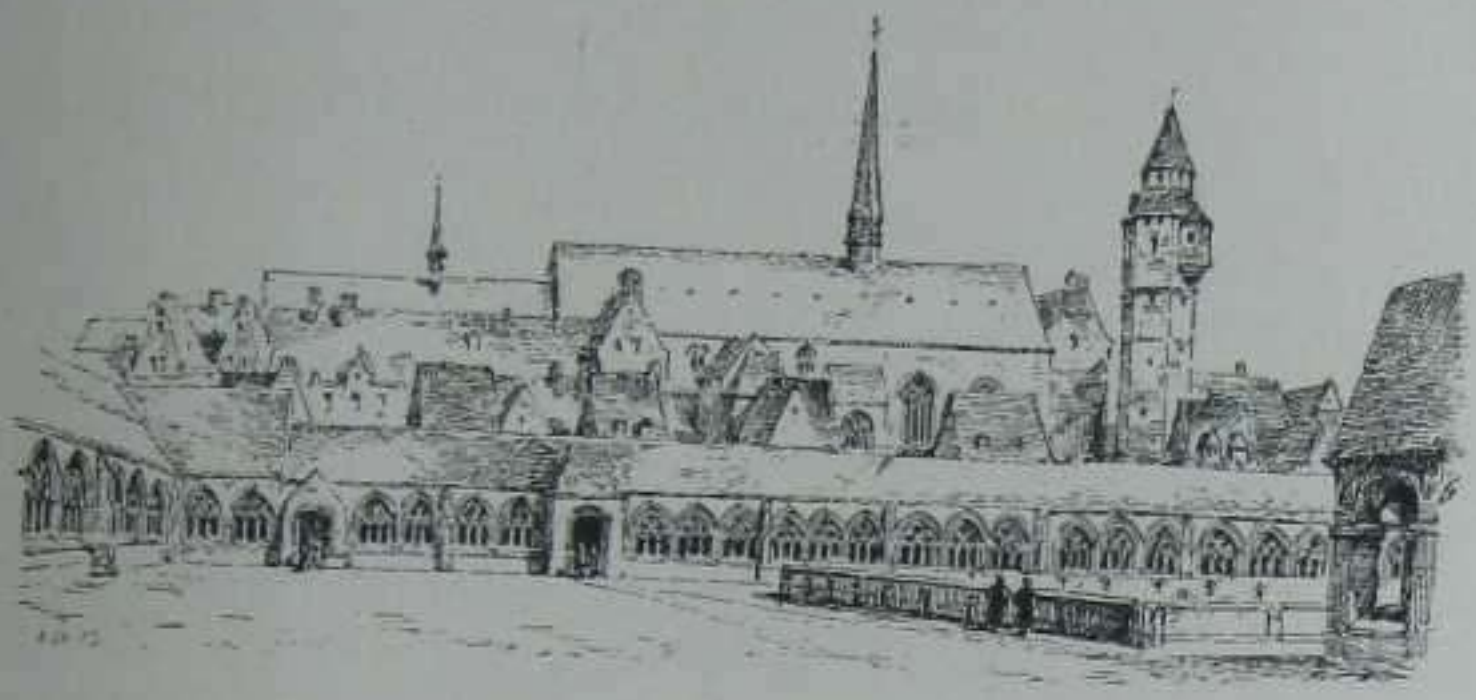
Fight the good fight with the weapons of righteousness, to the right and left, most worthy Father, whom I must ever embrace in the arms of charity. I have received the letter of your Reverence, and I see from it that your health is in some degree restored, and also that you are so favourable as to admit me, an unworthy sinner, to a partnership in prayer and sacrifice with your holy Society. I humbly desire to recommend to you myself and my Brethren. I will never forget you, in the measure of that affection with which the Lord has inspired me for you, long since, through Master Peter Favre, of pious memory.

The small gift that I have sent you deserves no thanks. I wish that the unquiet times allowed me to assist you as I should desire; I now find a sufficiently secure way to send to you, and I see the increase and perseverance of the Community in good works begun. In order to do something and take advantage of this opportunity, I send 500 golden florins; but I ask neither letter nor thanks; only prayer and silence, for I know the clerks (*i.e.*, the Jesuits) live on the alms of the faithful, and that they are bound to spend their superfluity on pious purposes; as I intend to do, by God's help, until I die, in order to satisfy my conscience, so long as, against my will, I retain authority here. May I see before I die a College of your brethren established in Cologne. I have said much on this subject to the prelates and authorities of the town, but the magistrates show themselves intractable. God pity us all, and keep your Paternity, with your holy Community, as long as possible in His holy work, which you have begun, for the welfare of the afflicted Church.

*Dec.* 27, 1554.[2]

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 298.
[2] Bolland. p. 483, C.D.

LORETO, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.



THE CHARTREUSE, PARIS, TIME OF ST. IGNATIUS.

# CHAPTER VI.

## PARIS AND BELGIUM—1555-1556.

ALL attacks personal to Ignatius himself had ceased long before his death; but his Society, in accordance with his prayer, was never to be at perfect peace.[1] At Paris, the Sorbonne issued a complaint. The Bishop and the University furnished the matter of it, partly invented, partly inaccurate, and perversely given. They published a decree which was sent to Rome. Some of the most weighty Fathers of the Society counselled Ignatius to answer it. But he, following a higher guidance, said to them: "My Brothers, remember what Christ said to His disciples when He left the world, 'I give you My peace, I leave you My peace.'[2] Take this now to yourselves. We must neither write nor do anything that may create bitterness. There are cases in which it is better to be silent than to speak. We need not use the pen to defend ourselves, when truth will assert itself on our behalf. The authority of the theologians of Paris is great certainly, and we must respect it; but it need not disturb us. We shall find means, if necessary, which I do not expect, to heal this injury, milder and less dangerous than what you propose." He comforted his distant and persecuted sons in France with his letters, full of wisdom and paternal care. He gave them such courage that they all declared they

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[1] Genelli remarks that in each country the hostility excited against the Jesuits showed itself in the same manner, and formed a sort of historic tradition, preserved even to our days.

[2] John xiv. 27.

would die, if necessary, but never relinquish those labours for the saving of souls which had drawn these attacks upon them.

And what St. Ignatius foresaw happened. For when, in 1555, the Cardinal of Lorraine came again to Rome, he was accompanied by four of the most distinguished theologians in Paris—Jerome de la Sanchière, afterwards made a Cardinal, Despence, Benoit, and Brichanteau.[1] On the petition of our Saint a conference was held in the palace of the Cardinal. The Paris Doctors were answered by Lainez, Olave, Polanco, and André des Freux, himself a Frenchman. Olave was a Doctor of the Sorbonne. He was the chief speaker on his own side. Benoit was the accuser of the Company. The answers of Olave are still extant. They appeared conclusive to the audience; and when the Cardinal desired them to give their opinion, they said the decree had been drawn up without sufficient consideration. Benoit excused his conduct and the decree on the ground of misinformation. The Jesuits passed over his conduct, but showed that the decree was refuted by the Institute itself. Benoit joined the others in commending Ignatius for not having appealed to the Pope or any Cardinals. Moreover, the Saint obtained statements such as he needed from some of the sovereign personages who had been friendly to his Society.

He wrote thus to the Duke of Ferrara:—

Since your Excellency has been from the beginning so zealous a protector of our small Society, you will not wonder that we have recourse to you in a matter which concerns the obstacles that impede us in our labours for God; for even if we had not known by experience the goodwill of your Excellency, the interest you take in such things, as becomes a truly Christian prince, would encourage us to ask aid and protection from you, for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty. Our Brother, Master John Pelletier, is charged to communicate several things to you, on the subject of the hindrances which have arisen at Paris against our Society, which has been introduced and, till now, settled there for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. We humbly, therefore, pray your Excellency to take the trouble, if you think it suitable for the glory of God—which is our object, of writing to the Most Christian King. Many seek by evil reports to destroy his goodwill towards us; though I trust that, in the Divine goodness, the hostility in that city will help to prove the truth respecting this enterprise which God our Lord has Himself begun by such feeble instruments, and that it will happen to us as formerly at Rome, when your Excellency deigned to add your help to that of Divine Providence in our favour.

*March* 9, 1555.[2]

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[1] Jerome de la Sanchière, a Cistercian; Crispin de Brichanteau, a Religious of St. Denis.

[2] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. v. p. 117. The answer of Olave (or Lainez?) is at p. 494.

He wrote also to all the Superiors of the Company, to ask the authorities of the places where they lived, or the princes, ecclesiastical or secular, to give testimony of their lives, doctrine, and Institute. In a short time, certificates poured in on all sides, expressed in terms the most honourable to the Society. At Ferrara the Inquisitor Papino attests that the Rector Le Pelletier, as well as the Religious under him, have conducted themselves with so much piety and discretion, that not a single word against them has reached him, and in the professorships and other public offices have been so exemplary and shown so much tact and ability, that they have greatly benefited the students of the University both as to morals and learning. A second testimony from that place came from the Rector of the University of Ferrara and thirty-two professors. It was addressed directly to the University of Paris, and more expressly to the Superiors of the Faculty of Theology. After a high eulogy of the Company, they say, "that the school and Order of Jesus, like every other body, should be judged by its works, and that these are worthy of all admiration. They teach the humanities without payment, and at the same time train their pupils in good principles. They preach, they explain the Sacred Scriptures, they neglect nothing that belongs to our holy religion; and all the while they visit the hospitals and console the sick. For these reasons it would be better to call them into places where they have never yet been, than to expel them from any." Fra Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, said that the Society of Jesus had made such an impression on the inhabitants of Modena and other towns, by their pure life, their Christian piety, their lessons and their example, that all under their direction made daily advances in virtue. He declared that he did not say this for the mere desire of giving praise, which was far from him, but to bear witness for the glory of God to what he had seen and proved. It was Foscarari, when Master of the Sacred Palace, who had approved the Book of Exercises.

In the statement sent by the Archbishop of Florence, along with his colleagues, the Vicar-General and Inquisitor, he declared, among other subjects of commendation, "that the Jesuits are greatly disposed towards all Orders recognised by holy Church, and strive, as far as possible, to keep peace and true unity among them."

We need not go into the testimony sent from Spain and Portugal, particularly from the Universities of Valladolid, Lisbon, and Coimbra, nor of two letters from the King of Portugal to the Pope. All speak of the Society with the highest esteem. At Louvain the University also declared for the Jesuits. So that the Sorbonne now stood entirely alone, and those who had the right to give a judgment had, almost all over Europe, decided

against it. This must secretly have been a triumph for St. Ignatius, but he said nothing.

He had no need to make any further use of these attestations; for the intrigues of his enemies at Paris melted away as he had foreseen. But the censures of the Sorbonne were condemned in another quarter. The Inquisition at Saragossa drew up an edict with all possible consideration for that College. "Since some evil rumours had got abroad," it said, "that a foreign University had reported the Company of Jesus to be dangerous to the faith, injurious to the peace and tranquillity of the Church, and damaging to the religious Orders previously existing, the Inquisition has declared these rumours false, and offensive to the Apostolic Chair; and ordered, on pain of excommunication, that all writings on this subject should be given up, all ill-disposed persons reported within three days to the Inquisition, and an absolute silence has been enjoined for the future in this matter." Finally, the effects of the unwise attack of the Sorbonne were the reverse of what they intended, for it hastened the establishment of two Colleges of the Company in France. The College in Paris prospered so remarkably that the Protestant Languet, envoy of the Duke of Saxe, writing to his Court in 1571, says "the Jesuits throw all the other professors into the shade, and are gradually bringing the Sorbonnists into disrepute." And when the College of Billom asked aid from the Cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon, they added to their answer these words:[1] "Oh, fortunate that you are, whom the Divine Majesty has allowed to live at the same time with these men! . . . Take hold of that which is granted you. Embrace this Society of Jesus Christ, and adhere to its example and its instructions. We will endeavour, both for your sake and because it is our own duty, that France shall never lose this precious gift of God." "The opposition of the University, aided by the clergy of Paris, the Mendicant Orders, and Eustache de Bellay, their Bishop, was to no effect," says De Boulay, writing on behalf of the University; "for the Society of Jesus, one can hardly describe how, flourished and increased so rapidly, that it seemed all at once and everywhere to be received with almost universal welcome."

A few months before the death of Ignatius, Luis de Granada, defending the Society against Melchior Cano, wrote to one of the Fathers:—

I well know that it is the way of our Lord to sweeten the waters with salt, to restore sight to the eyes with clay, to increase the children of Israel by the

[1] Words more complimentary than musical: "O vos beatos, quos divina Majestas, temporibus his, horum virorum dono dignata est!"

ONE OF THE HERMITAGES, MONTSERRAT.—*See p.* 36.

persecution of Pharaoh, and Christians by the attacks of tyrants. And this new opposition, striving to destroy the Society, is found to become an occasion to exercise it in humility, make it more and more pious, exemplary, circumspect, devoted, and hence rise to greater credit and higher favour with the world. So the means invented by this friar to oppress your Reverences will be used by God to lift you up; and instead of proving, as he says, that you are working for Antichrist, he will prove to have been working for you.

About this time, 1555, a scholar expelled from the German College for misconduct revenged himself by representations injurious to the house. The discipline, he said, was harsh, and the food insufficient. The enemies of Loyola took up these statements and made the most of them. Canisius wrote to Ignatius, who answered in a letter containing these words:—

Respecting the report that the German College has not been successful, I do not know who, except the evil spirit, could have stated it; the truth is, that by Divine help it has prospered to our wishes. All through these unfortunate times the pupils want nothing that is needful for their maintenance, or for their advance in virtue and knowledge. There are now thirty scholars in the College, in different classes, according to their different studies, and they give us cause to hope that they will distinguish themselves to the glory of God. It is our most pressing wish to increase the number of the good ones. A bad subject was received along with the others, and has been dismissed. You will see to the finding and sending us some promising scholars. They are treated here, we think, so gently, that we are astonished that any one should say the discipline or the duties are too severe. Twice in the week they go for recreation into the country. They are not educated with the smallest harshness, but, on the contrary, with much indulgence, if they will only live in an edifying manner.

These country recreations were latterly always taken in the vigna adjoining the Church of Santa Balbina.[1] Two days every week the pupils of the German College went there, whom the people called "gamberi cotti," "boiled lobsters," because of their red cassocks; two other days those of the Roman College; the rest of the week was for the novices and students of the Gesù. Once Ribadeneira was the Father sent in charge of them, and he incurred a grave reproof from Ignatius. They were playing at a game common in all times, standing in a circle and throwing an orange one to another. Whoever let the orange fall was to pay a forfeit. Some one proposed that the forfeit should be to say an Ave Maria. This Ribadeneira might certainly have forbidden as savouring of irreverence; but he did not, and Ignatius was greatly displeased.

[1] Not far from the Porta Latina.

The last College which Ignatius established in Italy was that of Loreto. He sent thither Olivier Manare, with three or four others, in the same year. Before they set off they made the usual pilgrimage of the Seven Churches. Several students of the Roman College accompanied them. Sebastiano Romeo, who took Father Manare's place as Rector, sent some bread and a flask of wine for their long walk, whereat Ignatius was greatly displeased, and gave them all a penance. Sebastian excused himself because others had done the same. St. Ignatius answered, "Then it was wrong, and must be put a stop to." St. Philip Neri was less scrupulous, and would not withdraw his permission to this effect, though some reproached him for it. Ignatius considered it a bad example, and unbefitting one of his Order, unless they had been poorly, which was not the case. Another point that he adhered to particularly was, that they should kneel in their church without support, and the Father Minister was enjoined to observe that they did this.

At Loreto Manare was as successful as the Jesuits were accustomed to be everywhere, but the house was at first disturbed by extraordinary noises, and marvellous signs of being haunted by demons, who not only hindered the inhabitants from sleeping, but annoyed them many ways when in bed, so that Manare or some other priest used to walk up and down the corridor all through the night to comfort the terrified men. In the middle of dinner, one day, a young Englishman, called Thomas, was struck so violently on his side that he turned pale and fell backwards. The story resembles many told by Görres, and repeated up to our own times. Little novelty of invention is shown by these malicious spirits, and they were not dispersed, it seems, at Loreto by any prayers or exorcisms, till a letter came from Ignatius assuring his brethren their torments would soon cease; and this at once happened.

They combated the demon in other guise with less difficulty, and they taught in all the country round Loreto. Fathers Manare and Montemayor went to Macerata during the Carnival, and preached during the last few days, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, as was the Jesuit custom. They collected large congregations in the churches, and though they could not prevent the performance of a very unedifying comedy, which was in preparation, still such numbers thronged the confessionals, that the Fathers, though busy from early morn till late at night, had to send many away unheard.

Ignatius was very solicitous about the official establishment of his Order in Belgium. The illustrious Louis de Blois, who was an intimate friend of Father Adriaenssens, had paid a signal compliment to the Jesuits by asking them to assist him in reforming his abbey of Liessies. Father

PALACE, LORETO.

*(The upper storey served as the first home of the Society in that town.)*

Goisson, afterwards Rector of the Roman College, was sent to give the "Exercises" there. Louis de Blois, whose character, birth, and interest with Charles V. gave him great weight, King Ferdinand, Cardinal Pole, and Dominic Soto, united their efforts to those of the Jesuits themselves to obtain for them a legal settlement in Flanders. The Regent, still guided by Zwichen and hostile interests, referred their application to the University of Louvain. Louis wrote a long letter and very laudatory of the Society to Zwichen. "I trust that my wish," said he, "that these Fathers may be able to found Colleges in Belgium, as they have done in other parts of the Christian world, would be greatly for God's honour and the good of souls, but I fear we are yet unworthy to receive this blessing from the Lord."[1]

The abdication of Charles V. had now removed all authority from the Queen Regent, and Philip was known to incline to the Society of Jesus; but Zwichen still held a high place in the royal council. Ignatius resolved to send Ribadeneira into Belgium. He was then twenty-seven years of age; he had not taken the vows of the Professed, but he was an extraordinary preacher; and Ignatius hoped that the reputation of his great talents would excite a wish to hear him in the Court of Brussels—all which happened as he had expected.

Pedro started on October 22, 1555, with a young Florentine, Francesco Ghiraldo. He writes to Ignatius six weeks later:—

My very reverend Father in Jesus Christ,—May the infinite grace and everlasting love of Jesus Christ for ever be our aid. Amen.

Last Saturday, the 7th of this month, we arrived at Louvain, by our Lord's goodness, brother Ghiraldo and I, strong and in good health, though somewhat tired by the journey, during which our Lord, ever good and merciful to us, because we were fulfilling your paternal orders, treated us like spoiled children; for we had fine weather, good roads, and good companions when we wanted them. He saved us from many dangers and some unpleasant company. God be for ever praised and blessed.

At Louvain we had much consolation in the society of our Brothers, especially of Father Bernard Olivier, who expected us impatiently. The following Sunday he preached in French extremely well before a large audience in the Church of St. Michel. I was much pleased with his sermon. The same day I went to hear a Latin discourse by an important personage who is accustomed to preach, and it seems to me that it would need much patience to go a second time. There is so much devotion in this place, so many sermons and preachers, that it is astonishing, and makes one thank God. Last Sunday, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, at least five or six hundred persons approached the Holy Table, in

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. p. 583.

the principal church [1] alone, and there were more than thirty sermons in Flemish, French, or Latin. So I am told it will surprise people less to hear me preach in Latin than in the days of Strada, for then no one preached in that language. . . . Yesterday we consulted with Master Bernard and Master Adrian [2] on the orders you had given me, and we agreed that Master Adrian should speak to the Rector of the University, who is full of goodwill to the Society, and to some other friends, so that I may be invited to preach next Sunday. . . . I am told, too, the Spaniards who are studying at the University want me to preach in our own language. If I am asked, I shall not refuse; for I should like to practise speaking in Castilian, and I may thus attract the attention of the Spaniards at Brussels.

At Louvain, Father Master Bernard tells me that the Señor Pedro de Zarate thinks we had better do nothing till the Emperor is gone, and Father Araoz, or some other Spanish Father, has arrived here; . . . but we agreed, Master Bernard, Master Adrian, and myself, that I should return with Master Bernard to Brussels, to lay the matter before the Don Pedro de Zarate and Alexis Fontana, . . . and then return to Louvain. So yesterday evening we repaired to Brussels. We went directly to the Don Alexis Fontana, and asked three things: if the Emperor was returning to Spain? . . . if the King of England (Philip II.) was going to that country? . . and how we could obtain leave to preach in some church, as your Paternity desires, seeing that this city is in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cambrai? . . . He answered that he thought the Emperor would go, that he had even said he expected to keep Christmas in Spain. But no one could tell the exact time; . . . but that the matter was delayed, and the Queen of England had countermanded the fleet which she had made ready to escort the Emperor.

He told us, secondly, that it was believed the King would go to England, but not to stay long . . . because, having to govern Flanders, he could not absent himself so soon.

The question of the preaching was postponed till next day, when he and Bernard were to meet the Señor Zarate at Fontana's house. Then the letter goes on to give the result of this second meeting. Zarate and Fontana think no advance can be made while the Emperor remains, as Philip, though nominally sovereign in Flanders, can do nothing without his assent; and as to the permission to preach, they dread the Bishop of Cambrai, and still more the Emperor's sister, Maria, the Queen of Hungary.

It is thought certain that in a few days (the Emperor) will give Spain and Sicily to his son Philip, as he has already given him Flanders; and then the King, being master of everything, will do as he thinks proper. . . . We have

[1] St. Pierre.
[2] Father Adriaenssens.

determined, therefore, to return to Louvain, Master Bernard and I; and, when the time is come, these gentlemen will give us warning. . . .

There seems to be much agitation in the Court, and discussion of grave matters; so that we had better follow the instructions you gave me, to be guided by our friends who know the Court.

We recommend ourselves to the prayers of the Fathers Lainez, Polanco, Madrid, and all the rest. The unworthy son in Christ of your Paternity,

PEDRO DE RIBADENEIRA.

BRUSSELS, *December* 11, 1555.

St. Ignatius depended much on the effect which Ribadeneira's eloquence and his elegant Latinity would produce at Louvain and at Brussels. Bernard Olivier related to him how his wishes were completely satisfied:—

From the first a larger audience collected round his pulpit than any Latin sermon had ever attracted before; the second and third time it was larger still. The old preachers themselves were among the most eager to hear him. A famous Doctor, named Amerot, who also preaches in Latin with great success, always comes with his pupils. He made a formal visit to our preacher along with his cortège.

A worthy Spanish religious of the Order of St. Dominic, lately giving a sermon, in another church, an hour before Father Ribadeneira commenced his own, made, as he ended, a eulogy on the Latin orations of his colleague, and invited all his auditors to accompany him to hear him, which they did.

The same friar, and several of different Orders, and several Spanish noblemen, have visited him here. A theologian has asked us two or three times, on behalf of the faculty, for a copy of his sermons. Some wish they should be printed; some earnestly beg me to explain to them in writing the art with which he composes and recites his discourses; many observe him with the utmost attention, in order to imitate him.

Another letter says:—

The satisfaction Ribadeneira gives is greater than I can describe. . . . The Regent of the Falcon[1] invited the Father to his table, where were the principal masters of the Colleges, all eager to exchange a few words with him, so that if one wanted to speak separately to him the others complained. . . . In short, they give him such marks of goodwill and friendship, that Father Ribadeneira and his companion, Master Adrian, were astonished. The same Regent offered to receive *gratis* as many young men as we wished to send to the schools of Louvain, adding that he would consider this a great favour. He insisted on giving Master Ribadeneira the key of his College, and of his own apartments, so that he might visit him as often as he pleased. After supper almost all the masters accompanied him home, carrying torches in their hands. . . . To-day a bachelor in theology told me that all the University was talking of these discourses; all, down to the

[1] One of the Halls, of which the head was called *Regent*.

youngest scholar, spoke of them with enthusiasm; the learned praised him, *etiam usque ad miraculum.*

But precious, far beyond praises, were the results that followed in the lives of many of his hearers. The Chancellor Ruard more than once thanked him for the spirit of piety thus kindled and the reforms accomplished. And, as Ignatius hoped, the report of his wonderful eloquence reached Brussels, and the imperial secretary was desired to invite him, through Zarate, to preach before the Court.

He preached (at Brussels) on the Epiphany, in one of the churches which the Spaniards commonly attend. The great Lords of the Court, all the King's Council, and many more were there; and, if we may believe Zarate, even the Bishop of Trieste, the most famous of the Court preachers, never had so large and brilliant an audience. All were pleased with the substance and style of the sermon, and the utterance, action, and dignity of the preacher. The King's confessor could not sufficiently praise the doctrine and unction. Zarate and Fontana stayed after the service to speak with those gentlemen, and told us everybody had been charmed with it and greatly edified. Now, Señor Zarate had before been mortally alarmed lest Father Ribadeneira should not answer the general expectation. He had told us anxiously and several times over that he must prepare himself well, for he would be heard by fastidious ears. He afterwards told me the discourse was every way excellent; so also said these Lords when we went to wait on them in your name. The Father has received numberless marks of esteem and friendship from them. . . . Of your reverend Paternity the useless servant, BERNARD.

LOUVAIN, *January* 11, 1556.

The Count of Feria, Don Gomez de Figueroa y Cordova, afterwards Duke of Feria,[1] the most powerful nobleman at Court, offered Pedro a lodging in his house, treated him as a son, and assisted his efforts to procure an establishment of the Order as a personal affair.

Don Lopez d'Alvarado wrote, some months later:—"As for the goodness, piety, zeal, and good example of Father Master Ribadeneira, it is better to say nothing than say too little upon such an extraordinary subject. The King loves him much, and Ruy Gomez, and others of the Council; but the Count de Feria, and Don Alonzo d'Aguilar, his brother, cannot exist an hour out of his sight." The letter is dated Pisa, November 10, 1556.

Ruy Gomez, Camerero Mayor and confidential friend of King Philip, was the husband of the Princess of Eboli, well remembered by the readers of Schiller. Figueroa was brother to Antonio de Cordova, who had already entered the Society. His mother, Marchioness de Priego, daughter of the

[1] He married, at the English Court, Jane Dormer. See her Life in the *Quarterly Series.*

RIBADENEIRA.

(*From authentic Portrait.*)

Duke of Alva, protected it in Spain. He procured for Pedro an audience of the King. Pedro delivered a letter from Ignatius. The King received it graciously, and promised an answer.

But Zwichen was still influential, and he dreaded an Order expressly devoted to the Pope, for the war between Philip and Paul IV. still seemed unappeasable. Ribadeneira, doubtless counselled by Figueroa, sent a memorial declaring that the Society of Jesus was wholly unconnected with politics. The King fell ill. Pedro returned to Louvain and resumed his Latin orations. Bernard Olivier went to Tournai, where his brothers in religion, Fathers Quintin Chialart and Antoine Bouclet, were greatly esteemed. The plague broke out in Tournai. The Jesuits, after their custom, attended the sick, gave the Sacraments to the dying, and Quintin soon caught the disease and died. Bernard replaced him. He also caught the plague and died. The Fathers of the Chartreux took the utmost care of him during his illness. They were in all times and places the faithful friends of the Society.

Ribadeneira, after the departure of Bernard for Tournai, writes, June 21, 1556, to Ignatius—"As to myself, I have preached before a larger audience than ever, including the principal persons in the University." He says some have told him that the last sermon particularly has done great good, and that many of the hearers have resolved to confess and communicate every week. "I have been asked to teach the theologians the art of preaching, and to print my sermons." But as he is obliged to remain chiefly at Brussels, to push on this affair of the Colleges, he fears the impression will not last long. "At Louvain there are some very learned Spaniards, who have taken such an affection for the Society that they wish to enter it; . . . one particularly, Master Ledesma, has surprising merit. . . . Meanwhile he entreats me to recommend him to your prayers, for he has so great an esteem for your Paternity, that he never ceases thanking God for having sent such a man into the world."

Ledesma was a remarkable person. He was accounted one of the glories of the University of Louvain. He had seen the lives of many Jesuits, their zeal, humility, and charity. He was witness of the holiness of their conversation. When Pedro arrived, he sought him immediately, and asked endless questions concerning Ignatius. They were answered in the spirit of loving admiration which overflowed in the heart of Ribadeneira towards his Father; but when Ledesma saw the Constitutions, he was impressed with deep reverence for the sagacity, genius, and piety contained in them, and gave thanks to God. He was withheld for some time from entering the Society by the fear of being controlled in the labours of his pen, for

he meditated a great work on science and theology. Pedro showed him that in the Order of Jesus all talents were cherished and employed, and Ledesma entered the novitiate at Rome a few months later.

Even then he was not quite satisfied that he should be able to persevere. He had doubts about the vow of celibacy; he thought obedience too difficult; and till he thoroughly learned its application in the rule of Ignatius, he frequently relapsed into hesitation. But when once entered, he became as eminent for piety as he was for learning. The Fathers called him the master of masters, and Lainez thought him superior to all the other professors in the Roman College; yet he was remarkable for his attachment to the small devotions, commonly esteemed chiefly as aids to the ignorant—short prayers, ejaculations, pious pictures, and the like. He would look on nothing as insignificant that concerned the worship of the Creator; and in composing he wrote at the top of every page the names of Jesus and Mary. His admiration was great of Ignatius and of the Order. "I revere in it," he said, "not a few miracles, but many; not particular, but general; not of some, but of all; not occasional, but continued." For he thought miraculous the charity that united all as in one family; the blameless and pure lives of so many men, some very young; the devotion that seemed to be inspired by the mere entering into the Society, so that even the novices are sent on pilgrimages; the eminent humility of many among them who were noble, learned, highly honoured in the world; their gift of moving hearts, even by the countenance, and not by the voice only; the wonderful conversions that followed the use of the "Spiritual Exercises," and the fact that these had been composed by Ignatius when he was yet a new and untrained man; the fervour and copiousness of the young Jesuits in their domestic sermons, often preached extempore.

When Ledesma was placed over the Roman College, he said he cared little for any scholars who were lukewarm in Religion, whatever their attainments might be; and no books, even purely scientific, pleased him, if wanting wholly in the leaven of piety. He took pains to discourage all particular friendships among the students, thinking these impeded the flow of a general charity and goodwill; he condescended to the youngest scholars, and composed for them books suited to children; he cared also for the young men sent to the College as professors, and so directed them, that each was under the guidance of some older and experienced Father, and their instructions were so timed as to leave them at leisure for the fulfilment of all the obligations of their rule. And so great was the veneration all felt for him, that he rarely had need to exercise his authority. He acted out the principles of Ignatius with supreme success until his death, during the Jubilee of Gregory XIII., in 1575.

Ribadeneira at Brussels was constantly employed in exhorting and conversing with the nobles of Philip's Court, explaining the Constitutions of the Society and Jesuit ways of life. For then, as ever since, misrepresentations were at work. Many did not know, and some refused to know, what the Jesuits were, what they aimed at, what they did. It was often a pleasant thing to make these explanations in the Spanish Court, for Spain was a religious nation, willing to be moved and convinced. Among the Flemings there was more disposition to the new doctrines. Zwichen, the most important of all Pedro's opponents, had no leaning to these, but dreaded in the Jesuits a political engine of which the Pope might hereafter make use against King Philip, and which might become a source of jealous discontent among the clergy at home. But when Ribadeneira could persuade any to examine and understand the Institute of Ignatius, they were sure to pass from inquiry to admiration. Those who saw the lives of the Jesuits; their simple and self-denying habits, their energy in doing good, their cheerful patience in bearing wrong; the clear and prompt intelligence, the decision and perseverance with which they worked out their aims,—the highest that can be proposed for any human aspiration, "The exquisite sense of all that they call Honour,"[1]—needed no vindication of their motives.

But there was still some political doubt, and both St. Ignatius and Ribadeneira took pains to explain how the Jesuits are everywhere obliged to keep aloof from party contests, and decline all secular interference. This part of their rule was of frequent application, for many princes and magistrates desired to profit by their sagacity and influence. They were enjoined always to have the loyalty of true sons towards the State which then gave them shelter; and in the last year of Ignatius' life, when another siege of Rome was expected, the Jesuits, Fathers and Novices, assisted with their hands in fortifying the city against King Philip. Salmeron was one of the first to carry his pickaxe and mattock to the walls.

When Ribadeneira was sent to Belgium in October 1555, Ignatius bade him avoid complaining of the Pope, Paul IV., and to speak only of the good dispositions he had shown on some occasions. Ribadeneira answered, "He did not see how he could put a favourable interpretation on some of his actions." "Then," said Ignatius, "you must say nothing at all, and speak only of Pope Marcellus, who showed us so much affection." St. Ignatius sent, by the saintly Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell, a letter of introduction to his good friend, Cardinal Pole, for Ribadeneira.

[1] Montesquieu.

On April 3, 1556, St. Ignatius wrote to Ribadeneira, then at the Court of Philip at Brussels:—

From Cologne we are asked with much importunity to send persons who will aid the common good of that city, in preaching and explaining the Holy Scriptures, and in other literature. For although it remains firm in the Catholic religion, it contains many who publicly sow evil doctrines, and few good; and as they write to us, there is no one who teaches anything of theology. And though I hope to have a larger number of persons to make a beginning of the College which they desire to have there, in the meanwhile I wish that, having read this, within three or four days you go to Cologne, unless his Majesty or the Count Ruy Gomez have ordered otherwise, and that there you shall employ yourself in preaching in Latin, or lecturing on something from the Sacred Scriptures, as seems most advisable for the edification of the town.[1]

Ribadeneira did not get after all to Cologne, as he wrote to St. Ignatius on June 21, for he was obliged to profit by the presence of Mary of Hungary. But St. Ignatius did not live to see the royal permission in favour of the Society in Belgium. Philip at last, on August 20, 1556, published a decree legalising the houses of the Jesuits in the Low Countries. Ribadeneira was not the only one who attributed this to the intercession of the Saint before the Throne of God. For the King's verbal consent was given just three days after the death of St. Ignatius.

The project of Zarate for Jerusalem still occupied him. A letter from Ignatius shows that King Philip charged some commissioners to examine the proposal, and the Saint believed he was inclined to favour it. But the affair dragged on. When Philip went to Flanders, the indefatigable Zarate followed him. Ignatius was then very ill. Only a few weeks before his death he wrote to Zarate that some Religious had asked him to renounce formally the right given him by Pope Julius III. to found a College at Jerusalem. But a person had left by will a rent of five hundred ducats yearly for the College in Jerusalem, and he did not think that this renunciation could be reasonably asked. "Besides," continues Ignatius, "as no one knows what God our Lord may work by the unworthy means of this small Society, it appears not consistent either with reason or according to the Spirit of God to shut the door against a College in the Holy Land. And if I were to make the renunciation *de facto*, this would not, as it appears to me, bind the Company hereafter. But I think I could not do so with a safe conscience, though I see small prospect now that a College will be founded there during my life. And it may more

[1] Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. p. 219.

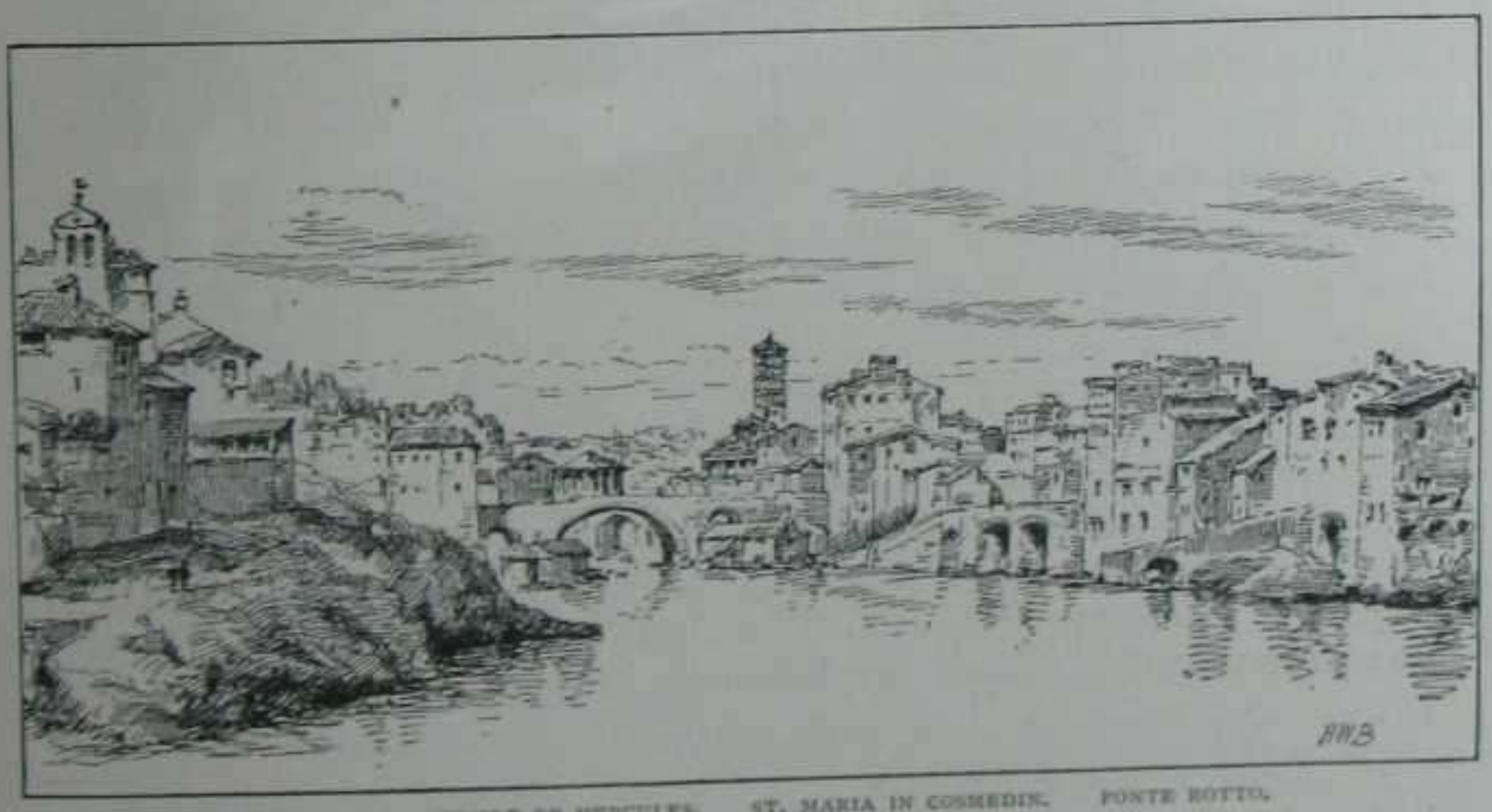
easily happen that such a one should never exist than that I should bind myself by a promise not to allow it."

The last words were prophetic. His successors made no use of the Papal grant. Not many days after he had written them, he exchanged his longing for that earthly Jerusalem which his soul ever yearned after, for the full enjoyment of the Heavenly Sion.

Ruy Gomez continued to befriend the Society, and after Ignatius' death he wrote to Ribadeneira from Greenwich, whither he had come on a mission from King Philip, "that he was always watching an opportunity, but could not yet persuade the Queen or Cardinal Pole that the wisest thing they could do would be to summon the new Order to the help of religion in England and Ireland." "I shall pursue this business," says Ruy Gomez, "so long as I have any hopes of the Cardinal. He is a worthy man, but too moderate, and I do not believe that moderation, though it is said to resemble temperance, will carry us to Paradise. Pedro de Zarate will tell you the same thing." He recommends Ribadeneira still to wait at Brussels; "and," he writes, "if you cannot endure this, buy two pounds weight of patience in the shop of Pedro de Zarate."[1]

Zarate indeed must have needed all he had, for the long efforts with which he pursued his favourite object ended in nothing but the good done, let us hope, to his own soul.

[1] Ribadeneira at last visited England in November 1558, when the Duke de Feria was sent by Philip to the Queen, then dangerously ill. She died a few days after their arrival. Elizabeth did not at first persecute the Church, and Ribadeneira, safe under the protection of the ambassador, did all he could to maintain the faith, without other impediment than that of his own health, during the winter. He returned to Brussels on March 17, 1559.



SAN BARTOLOMEO IN ISOLA. TEMPLE OF HERCULES. ST. MARIA IN COSMEDIN. PONTE ROTTO.

VIEW FROM PONTE QUATTRO CAPI, ROME.

THE BLESSED CANDLE HELD BY ST. IGNATIUS AT HIS DEATH.—*See Appendix.*

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE END—THE COMPANIONS—THE CROWN—1554–1622.

IN the summer of 1554, the health of Ignatius,[1] which had always been variable, began to give much cause for disquiet. His occupations were now too onerous for him; those about him advised him to take some one to help him in the business of his charge. He had been formerly so earnest in asking to be relieved of his charge, that they wondered why he refused. Probably he considered it more trouble to direct another person than to act himself. Soon after he recalled this refusal. Polanco wrote in Nov. 1554 to Domenech, then Provincial of Sicily:—

Father Nadal was anxiously waited for by our Father, and by us more particularly, who are the General's consultors for the general business of the Society; because on the one hand the multiplicity of affairs, from the increase of our Society, and on the other, the many and, so to speak, constant sufferings of our Father, which keep him almost always in his bed, and this last year particularly, make us want more help and relief for him than he has yet had. Therefore we represented to him that it seemed desirable he should choose some one who

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[1] Ignatius wrote to St. Francis Borgia on August 20, 1554, that for two months he had not left his bed four hours out of the twenty-four.

would take over his place and powers in our Society; and he bade all of us priests who were now in Rome to assemble, so that each might offer the Mass for three days, and pray and receive information one from another, if they required it, and then should write the name of the person chosen by them on a slip of paper. And the lay Brothers also assembled, and chose among the priests four who should vote for them. On All-Saints Day we met, thirty-four in number, and found that thirty-one or thirty-two voted for Father Master Nadal, and our Father confirmed the choice. And the Father Nadal entered excellently well on his functions, and lightened much the burden which our Father had to bear.[1]

Nadal did not wish to have any special title when he became the Father's substitute, and in a few months Ignatius was so far recovered that he could dispense with his services at home, and sent him back to Spain. It was said that another motive was Ignatius' displeasure at Nadal's proposing alterations in the rules for the Colleges. He thought enough time was not given for prayer, and wished an additional hour daily allotted for that purpose. Novelties were intolerable to Ignatius. He had in former years noticed, moreover, that tenderness to the weak was not Nadal's characteristic. In March following he named Father Pezzano to be Procurator of the Professed House in Rome, where, for all temporal matters, he supplied the place of the General.

It was one of the favours granted to Ignatius towards the close of his life, that he was first acquainted, and afterwards intimate, with that successor of the enemy of the Society at Toledo, who was to do them as much good as the last Archbishop had done harm. The new Cardinal-archbishop, Gaspar de Quiroga, came to Rome. "I was united in the closest friendship with Father Ignatius," said he afterwards; "I have ever found him most truly humble, gentle and patient, full of charity and of zeal for the glory of God and the good of men's souls, and under all circumstances, pleasant or grievous, fortunate or adverse, I have always seen the same cheerful and pious gravity of demeanour, so that the habitual peace and calmness of his mind was manifest on his features." Quiroga, in speaking of his appearance, said that his countenance seemed radiant with a divine beauty, as of one inspired, so that he never was satisfied with gazing on him.

His Religious describe him at this time as emaciated in body, but his face retaining the remarkable expression and brightness of earlier life. His

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[1] Father Nadal arrived in Rome on Sept. 4. See Letter to Domenech from St. Ignatius, Nov. 8, 1554, Cartas de San Ignacio, t. iv. p. 367. In a letter of Ignatius to Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily, on December 5 of this year (1554), he says: "I have had abundant occasions of great gratitude to God for the trials I have had during the most part of the time I have been in bed. Now, praised be God, I feel much better." And on December 28 he wrote to St. Francis Borgia: "I am in better health than I have been for a year." *Idem*, pp. 388, 397.

body was not bent, though his wounded leg was very sensitive to touch, and he limped, yet his slow gait concealed this, and prevented it appearing ungainly. His weakness obliged him frequently to transact business lying on his bed. His bald forehead was lofty and broad, and without a wrinkle; his eyelids were suffering from his constant tears, his eyes were sunken, his hair and beard grey, his whole look "amiably grave, and gravely amiable." But before his death, for some two years, relief from work and from his acute pains, filled out his face, and gave him an air of better health.[1]

In spite of his great debility, he wished not to be spared in any way not absolutely indispensable. Once a Father, seeing him much fatigued by a visit to the Pope, would not speak to him on some affairs of the Society till next day. Ignatius was displeased, and reproved him so sternly, that the poor man did not venture into his presence for a week. When the Pope sent him home from the Vatican on a mule, he used to return by the Trastevere to avoid notice.

During these last months Alessandro Petronio, his friend and skilful physician, was very ill. Ignatius went to his house, and found him asleep. He went softly to his bedside, stayed but a minute, and then left the room without speaking. As he shut the door, the invalid woke up, and calling to his wife Felicità, asked her, "What was that bright light which had filled the room?" When she told him there was no light, only the presence of Ignatius, he was greatly rejoiced. Shortly after he recovered.

This, the last supernatural incident related in the life of Ignatius, reminds us to recall what has been said before, that his children as a body

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[1] No portrait has come down to us of the Saint, painted, at all events, during his religious life. A certain painter of note, Morga (*sic*), tried once by stratagem to paint him while he was ill, a short time before he died, but could not succeed. Giacomo Bassano is said to have taken him for his model in a picture of Moses, when he was in that great painter's neighbourhood, nursing Le Jay. Monsignor Alexander Crivelli is said to have employed an artist to take the Saint's portrait by stealth while he kept Ignatius in conversation. But nothing is known of either of these works.

After the Saint's death, Jacopino del Ponte, who had known Ignatius intimately, painted him as he lay in his bier, and from memory removed the marks of death. A cast, moreover, was taken in plaster, while a second was made in wax. Several painters made portraits from these, but none of them gave any satisfaction. In 1584, Ribadeneira, then at Madrid, annoyed at the grotesque portraits which were being produced, called in the royal painter, Alonso Sanchez de Coello, and begged him to try and paint a fresh portrait with the aid of a bust made by a skilful sculptor, a brother of the Society, and of the wax cast. Father Ribadeneira used to spend six hours a day with Coello, helping him by suggestions; and Cardinal Quiroga, the Archbishop of Toledo, the old friend of the Saint, and many others who had known him, declared that it was a perfect resemblance. But even Ribadeneira himself had to admit that this picture, which is at the residence of the Jesuit Fathers at Madrid, had not that grace and sweetness of the original which no human art could seize. Yet Coello was called the Velasquez of Philip II.'s Court. See Stirling's *Spanish Painters*, 1848, v. i. p. 231, *seq*. See p. 547.

hesitated to claim for him a power of working prodigies; and he would certainly have greatly resented such an attribute. All the remarkable circumstances of this kind that it has been thought right to detail may be set aside, if the reader so insists; the true sign and wonder recognised by all in St. Ignatius, and which no one can fail to appreciate, is that of a most noble, extraordinary, and saintly character, and of an admirable work. Such incidents help us not only to form a picture of the times, which would be very incomplete without them, but to realise the "communion of Saints," that familiar and frequent mingling, so to speak, of the material and spiritual world, which makes the incomparable happiness of those who are in the Catholic Church. But it is an entirely sober and reasoning happiness, and the individual manifestations which have been here described form no necessary part of her faith. We have the authority of a Jesuit of our day for this assurance. "The Church seems to act fearlessly on the principle that these things are to be mistrusted until they are proved to be from God; they are disregarded, discouraged, made light of, hindered, forbidden, without scruple; and then, when they prove themselves, by their effects, to be genuine and divine, they are not, after all, to be made much of." And this was the rule of Ignatius himself.

About a year before he died, the Saint one day called a Father named Giovanni Filippo Viti, under-secretary with Polanco, and said, "Write my ideas on obedience, which I wish to leave as my will and testament to the Society;" and he dictated these sentences:—

1. On my first entrance into Religion, and at all times after, I ought to entirely resign myself into the hands of the Lord my God and of him who governs me in His place.

2. I ought to desire to be ruled by a Superior who endeavours to subjugate my judgment and my understanding.

3. In all things wherein there is no *sin* I ought to do the will of my Superior, and not my own.

4. There are three sorts of obedience: the first, when an obligation is imposed upon me *in virtue of holy obedience*—and this is good; the second, the simple command of the Superior, and this is better; the third, when I do a thing without waiting for an express command, because I know that it will please my Superior—and this is far the best of all.

5. I ought not to think whether he is the highest, the middlemost, or lowest; but bend all my devotion to obey, and consider it of first importance that he rules in the place of God, otherwise you strike a blow at the virtue of obedience.

6. When it seems to me that I am commanded by my Superior to do a thing against which my conscience revolts as sinful, and my Superior judges otherwise, I ought to believe him rather than myself, unless I am otherwise constrained by evident reasons. If I cannot persuade my mind and give up my feeling and opinion about it, I must impart my doubts to two or three persons of discretion, and abide by their decision. If I refuse to do this, I am very far from having attained the perfection and the virtues required by a Religious Life.

7. In a word, I ought not to be my own, but His who created me, and his too who holds the place of God, yielding myself to be moulded in his hands like so much wax; and whether as to writing or receiving letters, conversing with persons, or keeping silence, being with this person or that, and the like, I should place all my devotion and promptitude in doing whatever is required of me.

8. I ought to be like a corpse, which has neither will nor understanding; or like a little crucifix, which can be turned about at the will of him who holds it; or like a staff in the hands of an old man, who uses it where it can best aid him, or puts it where it may best please him. Thus ought I to be ready for anything in which my Order requires my help, and refuse nothing which is ordered.

9. I must not ask, much less beg, the Superior to send me to any place, or appoint me to any one office. I am only permitted to acquaint him with my intentions or desires, but with entire abandonment of myself to him, and a disposition to approve whatever he determines.

10. Nevertheless, in unimportant matters, such as going to the Stations,[1] praying for any particular grace, and the like, we may ask permission, if only one is ready to consider that to be best which is either permitted or refused.

11. So, with regard to poverty, I must consider nothing as my own. But as to the things which I use, I must let myself be treated like a statue, which makes no resistance nor opposition to him who takes aught away from it.[2]

These rules, which have been so often quoted and reviled, describe only what is required in all religious associations. The sixth is a full answer to the assertion that the Jesuits bind themselves to commit any crime at the bidding of their Superior. It is in accord with the third rule, "He must obey in everything *wherein there is no sin.*" The rules of obedience are

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[1] The Seven Churches; or the Stations, held in the various churches of Rome during the year.
[2] Bartoli, Vita di S. Ignazio, l. iii. § 24.

not more strict here than those of other Religious Orders. The figures used, of an old man's stick, a corpse, a statue, are all applied by saints who founded other Communities. Ignatius only borrowed from them.

The winter of 1555 was tempestuous. Nadal and Gonçalez were called for in Spain. Ignatius bade them embark without fear, for they would have a fortunate voyage. It was noticed that the weather, which was stormy when they sailed from Genoa, cleared up, and remained propitious as long as they were on the seas.

As the summer of 1556 advanced, the maladies of Ignatius became so much worse that those about him saw he had not long to live. He himself knew it, and wrote to Doña Leonora Mascarenhas, who had asked him to pray for her foster-son, Philip II., that he had always remembered that prince daily in his prayers, since he became king, adding, "I trust in His Divine Majesty that, during the few days which remain to me, I shall do so also more and more."

He said once to the priests about him:—"Three things I have especially desired, and, thanks be to God, I have seen them all granted to me: that the Society should be established by the Pope's confirmation; that the book of the 'Spiritual Exercises' should receive the approbation of the Holy See; and that the Constitutions should be completed, and observed by the Order everywhere." Those who heard him, understood what this meant. He would not allow Father Antoine Vinck, who had been very zealous in the setting up of Colleges in Sicily, to come to Rome to be received among the Professed, though it was unusual for those vows to be made anywhere but in that city. Ignatius charged the Provincial Domenech to receive the vows from Vinck, in order, he said, that he might not be long absent from Catania. But others had come from greater distances, and it was believed that our Saint knew that there would not be time for the journey before his own death.

Some time after this he transferred the functions of his office to a commission formed of Polanco, Christopher Madrid, who, though not Professed, nor hardly more than a Scholastic, yet had great weight in the Society, and Nadal, recently recalled from Spain. Rome was full of the noise of arms, and sick with fear of Alva, who was at its gates; and St. Ignatius retired to the house he had bought for the Society near Santa Balbina. It was newly repaired, and the walls not yet dry. The summer heats were excessive that year; the Saint became worse, and after two or three days of fever he caused himself to be carried back to Sta. Maria della Strada. He wished doubtless to be again near his Brethren and his beloved scholastics; it would not signify much to him that Rome was full of

distress and terror,—the people anticipated that their city would be again taken and sacked. But Philip, while he made war on the Pope, professed a humble reverence for him, and waited till Paul IV. saw that his situation was desperate, and proposed terms of peace.

Polanco describes the last moments of Ignatius in a Circular Letter, addressed to the Provincials, dated August 6, 1556:—

The peace of Christ. I announce hereby to your Reverence, and to all the brethren who are under you, that it has pleased God to call to Himself our blessed Father Master Ignatius, early on Friday, the last day of July. On the eve of St. Peter's chains, those chains were broken which bound him in the flesh, and he was placed in the liberty of the elect.

God has heard at last the longings of His holy servant. For though he bore his pilgrimage and its labours with great patience and fortitude, yet he desired for many years past to see and praise, in the heavenly country, his Creator and Lord, Whose Divine providence has left him to us hitherto, that his work in this our least Society, as it had been begun by him, might the better progress by his example, prudence, authority, and prayers. . . .

Since your Reverence will wish to hear somewhat more in detail of the last agony of our Father, now in glory, you must know that it was very tranquil, and it did not last an hour before we perceived that he had ceased to live. We had many in the house who were sick, and among them Father Master Lainez and Juan de Mendoza, and some more, who were dangerously ill. Our Father also had a trifling illness, and suffered four or five days from a fever, but very slightly; it was even doubtful if there were still any fever or not, though he was then, as at former times, extremely weak. In this condition he sent for me on Wednesday, and desired me to tell Dr. Torres to attend him as he did the other patients; for as we had not thought his indisposition serious, the others were taken more care of than himself. Torres therefore did so, and another famous physician, a friend of ours, Master Alessandro, also visited him every day. The next day (Thursday) he asked for me about the twentieth hour [*this would be about four in the afternoon*], and when he had sent the infirmarian out of the room, said it would be well that I should go to St. Peter's, to inform his Holiness that he was near the end, and had no longer hardly any hope of life; that he begged his Holiness' blessing for himself and Master Lainez, who was also in danger, and that if God our Lord granted them the mercy of being summoned to Heaven, they would there pray for his Holiness, as they had done daily on earth. I answered him, "Father, the physicians see no danger in this illness, and I myself hope that God will preserve your Reverence yet some years for His service. Do you find yourself so ill as this?" He answered me, "So ill that nothing remains for me but to give up my soul." Still I showed I hoped, as I really did, that he would live longer, and I said I would do what he desired, and asked him if the matter could wait till Friday, because I wanted to send letters that evening to Spain, by Genoa, and the post went out on Thursday. He answered, "I had rather it were done to-day than to-morrow,

FUNERAL OF ST. IGNATIUS IN SANTA MARIA DELLA STRADA.

*(From Engraving by Adrian Collaert.)*

and the sooner the better. But do what you think best; I leave myself entirely in your hands." To be able to say from the judgment of the physicians if they thought he was in danger, that very evening I begged the principal of them, Master Alessandro Petronio, to tell me candidly if our Father were in danger, because he had charged me to announce this to the Pope. He answered me, "To-day I can say nothing about his danger; I will tell you to-morrow."

Under these circumstances, and as the Father had left it to me, I thought it best in human prudence to wait till the Friday, to hear the opinion of the physician. On that same Thursday, at one in the evening [*nine o'clock, modern time*], Dr. Madrid and I were present at the supper of our Father. He ate as well as he usually did, and conversed with us, so that I went to bed without suspecting any danger from this illness. In the morning, at sunrise, we found our Father was dying, and I went immediately in all haste to the Vatican. The Pope manifested great grief, and gave him the fullest benediction that he could, with all possible affection.

And so he gave up his soul most peacefully to its Creator, in the presence of Father Doctor Madrid and of Master André des Freux, before the second hour after sunrise.

We were all struck by the humility of the holy man. He was sure that he was about to die, as is clear from what he had manifested on the previous day. Never do I recollect hearing him affirm that anything was going to happen with evidence of certainty, save on this occasion, and when, a year ago, he promised that Providence would come to the help of Rome, a promise fully realised. He did not wish to summon us in order that he might bestow on us his blessing, nor to name his successor, nor to set his seal to the Constitutions, nor give any other indication, such as in like cases some of God's saints are wont to afford. But as he thought so humbly of himself, and did not wish the Society to ground its confidence on any other but God, he left this world in the ordinary way. And perhaps he had obtained the favour from God, Whose glory alone he had before his eyes, that no wonders should appear at his death, just as in life he loved to conceal the hidden gifts of God, save a few which he was bound to make known for our edification.

Divine Wisdom sometimes shows forth in His servants miracles evident to the senses, that those of little faith and capacity may be nerved by them. Sometimes, too, in place of miracles, He manifests the effects of great and solid virtues, and sure evidences of His grace for the good of those whose eyes are opened by the light of faith and of other spiritual gifts. And Providence would seem to have employed this second method with regard to the head of the Society, as He does with its members all the world over, showing by the spiritual movement, by the conversions, and religious progress, through the means of such feeble instruments, in so many parts of the globe, whether inside or outside the Society, that the "finger of God is here."

But to return to our subject. When our Father was dead, we thought right to embalm him as well as we could, and it caused greater wonder and edification that we found his stomach and intestines were empty and shrivelled up, whence

the physicians judged his abstinence to have been great in former times, and his fortitude also, since with such weakness he worked so hard and with such bright and constant serenity. In examining the liver, they found three small stones, evidences of his austere life, and which testified how true was what the good old man Diego d'Eguia said, that certainly our Father for long time past was kept alive by a miracle. I, at least, cannot guess how, with a liver so diseased, he could have lived in a natural way, if God our Lord had not made up for this organic defect, and kept him alive, as he was necessary to our Society.

We deferred the interment of his holy remains till Saturday after Vespers. The concourse of the pious, and their devotion, was great, though he remained in the room where he had died. Some kissed his hand, some his feet, or touched his body with their chaplets, along with our own Fathers. We did all we could to keep off those who wanted to carry off pieces of his biretta or clothes. They took away shoe-strings or night-caps and other things used by him, though we gave nothing, nor even allowed this, when we were aware of it. Some painters made likenesses or casts of him, which he had never permitted during his lifetime, though many had asked leave. In the sanctuary, on the Gospel side of our own Church, we made a little grave, in which his body was deposited, in a coffin, after we had said the office as customary. A great stone was placed over it, which can be removed whenever it is necessary. There his body will remain temporarily till another destination shall seem proper for it.

Doctor Olave went to the Pope to announce the decease, and his Holiness, who had shown his liking for the Society, through all the stages of his career, offered himself to be a good Father, &c. Some of the most influential Cardinals did the same, as well as many other friends who offered themselves liberally to the Society. Praised be God our Lord, for He is our strength and hope. We have all offered the holy Sacrifice three days for our Father, though some of us were impelled by a pious wish to ask his prayers, rather than to pray for him to God our Lord. Nevertheless, all that reason counsels ought to be done everywhere, both with regard to the three days' Masses, which need not all be for the dead, and to the prayers of our lay Brothers.

We have not found any closed box or desk, except some little chests in which those who waited on him kept a few clothes of his, some blessed beads, and *Agnus Dei*, which he used to give away.

The circular then goes on to give details about the progress of the Society, its Superiors, and the election of Father Lainez.[1]

ROME, *August* 6, 1556.

Fortunately the diligent researches of Father Leçzychi (Lancisius) have left us further and interesting details of Ignatius' death. The Saint had been

[1] The original, in Archives of the Province S.J. of Toledo, was given for the first time in full in the Cartas de San Ignacio, t. vi. p. 360, from which the above is translated.

ALTAR AND SHRINE OF ST. IGNATIUS, IN THE CHURCH OF THE GESÛ, ROME.

to confession and to Holy Communion on the Tuesday previous, July 28. Brother Tommaso Cannicari, the infirmarian, who watched by the Saint's bedside all the Thursday night, tells us, "Ignatius talked and acted just as usual till midnight." From that time he became quieter, and did not call for the Brother as often as before, but frequently he cried to Heaven, "Ay Dios!"—"O God!" At daybreak two medical men and three Fathers, who were also physicians, came to see the sick man. They felt his pulse, and found that he was exceedingly weak, but they had no idea that he was near his end. They bade Brother Tommaso to beat up two fresh eggs, and cook them for the invalid. While the infirmarian was getting them ready, Father Cristobal Madrid arrived. He touched Ignatius, and recognised that he was on the point of death. He sent off the infirmarian in all haste to call Father Pedro Riera, Prefect of the Church, and the Saint's confessor. Tommaso went at once, but he could not find Riera, and when he came back he found that Ignatius had died meantime. The Fathers privileged to be present besides Father Madrid were Fathers des Freux and Torres. With them was Francis Tarugi, then a saintly courtier and intimate friend of St. Ignatius, one day to become the spiritual child of St. Philip Neri, and finally to ennoble the College of Cardinals by his virtue.[2] A blessed candle[2] was held in the Saint's hands, and with the Holy name of Jesus on his lips he passed quietly away. Cannicari only then learnt that Riera had been sent for to give the last Sacraments. Ignatius died in about seven minutes from the time the Fathers entered the room. The illness was the deadly *perniciosa*—the malaria fever of Rome. Father Madrid reverently bound up the jaw of his deceased Father, and the body was vested in a chasuble.

The Fathers wept for him with a tender reverence, and a regret for the delightful intercourse which was ever full of charity and edification; but they fully believed that his race was run, his mission accomplished, and that he was henceforward to guide and intercede for his Society in Heaven.

Poor Lainez, who was confined to his bed, and whose life was despaired of, read in the faces of the Fathers who came to see him the news which they wished to conceal from him. "Is he dead, is our holy Father dead?" he asked; and when they owned to the sad truth, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with impassioned words implored his friend and

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[1] Memorie della Congreg. dell' Oratorio, Giovanni Marchiano, Naples, 1692, t. i. p. 264.

[2] This candle was enclosed in a crystal, which formed the upright of a candlestick of which the rest was of silver gilt. It used to be kept in the infirmary of the Jesuits' residence at Brussels, and was placed in the hands of the dying.

Father to take him to himself. But Ignatius had far other wishes. Lainez at once got better, and lived to be elected General in his place.

The remains of the Saint were translated in 1587 to the new Church of the Gesù, which the princely liberality of Cardinal Alexander Farnese built in place of Santa Maria della Strada. After the solemn canonisation of 1622 the body was transferred to the gorgeous chapel designed by the architect, painter, and master of perspective, the lay-Brother Pozzi. Few works exist of a time of lavish splendour and debased art wherein all the characteristics of the period are more fully developed.

Four others of the first associates of Ignatius survived him. Of Rodriguez we have spoken already. Salmeron and Bobadilla were absent from Rome when he died. Lainez was chosen by the unanimous voice of the Society to take the place of Vicar-General until another General could be named; and this, from the troubled state of Rome, was deferred for two years. Lainez afterwards, in 1558, became the second General. Profoundly learned, marvellous for his memory and his eloquence, calm by nature, but on fire with zeal, and long living in the closest intimacy with Ignatius, he was his worthy successor, and carried on the Society of Jesus in the full aim and spirit of its founder. He was again Papal theologian at the Council of Trent, and spread his brilliant reputation for argument and oratory in France at the conference of Passy, where Theodore Beza disputed with him in the presence of Catharine de' Medici and all the French Court; and if he convinced few who were not of his own opinion already, it was much that he made no new enemies, and parted courteously from Beza and the Protestants who accompanied him.

Paul IV. renewed the attempt to make Lainez Cardinal, and desirous to attach him closely to his own person, ordered him to take up his residence in the Vatican. Lainez obeyed for one night, and then returned to Sta. Maria; and Paul desisted from imposing upon him these unwelcome honours. Lainez died in 1565, during the Papacy of Pius IV.

Broët, as the eldest of the Professed Fathers, presided at the election of Lainez. It was a common saying of his that all his life he had been asking of God the grace of humility, but he had not yet attained it. Once travelling, as usual, on foot from Billom to Paris, he came to a village where several men were thrashing grain. They mocked his mean attire, and heaped abuse on him. Possibly they were sectaries, irritated by his clerical dress. He stood slightly leaning on his staff, till they seemed to have said their say: then rejoined, with a pleasant countenance, "God bless you, my children, and show you all goodness."

He lived to see five Colleges for the Jesuits founded in France. His

CANONISATION OF ST. IGNATIUS IN ST. PETER'S, ROME.

(*From ancient authorities.*)

death was suitable to such a life. When the plague was rife in Paris, he attended the sick, refused to leave the Hotel de Clermont, sent away the Community, and he himself remained with two lay-Brothers, one of whom shortly after died. Then Broët caught the disease, shut himself up, not allowing the lay-Brother to attend him, and died quite alone on September 14, 1562. He had first written on a paper, left conspicuous on his table, a notice that he had touched certain objects in the house which might communicate the infection.

The lay-Brother sent word to Billom that the Provincial was ill, and Ponce Cogordan, who was his socius, came immediately; but he found only a silent house: the lay-Brother too had caught the plague, and both were dead.

Salmeron continued to reside at Naples, eminently successful, esteemed, and persecuted; and it is odd to see how the type of persecution is carried on in Jesuit history from the beginning. Salmeron was accused of causing an old lady to leave the Company a large fortune, and a song was sung about the streets—

Che il Padre Salmerone
È davvero un gran briccone.

But it came out after a time that the whole story and its details were alike an invention of the enemy. Then he was accused of becoming one of the Illuminati; a disciple of Bernard Ochino, and a declared heretic. He lived down all these calumnies, but they must have sometimes harassed him. In old age he was summoned to Rome to preach in Advent before Pope Gregory XIII.; and this was his last absence from Naples, and his last appearance in the pulpit. He died soon after, in 1585, uttering the words, "Laetatur anima mea," thankful doubtless to escape from the opposition which he knew must follow the Society through all time.

Bobadilla, the youngest of the ten, outlived the others, and lived on in Sicily and Naples, useful and judicious in directing the establishments there. St. Ignatius used to call him the "hypocrite," because he hid such sterling goodness under so careless an exterior. But owing to his active life he fell away strangely from the spirit of the Order, and after the election of Lainez as Vicar-General claimed for himself and the surviving first companions of St. Ignatius the right to share authority with the Vicar in the Society. But in spite of this outburst of his fiery temper, years and experience calmed his judgment, and he never slackened in his work till at a great age he came to die at Loreto on September 23, 1580. Simon Rodriguez had gone before him, dying in the Jesuit Professed House at Lisbon, on July 15, 1579.

We are unwilling to close these few words respecting the earliest companions of Ignatius without some mention of Ribadeneira, long the torment and the favourite of the Community, then one of its most brilliant and useful members, treated by Ignatius with an indulgence that makes one think the master was thankful for a pupil towards whom he could relax something of his habitual self-repression without reproach. When Pedro came to Rome, two years after his beloved patron's death, having failed in the attempt to obtain an introduction for the Jesuits into England, he was sent to Palermo, received there with the love and reverence he had deserved in former times, and witnessed the murder of the Jesuit Father, Venusti, whose assassin took refuge in the College of the Jesuits, and was helped by them to fly into some foreign country, where it was said he ended his days in true repentance. In 1565 the death of Lainez summoned all the Provincials and Assistants to Rome. His successor, St. Francis Borgia, named Ribadeneira Rector of the Roman College. When he entered on his office, he made, in the presence of all the inmates assembled in the refectory, a humble acknowledgment of his own unfaithfulness to the graces bestowed upon him. He kissed the feet of all; and then, kneeling down before the Crucifix and throwing back his mantle, he scourged himself during many minutes. After this extremely uncomfortable inauguration, we can well understand that the energy and devotedness of the teachers were responded to by the docility of the scholars; and it was not unintelligible praise that Lord Bacon bestowed when he said some years later, "As for education, look at the Jesuits, there is no training beyond that."

When Pedro's health obliged him at Father Everard Mercurian's order to return to his native country, he had a mother who longed to see him once more. The day when he landed at Barcelona she expired at Seville. He had still relations living, from whom he had not, like St. Francis Xavier, thought it necessary to estrange himself; Alonso, a younger brother, and two sisters, one of whom, Isabella, a nun at St. Clement's in Toledo, seems to have been an unhappy person. Her brother consoled her with pious affection. There were lawsuits and money difficulties in the family, and Pedro, as the eldest son, did what he could to remove them. But the unfailing destiny of persecution and trouble kept the Society in Spain then, as elsewhere and always, meeting malicious attacks, and warding them off with charity. Dionisio Vasquez, who had broken Pedro's leg when they were both children, and had since entered the Society, endeavoured now to divide the Spanish Colleges from Rome; Melchior Cano renewed his old hostility; the "Iñigistas" were again called *Alumbrados*, concealed heretics and enemies of the King of Spain; even Cardinal Quiroga, who seemed personally as much attached

to Ribadeneira as he had been to Ignatius, allowed three Jesuits to be imprisoned by the Inquisition. The determination to separate the Company in Spain from the jurisdiction of the General in Rome, was almost declared by the Court, and the Inquisition, and was supported by a small and turbulent party among the Jesuits themselves. Sixtus V. was not a Pope to tolerate dictation or encroachment; and Acquaviva showed him good reasons why he should insist on the cause of the Society being judged by the Vatican itself. The General bade his subjects submit themselves personally to the Inquisition, but not their Constitutions and Rules. The prisoners were at last liberated; still the King was bent on reducing the Jesuits under his sole authority. The Inquisition interfered with their writings and their missions in foreign countries, but Ribadeneira said that no persecution they had ever suffered so much alarmed him as when Philip II. prevailed on Clement VIII. to make Francisco Toledo a Cardinal. He was in every way worthy, but the precedent was only the more dangerous. Then came the courtly favour shown to Herman de Mendoza, who at last procured for himself the bishopric of Cuzco, in Peru; but there returning to the Order from which he had shaken himself free, became again a fervent Jesuit, living in their house and conforming to their rules. Then followed the book of Molina on "freewill and grace," which was the pretence or cause of such long and bitter controversy, not quelled by the Congregations "De Auxiliis" held at Rome during five years, and concluded without any conclusion by Paul V., who left both parties free to maintain their own opinions. Then, finally, the Life of his dear Father, which Ribadeneira had written, was attacked by Litho[1] Misenus with true Calvinistic virulence; and after this came repose and consolation. The latter part of Pedro's career was made delightful by the canonisation of St. Ignatius, which he saw nearly completed; and he closed his literary labours by the "Flos Sanctorum,"[2] which was everywhere welcomed and applauded, and his "Confessions," not printed till after his death in 1611. He was the last survivor of those who were contemporaries of the Saint. One of the greatest consolations of his closing days had been no doubt to witness at Madrid the splendid festivities which welcomed the Brief of Paul III., who on July 27, 1609, decreed to Pedro's dearest Father, Ignatius Loyola, the honours of a *Beatus*. To obtain this had been the aim of all Ribadeneira's efforts since the death of the Saint, and this success cheered him, in his broken health, during his two remaining years on earth.

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[1] Stenius or Stein.

[2] Lives of Saints, written in the form of sermons.

Thirteen years later, with three other Spaniards, with St. Theresa, and St. Isidore, and St. Francis Xavier, his well-loved brother in arms, the highest honours of the Church Catholic were decreed to St. Ignatius de Loyola, in the Vatican Basilica, on March 12, 1622, by Pope Gregory XV. And the splendours of that ceremonial in St. Peter's were reflected with almost equal magnificence in every Catholic capital of Europe, and even in the far-off Indies, East and West—scenes, all of them, of the triumphs of the humble soldier, through that Society, in which he ever lives as its founder and father.

BURWOOD HOUSE
CONVENT
OF
NOTRE DAME
COBHAM, SURREY

# APPENDIX.

*Title-page.*—VIGNETTE. Device of the Loyolas over the door of the Santa Casa of Loyola. *Aymer Vallance.*

*Page* 4.—LA SANTA CASA, Loyola, birthplace of St. Ignatius, showing the cloister attached to the wall of the college which encloses and masks it. The house was given to the Society, under agreement of May 4, 1681, by the Marquis de Alcañices, descendant of St. Ignatius, on the condition that it should remain as it was. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 7.—AZPEITIA, with distant view of Loyola. In the church to the right—the parish church—of which the Loyolas were the patrons, is the font in which St. Ignatius was baptized. The small building on the hillside to the left of the steeple is a chapel which St. Ignatius used to salute as he passed with a "Salve Regina," and this practice is maintained to this day. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 13.—LOYOLA. General view of the church and college. The Santa Casa is to the spectator's left, adjoining the church. Only a portion of the low roof can be seen over the wall which masks it. The upper portion of the wing to the right was only completed in 1888. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 18.—THE SANTA CASA. A loophole for a small culverin can be seen in the basement. The last window to the right lights the room in which the Saint lay during his illness. Beneath it, on the next floor, is the chapel, and the place of his birth. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 19.—PAMPLONA. General view from the east. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 21.—PAMPLONA. Bridge over the Arga. View from the west. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 30.—BASILICA, Pamplona. Built upon the portion of the ancient bastion of the citadel, where St. Ignatius was wounded, and of the ditch into which he fell when his leg was broken. It is near the gate of San Nicolas. *From a sketch made on the spot.* *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 32.—INTERIOR OF THE HERMITAGE OF S. DISMAS, Montserrat, the cell of Fr. Chanones, O.S.B., who heard St. Ignatius' general confession, and with whom he stayed on his visit to the sanctuary. The walls and roof of the chapel in which the Saint made his confession still exist. *After Laborde.* *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 33.—ABBEY AND CHURCH, Montserrat. General view from the east. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 37.—ABBEY AND CHURCH, Montserrat, from the south. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 41.—OLD CLOISTERS, AND RUINED CHURCH OF THE VIGIL OF ST. IGNATIUS, WITH ITS DOORWAY, Montserrat. This was the church in which St. Ignatius made his vigil before Our Lady. It was abandoned for the new church which was built in 1562, now standing. The old church was blown up by the French in 1812. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 45.—CROSS OF TORT, Manresa. One of three crosses of the fourteenth century on the old highroad to Barcelona. Upon this one is inscribed, "Here St. Ignatius had a vision of the Blessed Trinity, 1522." The sexfoil cross was blown down from off its shaft by a storm, and was placed in the entrance to the Sacra Cueva. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 48.—OUR LADY OF VILLADORDIS, Manresa—*Villa-hordeorum*—so-called from the rich barley crops—about a mile and a quarter from the town. An ancient pilgrimage, from before the fifth century, to a statue of Our Lady—the *health of the weak*. The stone on which the Saint knelt at the portal is still reverently preserved. Close by is the farm where St. Ignatius left as a souvenir his girdle of gladioles, with a promise that the owner should never know wealth or poverty —a promise fulfilled to this day. The relic is kept by them at Navarcles, a few miles off. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 49.—GENERAL VIEW OF MANRESA. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 53.—LA SANTA CUEVA, Manresa. Exterior. The cave of St. Ignatius is in the four last bays of the long façade to the left. The four windows to the right are of the gallery leading to the cave from the aisle of the church, which occupies the rest of the façade. Above, to the left, is the House of the Third Probation, to the right of the clerestory of the church. A still loftier building now rises over this, 1891, a house for retreats. The rich carvings have reference to the Book of the Exercises. The property came to the Society of Jesus in 1603. In 1645 the church was begun, but it was not finished before the expulsion of the Society from Spain, and was only reopened for worship in 1843. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 56.—SACRA CUEVA, Manresa. Interior, showing the marble altar which represents St. Ignatius writing the Exercises, by the Manresan sculptor, Francis Grau. The door to the right of the altar leads to a little sacristy, and thence by a corkscrew stair to the House of the Third Probation above. The original opening to the left is blocked by a wall. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 60.—STATUE OF OUR LADY AND CHILD, Dominican Church, Manresa. Formerly over entrance to Dominican house; afterwards taken into the church. It was broken in pieces by the revolutionists of 1835, and since restored.

*Page* 65.—HIGH ALTAR OF EL SEO, Manresa. The principal church of Manresa, called El Seo, is still much in the same state in which it was at the time of St. Ignatius. Local tradition says that he visited this church, St. Dominic's, and the Carmelites every day during his stay. The building is a fine example of fourteenth-century Gothic work, and contains a splendid high altar, with an ancient Retablo and a statue of Our Lady de la Alba. Under the high altar is a crypt. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 71.—CAPILLA DEL RAPTO, Chapel of the Rapture, Hospice of Santa Lucia, Manresa. In the foreground, the old church of Santa Lucia, with holy water stoup used by the Saint. Within the arch, to the left, is the site of room of St. Ignatius, which looked out on the chapel, and where he had his marvellous trance now represented by a statue of the Saint. A chapel was built over it in the seventeenth century, within the walls of the ruined hospice. It was restored in 1833. The present Gothic structure was completed and consecrated on August

31, 1885. The date of the rapture, as given by Father Fita, was from April 5–12, 1522. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 72.—CRUCIFIX OF ST. IGNATIUS, Manresa, now in the possession of the Jesuit College, Manresa. St. Ignatius gave it to Juan Pascual on his return from Jerusalem, and it was kept at the Jesuit Church of Belen, Barcelona, till the suppression of the Society. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 75.—PORT OF BARCELONA, in the time of St. Ignatius. The actual place of embarcation was on the shore above the wall and tower projecting into the water. *After Braun's "Civitates orbis terrarum;" an engraving of* 1550 *in the Bodleian.* *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 79.—ADRIAN VI. *From an engraving in the Hope Collection, Oxford.*

*Page* 81.—PIAZZA SAN MARCO, Venice, Arcades of the Procuratie Vecchie, the palace of the nine procurators of the Republic, the next in authority after the Doge. It was built in the close of the fifteenth century. The Procuratie Nuove, on the opposite side of the Piazza, were begun in 1584. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 87.—MOSQUE OF THE ASCENSION, Mount of Olivet. Built over the traditional site of the Ascension of our Blessed Lord. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 91.—HERMITAGE DE LA TRINIDAD, Montserrat. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 97.—SANTA MARIA DEL MAR, Barcelona. Principal entrance. It is one of the most ancient religious foundations in the city. Formerly on the seashore, hence its name. The present building is of the fourteenth century. *H. C. B.*

*Page* 103.—PUERTA NUEVA, New Gate, Barcelona. It was near the cathedral, but is now destroyed. *From Laborde.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 115.—FRONT VIEW OF THE SANTA CUEVA, HOLY CAVE, Manresa, showing the building enclosing the cave, the corridor leading to it, and the church, with the House of the Third Probation. The natural rock shows the lines of the fissures, of which the Santa Cueva is but a portion. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 124.—COLLEGE DE MONTAIGU, Paris. Courtyard. Site now occupied by the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève. *From an old engraving of* 1779. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 129.—UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS, Salamanca. Erected from the designs of the eminent architect, R. Gil de Hontañon. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 134.—OLD COLLEGE, Ste. Barbe. Gateway and courtyard. Site now occupied by the new college. *From a sketch made immediately before the destruction in* 1830. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 135.—SAINT JACQUES DE COMPOSTELLA, Paris. The building was destroyed about 1810. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from an etching by Israel Silvestre, and a lithograph by Pernot in "Le Vieux Paris."* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 141.—THE QUARTIER LATIN, Paris, in the time of St. Ignatius. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from Oliver Truchet,* 1550; *Sebastian Munster,* 1550 (*wrongly dated* 1500); *Belforest,* 1575; *Vassalieu* (*or Nicolai*), 1550; *and others.*

*Page* 149.—ANTWERP, time of St. Ignatius. The house of De Cuellar, where the Saint stayed, was at the corner of Long New Street and Lombard Street, nearly opposite the church of St. Jacques. Behind it was the convent and church of St. Clave. The cathedral was completed at the time of St. Ignatius' visit, but a fire a few years afterwards destroyed the roof and central lantern, which are here restored. The Bourse was probably in construction, and was finished during his lifetime. St. Gertrude, with its lofty spire, was destroyed at the time of the French Revolution. The chief authorities employed for the restoration by Mr. H. W. Brewer are Aitzinger, Someren and Ravestein, Hollar, and the old plan of Antwerp of 1565. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 154.—CHARTERHOUSE, London. The little doorway in the illustration is in what is called the "Wash House Court," which contained the cells and workshops of the lay-brothers. The door opens into a monastic workshop which has entirely escaped modernisation. Six of the Brothers gave their lives for the faith on Tyburn. *From a sketch on the spot by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 155.—AUSTIN FRIARS AND BROAD STREET, London, in the time of St. Ignatius. The house of the Spanish ambassador formed a portion of the monastery (see Chapuis' letters), and it was called, after the Reformation, "Winchester House," from which was derived the names of Great and Little Winchester Streets. The Spanish colony in London was situated in this neighbourhood—in fact, it was the locality of foreigners of all nationalities. After the Reformation the Priory Church was handed over to the Dutch, and the Hospital Church of St. Anthony, shown in the immediate foreground, was given to the French Protestants. *Restored by H. W. Brewer, after Van Wyndgard's View of London, circ.* 1522; *Aggas' Map of London, circ.* 1560; *Vischer's Views of London, an.* 1616; *and unpublished drawings in the Guildhall Library.*

*Page* 165.—CHURCH OF AUSTIN FRIARS, London, in 1890. The nave of the church alone is standing, and is used as a Dutch place of worship. The choir and transepts were converted into stables by the Marquis of Winchester of Elizabeth's days, and were pulled down after the fall of the beautiful central spire. *From a sketch made on the spot by H. W. Brewer expressly for this work.*

*Page* 166.—HOUSE OF XAVIER, Navarre, in which Francis Xavier was born. It is a few miles from the French frontier, in the extreme west of Navarre, four miles east of the town of Sanguesa. It was given to the family by Thibaut, King of Navarre, in 1252. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 171.—COLLEGE OF BEAUVAIS, Paris. The only old college chapel left in Paris. St. Francis Xavier was lecturing in the college in 1536, Bobadilla being one of his pupils. It was founded in 1365 by Jean de Dormans, Bishop of Beauvais, and the chapel was built by his nephew, Miles de Dormans. *From a sketch of H. W. Brewer; and from Guilhermy, "Itineraire Archéologique de Paris."*

*Page* 176.—CHAPEL OF LES MARTYRS, OR LE MARTYRE, Montmartre, Paris. A priory dependent on the Abbey of Montmartre, now destroyed. A convent chapel is built over the site in the Rue Marie Antoinette. Traditional scene of the martyrdom of St. Denys and his companions, and the place wherein St. Ignatius and his companions took their first vows. The altar at which the vows were made was situated in a chapel below the choir. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from Lenoir.*

*Page* 179.—LES JACOBINS, THE DOMINICAN HOUSE, Paris. The Ecole de St. Thomas, which formed part of the convent, was the school of divinity frequented by St. Ignatius and his companions. The Dominicans got the name of Jacobins because the house was in the Rue St. Jacques. The library of the Dominican Novitiate in the Rue St. Honoré was occupied by the club of the extreme democratic party in France during the Revolution, and from it the club took its name of Jacobin. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from Israel Silvestre, Lenoir, Violet le Duc, &c.*

*Page* 185.—NOTRE DAME DES CHAMPS, Paris, now destroyed, but a new church is built on the old site. It was formerly an Abbey Church of the Benedictines of Marmontier, and was called Notre Dame des Vignes. It was, however, given over by its original possessors in 1604 to the Carmelite nuns of St. Theresa's reform. *After Pernot and Israel Silvestre.* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 189.—DOORWAY OF CATHEDRAL, Valencia, called Puerta de Palau. The fourteen heads on the corbels are said to represent the seven couples who were married after Valencia was delivered from the Moors. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 193.—FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH OF LOYOLA. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 199.—GATE OF THE CID, Valencia, now destroyed. *From an engraving in Comte Laborde's "Espagne."* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 204.—CHARTERHOUSE OF VAL DE CRISTO, founded by Don Martin, the second son of Peter, King of Aragon. It was finished in 1385. The prince in a dream had seen the horrors of the last day, and to propitiate God, chose this spot, which, being surrounded by lofty crags, was supposed to be like Jehosaphat, wherein to build a Charterhouse. It is now used as a paper manufactory. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 209.—CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAULO, Venice. The adjoining hospital was one of the two wherein St. Ignatius and his companions served the sick and poor. The Scuola di San Marco, to the left of engraving, now forms part of the old hospital, which is at the back of the Scuola. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 215.—PAUL III., after Titian. *From an engraving by Philip Galle.*

*Page* 220.—S. GIACOMO, PIAZZA NAVONA, Rome. Formerly the Spanish hospice, in which St. Ignatius stayed on his second visit to Rome, was attached to this church. *From Letarouille.* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 225.—THE PIAZZA DE' SIGNORI, Vicenza, where St. Ignatius and his companions preached. The Palazzo del Consiglio on the left, with its graceful arcades, is one of Palladio's earliest works. Opposite to it is the Loggia del Delegato, also by Palladio. Both are subsequent to St. Ignatius' time. The Duomo, whose cupola is seen in the background, is earlier. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 229.—ALBANETA OR ALBANETTA, a dependency of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, whither the monks used to go for change of air or deeper retirement. It is half a mile down the mountain, and to the west of the monastery. It was founded early in the eleventh century, and in 1481 was the Novitiate of Montecassino. Tradition says that St. Thomas of Aquin stayed there. The cell occupied by St. Ignatius was turned into a chapel. Cardinal Capecelatro, in his *Vita di San Filippo Neri*, vol. i. l. 1, cap. 2, p. 81, thinks that St. Philip must have been attracted there by the silence and by the beauty of the position. It is now confiscated, and in ruins. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 233.—CHAPEL OF LA STORTA, near Rome. On the highroad from Rome to the north, some eight miles from the city. *From a sketch on the spot made expressly for this work.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 236.—MONTE CASSINO. Celebrated Benedictine abbey. *Drawing made on the spot expressly for this work.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 240.—RUINS OF REFECTORY, Albaneta. *From a water-colour sketch made specially for this work.* *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 241.—VENETIAN PALACE, Rome. Scene of the first interview of Paul III. and the companions of St. Ignatius. View also shows the old church of St. Mark, one of the few Gothic churches in Rome. Paul II. (Barbo) began the palace while yet a cardinal, and finished it when Pope in 1464. He came to live there, and it was inhabited by Paul III. and other Popes till the time of Paul V. The Church of St. Mark served as a Papal chapel. It was afterwards given to the Republic of Venice, and thus passed into the hands of Austria, to whom it now belongs. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 247.—TORRE DEL MELANGOLO, Rome. House once occupied by St. Ignatius, and in which he bade farewell to St. Francis Xavier. *From drawings made on the spot expressly for this work.*

*Page* 253.—S. MARIA MAGGIORE, Rome, time of St. Ignatius, showing the two *tempietti*—one containing the altar of St. Gregory, with the Madonna di S. Luca

to the left, and that of the Relics to the right,—the ancient high altar and ambones. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from "Basilica S. Mariæ Majoris," Paulus de Angelis, Rome*, 1621.

*Page* 259.—ALTAR OF THE CRIB, SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, Rome, at the time of St. Ignatius. The chapel, the work of Innocent III. and Honorius III., was moved bodily by Fontana, at Sixtus V.'s order, to its present place under the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. *Restored by H. W. Brewer from Fontana's "Trasportazione del Obelisco e Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore."*

*Page* 265.—CASTLE OF THE POPES AT TIVOLI. It was built by Calixtus III., and was frequently used as a summer residence by his successors. Alexander VI. strengthened the fortifications. Paul III. spent the summer of 1539 there. *From a water-colour drawing made on the spot expressly for this work.*

*Louis Wain.*

*Page* 271.—S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO. Franciscan missionary-house. The church, erected by Constantine, was rebuilt by Ferdinand the Catholic from designs of Baccio Pintelli, 1500. *From sketch made for this work.* *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 272.—PONTE SISTO, Rome. The bridge designed by Baccio Pintelli, 1473. *From a water-colour drawing made expressly for this work.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 277.—OLD ST. PAUL'S OUTSIDE THE WALLS, Rome, time of St. Ignatius. The altar where the Saint and his companions took their vows was against two columns to the left of the high altar, at the left-hand side of the drawing, where the Blessed Sacrament was then reserved. The high altar was surrounded by twenty columns, mostly of porphyry, which were destroyed by Sixtus V. in 1588, about which time the Ambones and paschal candlestick were also removed. The picture of Our Lady, formerly on the altar of the vows, is now in the Chapel of the Crucifix. *Restored by H. W. Brewer, after* Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta;* Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*, Gutersohn and Knap's illustrations; Nicolai, *Basilica di S. Paolo*, 1815; Rossini, *Basilica di San Paolo*, 1823.

*Page* 282.—OUR LADY OF SORROWS. The print or drawing was given by Marina de Loyola in 1595, when she was eighty years old, to the Jesuit College at Saragossa. It was richly framed, and on great feasts solemnly exposed on the altar of St. Ignatius in the College Church. It is supposed to be the one lately given by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Saragossa to the Jesuit Novitiate at Veruela. Bolland., p. 533.

*Page* 283.—THE OLD CATHEDRAL—Sé Vieille—Coimbra.

*Page* 284.—ST. FRANCIS XAVIER. The traditional portrait of the Saint. *From engraving by Pitteri.*

*Page* 291.—COIMBRA, time of St. Ignatius. *From Braun's "Civitates illustres."*

*Page* 295.—THE CASTLE, Ferrara. The ancient palace of the Dukes—the family of Este. Erected 1385, after the designs of Bertolino Ploti da Novara.

*Page* 307.—HOUSE OF THE PINE CONE, Bruges. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 308.—TIVOLI. The cypresses belong to the extensive Villa d'Este, built by Cardinal Ludovico d'Este. The ancient campanile of the cathedral rises to the left. The celebrated falls are on the other side of the town. *From a sketch made for this work.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 311.—STIRLING CASTLE. Scene of audience given by King James V. of Scotland to Fathers Broët and Salmeron. For five centuries the residence of the Scottish sovereigns. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 315.—ISLAND OF IONA, visited by Broët and Salmeron. The cemetery around the ruined cathedral and Abbey Church was the burial-place of many of the Scottish, Irish, and Norwegian kings. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 319.—SHRINE OF ST. DOMINIC, Church of St. Dominic, Bologna. This white marble shrine was begun in 1267, and is the work of the leading sculptors of the period. One of the two angels kneeling at either side of the tomb is said to be by Michael Angelo. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 320.—SIGNATURE OF ST. IGNATIUS. *From the Bollandists.*

*Page* 323.—VILLA MECENATE. The municipality in 1548 persuaded St. Ignatius to open a college in the Villa Mecenate—so called from the supposed ruins of the Villa of Mæcenas—next to the church of the Madonna del Passo. The *Cascatelle* or Falls of the Anio are seen in front. In 1712 the Society built a new college on another site. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 331.—THE BASILICA OF ST. JOHN LATERAN, Rome. The church was rebuilt by Clement V., 1305–1316, but the columns and apse are of earlier date. The bronze columns of the screen right and left of the altar were removed to the Blessed Sacrament altar, probably by Borromini, in 1644. The tomb of Martin V., in front of the high altar, occupies the site of the ancient choir. The chapel of the relics where St. Ignatius said Mass appears to have been a chapel in a crypt under the high altar. *Restored by H. W. Brewer after* Ciampini, *De Sacris Œdificiis*, t. iii., c. 2, p. 4; tab. i., iii., v., pp. 17–26; Severinus, *De Septem Ecclesiis;* Letarouille, *Edifices de Rome Moderne*, 1840–50; Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*, 1843.

*Page* 347.—CASTEL MADAMA. A village near Tivoli, with castle built by the Orsini. In 1538 it was given as a dower to Margaret of Austria. Her stately palace, built in 1550, still exists. The village, like the Piazza Madama in Rome, took its name from her. It was formerly called St. Angelo. *From a water-colour drawing made on the spot expressly for this work.* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 351.—RATISBON. The building at the end of the street, with lofty tower, is the Rathhaus, in which the Diets were held. *From a drawing made on the spot by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 353.—CATHEDRAL AND RUINS OF PALACE, WORMS, before 1870, in which the Diet was held. The ruins were swept away in that year. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 358.—CHURCH OF ST. LAURENCE AND HANGMAN'S BRIDGE, Nuremberg. *From drawing made on the spot by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 361.—MAYENCE, in the time of St. Ignatius. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 367.—COLOGNE, time of St. Ignatius. *Restored from Nuremberg Chronicle, and sketches by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 372.—NANTUA. General view. On the slope to the right between the town and the hill stood the castle, now destroyed. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 373.—DOORWAY OF ABBEY CHURCH, Nantua. It now serves for the parish church. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 377.—ROME, with buildings erected by the Society of Jesus. *From engraving by Cornelius Galle in "Vita S. Ignatii,"* 1610.

*Page* 384.—ST. ANTONIO, Padua, commonly called Il Santo. This church, containing the shrine of S. Antony of Padua, probably designed by Niccolo Pisano, was begun in 1256. The domes were not built till 1457. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 385.—THE OLD SORBONNE, Paris. The building was destroyed in the seventeenth century to make way for the existing college. *From a drawing by Pernot, copied from a view of* 1550. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 389.—STÉ. GERMAIN DES PRÉS, Paris, time of St. Ignatius. The church exists (1891) entire, except the towers attached to the transepts. The abbey buildings, which were designed by Pierre de Montereau, architect of the Sainte Chapelle,

who was buried in the Lady Chapel, are now destroyed, as is also the Lady Chapel itself. As the latter was an isolated building, it was probably used by the Jesuit Fathers. It is shown in the view to the right of the great Abbey Church. See pp. 136, 404. *Restored by H. W. Brewer, after Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyer*, 1550; *the Vassalieu (or Nicolai) plan*, 1609; *Lenoir, "Statistique Monumentale," and other ancient views and drawings.*

*Page* 395.—THE TWO CATHEDRALS AT SALAMANCA. Of these two churches, the earlier was built in the twelfth century, and the later in the commencement of the sixteenth century. The former is a cross-church with a dome over the crossing. The more modern cathedral is a work of the celebrated Spanish architect, Juan Gil de Hontañon, and was being completed when St. Ignatius was a student at Salamanca University. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 404.—THE HOSPICE OF SANTA LUCIA, Manresa. Exterior. The ancient hospice, dating back to the tenth century, where the Saint stayed on two occasions —on his arrival, and during a dangerous illness. At the first door, the old entrance to the hospice, is the stone seat where St. Ignatius taught Catechism to the young, and instructed the ignorant. The larger door leads into the mediæval church of Santa Lucia. Beyond it is the church of the Jesuit College, founded in the seventeenth century. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 405—BORGIA PALACE, Gandia. Exterior. General view. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 409.—CARDINAL GASPAR CONTARINI. *From engraving in British Museum.*

*Page* 414.—MARGARET OF AUSTRIA. See p. 322. *From engraving by Jacob Houbraken, in the British Museum.*

*Page* 421.—CATHEDRAL, Ferrara, the Porta Maggiore. A twelfth-century doorway, with a thirteenth-century statue of the Madonna above it, to which the people of this town paid great devotion. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 423.—LOUVAIN, time of St. Ignatius, showing the old church of St. Michael, built over one of the gates, in which Strada, Ribadeneira, and Bellarmine preached. A new church took its place, which is still standing. *From old view.*

*Page* 429.—MARCELLUS II. (CERVINI). *From an engraving in the Hope Collection, Oxford.*

*Page* 432.—PAUL III., CARDINAL ALEXANDER FARNESE, AND OCTAVIUS FARNESE. *From unfinished painting by Titian in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, painted in* 1545.

*Page* 438.—PORTION OF EXTERIOR OF THE BORGIA PALACE, Gandia. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 442.—ST. FRANCIS BORGIA. *From engraving after the portrait in the Borgia Palace, Gandia.*

*Page* 448.—BLESSED PETER CANISIUS. *After an early engraving.*

*Page* 460.—INGOLDSTADT. The first college of the Society in Germany was established near the gate shown in this view. The towers of the great minster church are seen rising over the city wall. *From a drawing made on the spot by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 461.—LAINEZ. *From an engraving by John Galle, in the possession of the Bollandists.*

*Page* 465.—PALERMO, showing the west end of the cathedral and the Archbishop's Palace. A bridge connects the cathedral with a lofty tower. View from a street called the "Passage of the Arches," because it passes under the arches by which the two buildings are joined. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 468.—TRENT. *From Braun's "Civitates orbis terrarum."*

*Page* 476.—SALMERON. *From an engraving of John Galle, in the possession of the Bollandists.*

*Page* 481.—ALCALA. University buildings erected by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, from the designs of Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon. The cord of St. Francis reminds us of the Order to which the founder belonged. *H. C. Brewer.*

*Page* 486.—POPE JULIUS III. (DEL MONTE). *From engraving by Galle.*

*Page* 491.—SAN-CHIAN, island of Macao, on which St. Francis Xavier died. His death took place on spot to the left marked by a cross, and he was temporarily buried on the summit of the hill above.

*Page* 503.—EXTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, Rome, circ. 1540, showing the quadriporticus of Constantine and the east front of the basilica as they existed at the time of St. Ignatius' second visit to Rome, with the transepts of Michael Angelo in the course of erection in the background. On the south stands the chapel of the arch-confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, built by Paul III. On the north the consistory of the Rota, with the *pigna* or pine-cone, from the top of the mole of Hadrian, in the centre (now in the Belvidere of the Vatican). *Restored by H. W. Brewer, from Ciampini, Alpheranus, Bunsen, and others.*

*Page* 503.—FATHER PASCHASE BROËT. *From engraving by Philip Galle, in possession of the Bollandists.*

*Page* 512.—SANTA BALBINA. Vigna of Rome. House purchased by St. Ignatius for the students and professors at the Roman College. Still existing (1891) to the south-east of the baths of Caracalla. *From a drawing made expressly for this work.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 519.—LISBON, time of St. Ignatius. *From Braun's "Civitates illustres."*

*Page* 524.—NICOLAS DE BOBADILLA. *From engraving by Philip Galle, in the possession of the Bollandists.*

*Page* 525.—MUNICH. The centre of the old town and the church—now cathedral—of Our Lady. The domes of the two towers restored. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 532.—PRAGUE. Showing "The Clementinum" or College of the Society, a building erected on the site of the first college. *From original drawing by H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 533.—STUDY OF ST. IGNATIUS AT THE GESÙ, formerly part of the house of Santa Maria della Strada. The balcony is that on which the Saint used to sit at night gazing up at the heavens. *From sketch made on the spot.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 541.—CARDINAL POLE. *From engraving by Nicholas de Larmessin, after painting by Raphael in Windsor Castle.*

*Page* 546.—PORTRAIT OF ST. IGNATIUS. *From painting by Coello, in the house of the Society of Jesus at Madrid.* See p. 592, n. 1.

*Page* 559.—ANTEROOM OF ST. IGNATIUS AT THE GESÙ, formerly part of the house of Santa Maria della Strada. The old fireplace is fastened up. The door to the left, made since the Saint's time, entered his bedroom at the place where his bed stood when he died. *From drawings made on the spot.* *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 561.—PAUL IV. (CARAFFA). *From engraving by Philip Galle.*

*Page* 565.—STA. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA, Church of the Dominican Fathers, Rome. The modern decorative paintings are omitted. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 568.—LORETO. Town in the time of St. Ignatius. *From Braun's "Civitates orbis terrarum."*

*Page* 569.—THE CHARTREUSE, Paris, now destroyed. This view shows the vast cloisters and little houses of the monks bordering it. *From Pernot and Israel Silvestre.* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 572.—ONE OF THE HERMITAGES, Montserrat. *Louis Wain.*

*Page* 577.—PAPAL PALACE, Loreto. Only a small portion of the arcades was built in the days of St. Ignatius. The upper storey of the building to the right of the engraving served as the college of the Society whose members were to be confessors to the pilgrims in the basilica. It was begun by Julius II. in 1510 from the designs of Bramante, but the work was completed only in the reign of Benedict XIV. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 583.—PEDRO RIBADENEIRA. *From anonymous engraving in the possession of the Bollandists.*

*Page* 589.—VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE DE' QUATTRO CAPI, Rome. The view embraces a portion of Rome little changed at the time of the sketch from the days of St. Ignatius. *After a sketch made for this work.* *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 590.—CANDLE OF ST. IGNATIUS. The candle which he held in his hand at his death. It was afterwards enclosed in a candlestick which bore the inscription, "The remains of the candle of 'all graces' with which our Blessed Father Ignatius gave up his soul to God." *Reproduced from the copperplate of the Bollandists, kindly lent for this work.*

*Page* 597.—FUNERAL OF ST. IGNATIUS. *From engraving by Cornelius Galle, Antwerp,* 1610, *after painting executed at Madrid under the direction of Father Ribadeneira.*

*Page* 601.—ALTAR AND SHRINE OF ST. IGNATIUS, Gesù, Rome. Erected from designs of Andrea Pozzi, S.J.; completed in 1699. *H. W. Brewer.*

*Page* 604.—CANONISATION OF ST. IGNATIUS. Scene in St. Peter's on March 12, 1622. The Baldacchino here shown is the one erected prior to that at present existing. *From an ancient engraving, and Bonanni's "Templum Vaticanum."* *H. W. Brewer.*

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