

# RUSSIA AND THE JESUITS,

FROM 1772 TO 1820.

PRINCIPALLY FROM UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

BY

HENRI LUTTEROTH.

*Translated from the French.*

SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET;  
AND B. SEELEY, HANOVER STREET.  
LONDON. MDCCCLVIII.

## RUSSIA AND THE JESUITS.

---

### I.

THE Jesuits first appear in the history of Russia in the middle of the sixteenth century. Between the years 1560 and 1580 they worked with much perseverance to bring that country under the spiritual dominion of the see of Rome; and when they had failed in that design, they endeavoured by indirect means to obtain that which they despaired of effecting openly.

After having established their ascendancy in Poland, this Society excited pretenders to the throne of Moscow, by whose means they hoped to reign also over Russia. It was the Jesuits who caused the false Demetrius to be crowned: then the Polish prince, Vladislas; and when Moscow was irrevocably lost to Poland, they succeeded in consolidating their power in Poland in such a manner, that their influence was still felt in White Russia, Little Russia, and Livonia, of which Poland retained possession by virtue of the treaty of peace in 1618.

Such intrigues were scarcely calculated to obtain for the Jesuits the good will of the sovereigns of Moscow. They had shown themselves to be the most formidable political enemies of that country, by exciting those wars and revo-

lutions which had laid it waste. To forbid their access into Russia was not to proscribe a sect, it was only a measure of precaution against an adversary.

Far from obeying the laws which interdicted their entrance into Russia, the Jesuits found means to insinuate themselves under divers pretexts; and in 1705 they succeeded in founding a college at Moscow. Peter the Great, on his return from his travels in 1719, closed the college, and expelled the Society by an ukase, the preliminary remarks of which deserve attention:—

“It was,” he said, “after having learned from the evidence of his own eyes the course of action pursued by the Jesuits in foreign countries, and the astonishment he felt that other sovereigns still tolerated them, that he had determined to interdict their sojourn in his states.”

The ukase was made public by means of placards, placed on the walls of the Roman Catholic church in Moscow. By choosing this building, of which the appointed use was in no way altered by this edict, the Russian Government wished to have it understood that it made a great distinction between Jesuitism and Catholicism; and Peter thus made it evident, that while overturning the one, he was resolved to maintain the other; and that in destroying an order whose ambition he feared, he had no intention to assail a religion professed by a considerable portion of his subjects.

Events (at that time impossible to foresee) led to the restoration of the Jesuits to Russia half a century later, without any formal authorization of their return. We have seen them established in White Russia under the dominion of Poland. This province was restored to the dominion of Russia in 1772, and the Jesuits who resided there were naturally restored to the empire at the same time. It was precisely at this period that several sovereigns were soliciting at Rome the suppression of the Company. The suppression was obtained in the following year, 1773, from Pope Clement

XIV. ; and we find them at that time, by a most extraordinary reversal of all their former relations, flying to the temporal authority to protect them against their spiritual chief. M. Thiers has said on a recent occasion, "That when the Pope abandoned them, one prince alone, the great Frederick of Prussia, who, after having conquered Europe, amused himself by laughing at her, gave them an asylum in his states."\* That statement is not exactly correct, for another friend of Voltaire's, Catherine the Great, thus named by the Prince de Ligne, acted as Frederick did, and even appears to have set him the example. The exact number of Jesuits existing at that period is not known ; but according to the statistics taken some years before in relation to the diocese of Mohilew, it appears that the Society in Russia in 1786 consisted of 178 members, of whom 98 were priests, 32 students, and 48 lay brothers. The bishop of this diocese, Stanislas Sestrenzewitch, authorised the conservation of this order in the empire, notwithstanding the sentence of the Pope. We cannot exactly say whether such a service merited much gratitude, but however small the debt due to him might have been, it was greater than that which the prelate obtained, for there is no man of whom the Roman Catholic organs of this day speak so ill. Not only did the schismatic Empress allow the Jesuits, notwithstanding the dissolution of their order, to retain all the possessions they held in the governments of White Russia, but she liberated them from all manorial taxes, and opened to all Jesuits residing in other countries, who chose to accept of it, a sure asylum in this province ; but while thus favouring them, she expected in return that they would confine their labours exclusively to the education of the young Roman Catholics.

Catherine had taken care to inform the Jesuits, that if

\* See M. Thiers on the Execution of the Laws of the State Relative to Religious Congregations.—(Sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, May 2, 1845.)

they violated her conditions her protection would be withdrawn. To this declaration, which is dated 1774, an imperial decree was afterwards added in 1782, according to which the regulations of the Society (so far, that is, as there can be a question of rules in a Society suppressed by the Pope) could only be executed in such a manner as might be consistent with the institutions of the empire. The Jesuits, in all the official papers which have been placed in our hands, give great praise to the conduct of Catherine II., and of her son Paul I., towards themselves, and even delight to cite certain insignificant phrases in praise of themselves, which they attribute to these sovereigns. Perhaps they thought they could not find a surer means of gaining the confidence of the rulers of Russia, than by recalling to the remembrance of those princes the confidence which they had inspired in their predecessors. It is easy however to perceive, by the warnings given to them by the empress, which we have already noticed, that her confidence in them was far from entire.

Catherine desired to give hospitality to the Jesuits, to fulfil in respect to them a sort of duty of humanity. Her interest also suggested an advantage in receiving them; she thought they would be proper agents to be employed in the education of the Roman Catholics in her dominions; but it does not necessarily follow that she had ever entertained for a moment the idea of supporting them against the Pope, whose authority they had ceased to recognise. The Bull of Suppression had placed them under the jurisdiction of the bishops, in the same manner as the secular clergy. It was in vain that they appealed to their peculiar regulations, as an excuse for their disobedience; ukases and diplomas succeeded each other, to recall them to their duty. Thus in 1782 the directing senate again declared to them that they owed obedience to the Archbishop of Mohilew, as their legitimate superior. Ought we after that to consider them still as a religious order? Whatever may have been their

former position, they were at that period no more than simple priests: the temporal prince and the Pope both held that opinion. The Jesuits themselves thought otherwise. They so completely considered themselves as an order, which the Pope had no power to destroy, that they continued to rally round their general, exactly as if he still retained his original power, corresponding with the Government only through his intervention, and leaving to him the sole charge of defending their prerogatives.

A note addressed by him to the Commission of Public Worship ("aux Ministère des Cultes") expressly intended to maintain the independence of the Company in regard to the bishops, shows with what zeal he employed himself in this matter. The note concludes thus:—

"Your Excellency will perceive by this statement, that you will have little to do with Regulars, that your administration with respect to them will be almost confined to listening to such demands as they may have to make concerning anything which cannot be introduced or executed without the sanction of Government, and to receiving petitions should they find themselves vexed by the interference of the seculars."

It is impossible to imagine a lighter tone; it nearly amounts to saying, "Secure to us the support and favour of Government; maintain our constitutions for and against the world; and leave the rest to us."

Taking advantage of the toleration they enjoyed, and of a species of apathy on the part of the authorities, who, having declared them to be under the direction of the bishops, allowed them to act as if they were not so, the Jesuits gradually extended their influence beyond the limits of White Russia. In 1800 they obtained permission to officiate in the Roman Catholic parochial church of St. Petersburg. An old regulation of 1769 permitted an educational institution to be attached to that church, solely for the education of the

children of Roman Catholics. The Father-General took advantage of this permission to form a college, and, under the pretext of improving the instruction to be given there, he augmented the number of the members of his Company.

Here, then, is an order suppressed by the Pope, which, not satisfied with maintaining, moreover, recruits itself. The Russian Government, without doubt, would not have interfered with them, if the Jesuits had confined themselves to receiving Roman Catholic children for education. But the new College soon received pupils of other religions, and, above all, children of the Greek persuasion, whom they endeavoured by every means to convert to the Roman Catholic faith. The Emperor caused the most severe representations to be made to the Jesuits on this subject, and they were obliged to attend to them. But even whilst in appearance they gave up one point, they were working to gain ground on another. Thus these proscribed men, by a most singular destiny, owed to the misfortunes of their friends, by the enlargement of the frontiers of Russia at their expense, their own restoration into Russia, and in the course of a few years, by perseverance and dexterity, they found themselves in a position to claim entire independence for their schools, and for themselves an almost unlimited confidence. It is worth while to examine how they became possessed of these advantages, and how they lost them almost as soon as they were acquired. The authentic and principally unpublished documents that we have been enabled to consult, allow us to follow them step by step in their rapid advance and not less rapid decay.

---

## II.

After having existed for a period of twenty-eight years, merely by an act of toleration, the Jesuits of Russia thought that a favourable moment had arrived to solicit Pope Pius VII. to acknowledge them openly, and he by a brief, dated May 7, 1801, addressed to Francis Karew, and through him to the other priests established in the empire of Russia who had formed part of that Company, and to all others who chose to join them there, permitted them to reunite themselves into a body or congregation in one or more houses, under the name of "The Society of Jesus," but only within the limits of the Russian empire. Francis Karew was at the same time nominated "Father-General," "with power and all faculties necessary and convenient to follow and maintain the rule of St. Ignatius Loyola." This, without doubt, was only a partial re-establishment of the Order, and, strange to say, limited to a schismatic country. But no more was necessary to annul the brief of Clement XIV., who had declared the Society

*"Extinguished and suppressed"*—

the authority of its general and other superiors—"Broken to all perpetuity, and entirely extinguished both as to spiritual and temporal power"—and the name of the Society "*absolutely effaced.*"

To revive in one place was, to the Jesuits, leave to aspire to reconquer the world; and we see them from that moment working with renewed ardour to reconstitute and fortify their order. We have said that the number of their members was, a few years before (in 1786), 178; in the beginning of 1804 they already numbered 247, distributed in twenty-one houses, and towards the end of the same year they amounted to 264.\*

\* 118 priests, 83 students, and 63 lay brothers.



A little later, Thadeus Brzozowski became general of the Jesuits. In the existing position of the order, and succeeding to the celebrated Gruber, this was a difficult office to fill, but Brzozowski showed himself worthy of it. He saw the advantage he might derive from the desire which had seized the Government, to raise the standard of civilization in Russia; and having conceived the bold idea of inducing the Government to accept his Society as the medium of education for that great nation, he pursued his object with extraordinary tenacity and intelligence.

He first endeavoured to obtain from the Minister of Public Instruction the conversion of the seminary which the Jesuits possessed at Polotzk, into a university, enjoying the same rights and privileges as the University at Wilna, and comprehending within its jurisdiction all the schools of the Order throughout the empire. He hoped by this means to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the various universities, within whose districts they were situated. Some details are necessary to explain the magnitude of the change he aspired to accomplish. The University of Wilna, which denomination we must take in the German sense of the word, depended at that time, as it does at present, on the department of Public Instruction, directed by Count Rasoumoffsky. The seminary of the Jesuits at Polotzk, on the contrary, depended on the Commission of Public Worship (Département des Cultes), of which Prince Alexander Galitzin was the Minister; and the Councillor of State, Alexander Tourguéneff, was Director-General of all sects—not official (*non-officiels*)—from the Greek to the Armenian; the various Protestant faiths, and even the Jewish, Mahometan, Lamite and Shaman faiths, being all united in the same Department, in which the Roman Catholic faith found itself confounded with them. It could not be a matter of indifference to the Jesuits to gain for themselves a separate and honourable position; for their scholastic establishments this could only be obtained by making them to depend for the

future, without any intervention, on the Department of Public Instruction; but to effect this, they must begin by obtaining for themselves a more important position. The Jesuits, therefore, pursued two objects at once, each of which led to the accomplishment of the other—the elevation of the seminary of Polotzk into a university, and the complete separation of all their educational establishments from the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*), because this department persisted in considering them merely as intended to supply the requirements of one of the most numerous sects in the empire, while they aspired by their schools to exercise a far more extended influence.

For some years past the Seminary of Polotzk and the University of Wilna had been engaged in a struggle—the seminary attempting to throw off all submission to the university, and the university asserting its right of supervision over the seminary. Besides this, the University of Wilna wished to oblige the Jesuits to adopt a new method of instruction. The Jesuits absolutely refused to abandon their own method, “which had been submitted,” as they said, “three several times to the Government, and had been three times approved of, and which certainly deserved to be so, if, as they affirmed, “it had produced all the great men of the last century, and brought all sciences to their present perfection.”

This is only a feeble representation of the manner in which the Jesuits praised themselves and their method. Perhaps the impudence with which they have boasted of their own merits, at all times, and in all places, has not been one of their least effectual means to persuade others of the fact. If we listen to them, it would appear that all they claimed was the peaceful possession of one method of instruction. But patience: the question will soon enlarge itself. Notwithstanding its lowly beginning and humble appearance, this matter already assumes a position of rivalry between the

Jesuits and the University, and it will soon become a question of state in Russia, as it is at this moment in France. It already assumes this character in many notes addressed by the Father-General to the Russian Government in 1810 and 1811, and which we have at this moment in manuscript under our eyes:—

“Two rival bodies mutually restrain each other from doing mischief,” said the Father Brzozowski, in a letter to Count Rasoumoffsky, bearing date August 24, 1810. It is without doubt highly important that the “youth of the country should be educated in *patriotic principles*, in feelings of submission, of respect, and of devotion to the person of the Sovereign. But what certainty can there be that such sentiments are inculcated in universities in which many of the professors are attached to the Empire only by the salaries which they receive, and who have different and independent interests from those of the State, and who are, therefore, *more likely to extinguish than to excite patriotism in the minds of the rising generation?*”

This passage is repeated almost literally in a note of the 16th of September, 1811, but with one very significant variation,—there is no longer any question, as in the note of 1810, of “exciting *patriotism* in the minds of the rising generation:” the word *patriotism* has entirely disappeared, the Father-General now mentions nothing but *devotion to the sovereign*, “with which it is so important” he says, “that youth should be inspired.” Perhaps he perceived that he injured his cause by appearing to make Russian patriotism consist in anything but submission and attachment to the emperor. But on the contrary, it appears that in all these notes, great care is taken by the General to create in the Government a deep-seated distrust of the professors of the universities, and to insinuate that the Jesuits are much more likely to serve its interests. In truth it would not have been worth while for the Father-General to press upon this point, and to

return to it incessantly as he does, if the question had only been a means to obtain a more liberal organization for the Jesuits and the full exercise of their method ; but by insisting so much upon it, he discloses to us that they hoped to gain much more from it, and it will be impossible to feel a doubt on this subject when all the arguments by which they supported it are known.

First observe how, in order to escape from the rules of the universities, which they alleged would not allow a vestige of their method to remain, they adduce the liberty which their establishment always had enjoyed in this respect, wherever they had been tolerated ; because it had been acknowledged, they said, that the same rules could not be suitable to institutions necessarily unlike. We shall again quote the note of the 16th of September, 1811.

“This truth,” they there say, “has been felt at all times and in every country in which our Order has had establishments, and it is unexampled to attempt to subject us to the laws of the university, that any one should wish to change anything in the Order that we follow in our studies, or that any one should restrain the liberty of our superiors in the choice of professors. Our Society has had the direction of a great number of universities. In many other countries the Order has had colleges. And it ought to be observed, that even in the universities of which our Society formed a part, it never has been placed under the jurisdiction of these universities in the manner now required. It is no new favour which we solicit when we ask to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the universities, we only seek to preserve a right as ancient as our Order, which we have always enjoyed unquestioned, which we have never abused, and which there is no fear we ever should abuse, because it is always our interest to deserve the confidence of Government, and to merit its protection, by our unreserved devotion to the service of the Empire.”

Such, then, were the pretensions of the Jesuits ; we have already seen that the erection of the Seminary of Polotzk into a university appeared to them a powerful means to realize them. But it is worth while to observe the tortuous and humble course they followed, in order to obtain the end they had so much at heart.

“ As it is but just,” said the Father-General in the note that we are analyzing, “ that everything affecting public education should be under the immediate supervision of Government, and as that supervision would be too onerous if it were extended to all the schools of our Order in the Empire, the simple and natural means of facilitating this supervision, would be to make all these schools dependant upon our principal school at Polotzk, which should be in respect to all the others, what the universities are in regard to the schools, which depend upon them, in their respective districts.”

Now admire the ingenuity of this : the Jesuits hasten to acknowledge that the superintendence of Government ought to extend to everything belonging to public education, but they kindly offer to lighten its task, even at the risk of increasing their own ; and for this purpose they propose to the Government to confine their superintendence to their principal school, abandoning to themselves the trouble of inspecting all the others, as if they had said to the Government, “ We will open one of our establishments to you as a matter of form ; but that shall be the only one to which you shall have access. We understand that in all the others we are to do all that seems good to us, without your having anything to say or to do with them.”

To arrive at this point it was necessary to elevate Polotzk into an academy, and to place it on an equality with Wilna, an established university, in direct communication with the Department of Public Instruction.

“ And why not ?” cries the Father-General ; “ the Uni-

versity of Paris was never more flourishing than when the Jesuits had in that capital the celebrated College of Louis the Great. The true interest of the state demands that the education of youth should not be confided to the universities alone."

"The Jesuits," he added, "had the charge of the University at Wilna for two centuries, and Wilna was neither the only, nor the most celebrated, that our Order has conducted. We have had the University of Vienna, of Prague, of Gratz, of Ingoldstadt, of Strasbourg, of Pont-à-Mousson, and of a great number of others in all Catholic countries. One single academy will be a poor indemnity for all that we have lost; and after having sufficed, with distinction, and I may say, with honour, for the direction of so many illustrious universities, we can scarcely be accused of temerity in offering ourselves to fulfil this duty in one academy at Polotzk."

But that which the Father-General did not say was, that it was *not* the Russian Government which had placed the university at Wilna in the hand of the Jesuits; and that during the two centuries in which they had been masters of that university, it had been the focus of all the machinations which were forged in Poland against the independence of Moscow. Neither did he say that the Jesuits had lost all the other universities which he was pleased to enumerate, in consequence of their faults and their intrigues. Moreover, he was very skilful in refuting or anticipating objections. The Rector of the University of Wilna had pretended that the care of a university was above the powers of the Company. The General answered, that they already taught at Polotzk almost everything that was taught at Wilna itself; that the only difference was in the method; and as to the money part of the question, that he said could not be raised, as no expense would result to the treasury from their establishment.

"For we ask absolutely nothing but to retain the pos-

session of the funds which we actually enjoy," said he. "That which renders universities so expensive to governments are the salaries of the professors, whom they are obliged to send for at a great expense from foreign countries. But our Order furnishes us with all the professors we require, and each of these professors gives all his care and all his teaching without any view of temporal recompense, and solely to fulfil the duties of his vocation."

Simple prudence then is sufficient, if we believe the Father-General, to ensure the acceptance of the demands of the Jesuits, amidst all the new schemes of education which are continually suggested and never matured. "May we not be allowed to conjecture," asked he, "that it will be discovered, after a great number of fruitless attempts have been made, that the method that produced the age of Louis XIV. is the best, and that we ought to return to it? And as he never admitted a doubt that the answer would be in the affirmative, and that no one could hesitate to attribute to the Company of Jesus the glory of having produced that great age, "it would be wise," added he, "to seek again from us that which the world has lost."

Another argument which he brought forward was, that the elevation of the seminary of Polotzk into an academy would please the nobles of the Roman Catholic persuasion in the environs, who had solicited for its elevation in 1806. The great number of scholars which this measure would attract to the town, might in some degree recompense them for the loss which the removal of the seat of Government to Witebsk had inflicted. And who could be offended by this concession? Certainly not the other Roman Catholic religious orders, for in respect to, them it altered nothing.

"They cannot, like the Jesuits, claim a possession of three centuries: they are not, like the Jesuits, an order teaching because it is their vocation. No one could wish to change so important a part of our constitution," continues

the Father-General, "without intending to annihilate us altogether."

But all these arguments are insignificant, compared to that which they founded upon the well-known spirit of their Company. We have seen that they reproached the universities with having many foreigners among their professors, and that they endeavoured to inspire the Government with great distrust of them, *as having different and independent interests from those of the State*. We are now to be told, and perhaps some readers may be astonished at it, that the Jesuits had not, at least in Russia, any of those interests, and that, therefore, entire confidence might be reposed in them.

"As for the Jesuits," said the Father-General, "I do not believe that any one can have the slightest doubt about their principles. I will not make the apology of my Order, or give it any praise, which would be unbecoming from me. I will only say that the people believed it to be so certain, that the principles inculcated by the Jesuits to their pupils, were opposed to the ideas of reform or revolt which prevailed; that in order to effect the general overthrow of Europe, which we have witnessed, it was found necessary to begin by withdrawing the young from these faithful guardians. But has not Russia another guarantee for the entire devotion of the Jesuits to the empire? It is to her Government that we owe the conservation of our existence. We can, therefore, have no interest but that of the State. If we were not faithful subjects from duty and a principle of religion, we should be so from gratitude, from self-interest, and from necessity, towards a Government from whom we hold everything, and which has acquired the most incontestable right to our unlimited devotion. It is true we have in our Order some foreigners. But these foreigners, on entering our Order, immediately adopt its spirit, its interest, and its maxims. Thus bound irrecoverably to a body which belongs to the Empire, they inevitably become



subjected to it, and cannot have any interest which is opposed to it.”

Perhaps no words were ever written against the Jesuits more condemnatory than those which we have just transcribed, and which were intended by the Father-General for their justification. From the moment that a man enters this Order, he adopts so implicitly *its spirit, its interests, and its maxims*, that he no longer belongs to himself. He belongs to the Company to which he is so irrevocably bound, and to him, to whom that Company belongs. If we believe the Father-General, a foreigner, on entering it, becomes a Russian, because the Company once belonged to the empire. But if this Company is restored to its old master?—if it belongs to the Pope now, as it did in former times—if, spread over the whole world, it is everywhere acknowledged, and directed by him—does it not follow, that those who enter it become Romans, whatever may be their country, and are so, as is the Company itself, by *its maxims, its interests, and its spirit*? In Russia they made a merit, under existing circumstances, of this unanimity of spirit, and represented it as a title to favour. But is it possible that this can ever, in any place or under any circumstances, be reasonably considered as a recommendation?

At the same moment that the Jesuits were soliciting with so much importunity the elevation of their college at Polotzk into an academy, they insinuated to the Government, that although any other order would require a special authorization from the Holy See to accept this direction, the good pleasure of the Emperor was sufficient for their Company, because they held an unlimited and unreserved authorization from the time of their foundation, accorded to them by every succeeding Pope. “We need only the assent of his Imperial Majesty.” So wrote the Father-General. We think that if the Emperor Alexander had known this, he would have been but little touched by this warrant of sufficiency which they were so good as to allow him. This is, in fact, the only mistake with

which the Father Brzozowski can be reproached. He displayed the greatest dexterity in the long negotiations which he carried on ; but the whole responsibility did not rest with him. We shall soon see the important part which was taken by a very celebrated person in these transactions.

---

### III.

Count Joseph de Maistre had been Minister Plenipotentiary in Russia from the King of Sardinia since 1803. It was in that country, 500 leagues from Paris and from Turin, that he wrote the "Essai sur le Principe Générateur des Constitutions Politiques," the "Livre du Pape," and a part of the "Soirées de St. Pétersbourg." The sentiment exhibited in all these writings was too sincerely his own to make it difficult to foresee, that in whatever situation he might be placed, he would not abstain from endeavouring to realise it around him. Thus one can easily imagine, that in choosing him for his representative at the court of the Emperor Alexander, his sovereign did not fail to regard the services he might render to the Holy See, more highly than the more problematical advantages which Sardinia might derive from his mission. Pope Pius VII. had recourse at that time to all sorts of means to combat the schism of Russia, and to induce that empire to renew its connexion with Rome. The works of Count de Maistre show how completely he associated himself with the wishes of the Pontiff, but they do not show us to how great a degree he seconded them by active assistance. The support that we shall find him giving to the General of the Jesuits, to assist him in obtaining the elevation of the college of Polotzk into an academy, places it beyond a doubt that he considered these good offices as forming an integral part of his mission.

The Father Brzowski had renewed his solicitations year after year, but not succeeding in his attempts, he had recourse to the intervention of Count de Maistre, who did not confine himself to general recommendations; he resolved to plead the cause confided to him in a regular manner, and this is the object of a series of letters addressed by him to Count Rasoumoffsky, Minister of Public Instruction, which have been communicated to us. As they are to appear in detail in another work, we are only permitted to make a limited use of them, more calculated to excite curiosity than to satisfy it; but we cannot pass them over entirely without notice, for without them it would not be possible for us to give more than a very incomplete idea of the means employed by the General of the Jesuits to obtain for his Order a large share in the public instruction of Russia. These letters, five in number, form a book in which are found all the merits and all the faults of the author: his love of paradox; his biting irony; his passionate disputation; the decisive tone of his assertions; quotations purposely falsified, and for a bad object; and with all this a love of goodness, of justice, and of truth, which, however mistaken the object pursued by him, is not in itself less estimable.

The three first letters contain a severe criticism, sometimes just, but more frequently exaggerated, of the state of public education in Russia at the period when they were written. We shall soon see what was the subject of the other two.

Count de Maistre begins by stating that public education, like certain other political institutions, is not suitable to all nations. Every one knew that such was the case in Russia in regard to political institutions, but no one appeared to suspect that the same rule could apply to education; and because science is a fine thing, it was wished to force the Russians in that direction, without considering whether the nation was prepared to receive it: this, according

to the illustrious writer, is to attach too high a value to it.

“Science,” he goes on to say, “renders a man idle, unfit for business, or any great enterprise, disputatious, obstinately attached to his own opinions, and disdainful of others, a critical observer of government, and essentially an innovator, a scorner of authority and of national predilections,” and consequently wanting that counterpoise which morality and religion alone can give. The Jesuits knew how to give this equilibrium; but when people have persuaded themselves that science alone is complete education, they only see in moral education a work of supererogation, a kind of *hors-d'œuvre*. That system once prevailed, and it occasioned the destruction of the Jesuits; and we must, according to M. de Maistre, accuse that system of having, in less than thirty years, produced that formidable generation who overthrew the altars, and murdered the king, of France.

Here, then, we find ourselves from the very beginning, in the midst of our subject, combating scientific education, because it leads to the murder of kings—nay, even of emperors, and opposing to it, as the only means of preventing their destruction, the education given by the Jesuits, notwithstanding the acts laid to the charge of the Jesuits themselves. Such is the scheme of these letters.

To appreciate fully their cleverness and intention we must go back to the period at which they were written. The Russian Government was at that time making gigantic efforts to hasten the civilization of its people. Teachers, at an enormous expense, were sent for from foreign countries; they opened gymnasiums and organised superior schools; even established a school of civil law (*Ecole de Droit*). These institutions, without doubt, were far from forming a homogeneous body: no one could avoid being struck while considering them, with the entire want of unity, and the absence of all system; but these imperfections were accounted for by the

insufficiency of means, compared with the extent of the empire, and the immensity of its requirements. He should have taken into consideration the extreme difficulty of the attempt, and have shown some gratitude to the Government, for having had the courage to undertake it. Joseph de Maistre, on the contrary, reproaches the Government in the harshest terms for having conceived that, in order to give a people a taste for learning, it is only necessary to place it within their reach.

“Suppose,” said he, “a government exhausting itself in building magnificent hotels, in a country where no one travels, this is a perfect illustration of a government which spent vast sums on scientific institutions before the national genius had turned towards science. It would be a great folly to construct a cage for a phoenix, before you know whether you can find one. You would render a vast service to the country, M. le Comte, if you could persuade your excellent Emperor of one great truth, which is, that his Majesty only requires two species of men, brave men and honest men : all the rest is unnecessary, and will come of itself.”

Therefore, we ought not to attempt to give a nation a taste for science, because we are not certain that that taste will ever be acquired, and we may have thrown away our money. Such is the first argument of Count de Maistre. He founds his second argument on the inability of the teachers whom the Government had invited into Russia, whom he depreciates as much as possible, hoping by that means to raise the value of the teachers he wishes to substitute, and whom we shall presently find him extolling. As to the teachers who have been brought from foreign countries, they were, to use his own expression, “not only men of inferior abilities, but frequently of lost or infamous reputation, who came to the north pole to offer their pretended knowledge for money, —refugees, who brought nothing with them but audacity and vice,—the very scum of the earth, driven from all other countries

by political tempests,—in a word the sweepings of Europe.” But if this were not the case, and if the Russian Government, notwithstanding this melancholy portrait, should continue to entertain a better opinion of the masters they employ, M. de Maistre had a third argument in reserve.

“Science,” said he, “from its nature is not at all times, and under every form of government, suited to every condition of men, nor even for all distinguished men,—military men, for example; that is to say, that 80,000 of the Russian nobility cannot and ought not to be learned men. Science renders a soldier a retired man, an idle man, and deprives him generally of that impetuosity and enterprising spirit that produce great success. Besides, the greater number would never apply themselves to study, especially those in the highest class of society.” This last point is dwelt upon at great length; in truth the author could not expatiate upon it too carefully, for in combating the introduction of science into the education of a military monarchy, it was necessary for him to prove that science is not the business of a soldier. This is the subject of the first letter.

The second letter contains an account of the ancient system of education, and a clever and spirited criticism of the project of study, evidently too extensive, which had been proposed for adoption in Russia, and which it was necessary to curtail. But we are astonished at the studies which M. de Maistre proposes to omit. First, natural history, which, according to him, resembles poetry, inasmuch as while rendering those illustrious who attain the highest degree of knowledge it renders all others ridiculous. Then follows history—yes, history. Never had history, according to M. de Maistre, been a subject of study requiring a professor, in any system of public instruction. He thought it quite sufficient that, during meals, a complete course of history should be read aloud by one of the students, who might dine either before or after the other scholars. But the greatest care must be taken in the

selection of the book ; “for no species of literature is more corrupting !” *The panegyrist of the Inquisition is afraid of history.* These samples of his retrenchments give an idea of the nature of all the others. It makes us understand, that M. de Maistre did not wish any one to speak to the scholars of the rights or the obligations of social organisation. Perhaps, as a good Roman Catholic residing in a schismatic country, while praising those European nations with whom the ecclesiastical language is that of Virgil and Cicero, he might have cogent reasons in the eyes of the Church for *interdicting Greek* ; but taking it in another point of view, one is astonished to hear it said to the Minister of Public Instruction, “Believe, then, M. le Comte, those hard-working men, who have cultivated this most beautiful and difficult language, that there is no young man of rank in Russia who would not prefer to make three campaigns, and take part in six pitched battles, rather than learn by heart the conjugations of the Greek verbs.” *Therefore no Greek.* Those who have read the works of M. de Maistre, and know how much importance he attaches to the knowledge of languages, will easily understand the meaning of this sentence of *exclusion pronounced against the language of the Gospel* and of schism. The Polish Jesuits, it is said, extend the interdict to German, as the language of the Reformation ; while Latin, on the contrary, recommends itself powerfully to them.

“It is the language of the Roman conquerors, and that of the missionaries of the Church of Rome : a fraternity resulting from a common language is a mysterious bond of immense force. In the ninth century a too-indulgent pontiff, John III., granted permission to the Slaves to celebrate the holy rites in their own language. This must surprise those who have read the cxcvth letter of the same Pope, in which he acknowledges the inconvenience of this toleration. Gregory VII. retracted this permission, but it was too late with regard to Russia, and everybody knows what it has cost this

great people. If the Latin tongue had been established at Kiva, at Novogorode, and at Moscow, it would never have been dethroned, and never would the illustrious Slaves, connected by language with Rome, have been thrown into the arms of the degraded Greeks of the Lower Empire, whose history fills us with pity when not with horror."

The third letter treats of moral education. Decorations hold an important place in his plan as a means of education. But this letter is only a prelude to lead us to the Jesuits, with whom M. de Maistre is exclusively occupied in the two last.

---

#### IV.

M. de Maistre had already remarked in the beginning of his Correspondence, that all nations, at all times, even before the Christian era, had confided the education of youth to the priesthood, and that the common sense of the universe had never been contradicted with impunity. This was only a general assertion. He goes on to apply it. One is astonished at the names of some of those from whom he extracts praises of the Jesuits. But, truly, it is a paltry trick to make people appear to say precisely the contrary of that which they have always maintained, by means of a garbled quotation. But, passing over these attempts, let us examine the answer given by M. de Maistre himself, to one or two of the accusations so frequently brought against his protégés.

They are, in the first place, accused of interfering in politics, which does occur sometimes, and Count de Maistre takes care not to deny it. He merely remarks that it was the fault of the governments who allowed it, or rather of governments which had obliged the Jesuits to leave their retreats, where they were devoting themselves entirely to the education of the young, or to the civilization of barbarous nations, that they might employ them in politics.



“If it was the pleasure of a sovereign,” says Count de Maistre, “to govern his kingdom by means of the officers of his guard, he has a right to do so, and it would be their duty to obey him. Would it then be just to say that the officers of the guard had formed a cabal, or that they had intruded themselves into the management of affairs, and that, therefore, the guard must be suppressed? Nothing could be more ridiculous.” He goes on to ask, “How have the Jesuits interfered in politics? By resisting the Calvinists, and their cousins the Jansenists, who are always intriguing in the State, always interfering with governments to overthrow them, and making governments (bewildered by their manœuvres) believe that in attacking them the Jesuits attacked the Government. They had interfered in politics. Yes, certainly. But it was by warning sovereigns for the space of three centuries. There is the monster—take care of yourselves—there is no middle course—he will destroy you if you will not destroy or enchain him.”

In fact, *there is but one sect*; and the prevailing character of that sect, according to the Father Petau, quoted by the diplomatic Sardinian, is hatred of all sovereignty. Well, then:

“This sect, or union of sects,” continues M. de Maistre, “surrounds all Russia, or rather pervades it, in every part, and attacks its deepest foundations. For the present, it asks no more than the ear of her children and the neutrality of her sovereign. *They reserve all demonstration until the end!*”

The remedy by which he proposes to avert this danger from Russia is easily guessed—it is, the Jesuits.

“In so pressing a danger,” says Count de Maistre, “nothing can so well serve the interests of his imperial majesty as a society of men, essentially the enemies of those from whom Russia has everything to fear, and above all in the education of her children. *I do not believe that it is possible to substitute with advantage any other preservative.* This Society is the watch-dog, which you must not dismiss; if

you do not choose to allow it to bite the thieves, that is your affair, but at least allow it to wander round your house, and to awaken you, if necessary, before your doors are broken open, or they make their entrance by the windows."

This, then, is the office of the Company, which it will fulfil by propagating good doctrines and combating bad. Let us be content to speak only of these good doctrines, for it is needless to say that the bad mean all which oppose them, blackened a little, it is true, to make them more hateful.

"For the last three centuries there has existed a Society, principally devoted to the instruction of youth, which proclaims unceasingly to the people, but especially to the young, who are so valuable to the state, that sovereignty does not emanate from the people, or if it did so in the beginning, the gift could not be reclaimed after it had once been conceded. God himself is the author of it. It is God whom nations obey, in the persons of their sovereigns. For a thousand reasons kings cannot be judged, and for a thousand reasons they cannot be disobeyed without a crime. If a king commands you to commit a crime, you must allow yourself to be killed; but the person of a sovereign is sacred, and nothing can excuse revolt (Suarez). *It is needless to speak of religion*; the Society of Jesus is without doubt ardently attached to their own, which, with respect to doctrine, is almost identical with yours; but never have the Jesuits been accused of the slightest infringement of the laws of the country, which they venerate, as they ought; yet these are the people whom you distrust, and whose interference in politics you deprecate."

Perhaps a difficulty was never before so dexterously eluded by a juggling argument,—you accuse us of interfering in politics; well, to prove to you that we are not politicians, we are going to tell you the line of policy we pursue, and you will find it so much to your taste that you

will close your eyes, in order that you may say with us, that we have no politics at all. When men declare that they have for three centuries proclaimed the dogma of blind obedience to sovereign power, they may reasonably expect to be excused in Russia from giving a formal account of their other dogmas, particularly when they take care, in addressing the Government, to add, as Count de Maistre has done, with so much dexterity, that the religion they profess is almost identical with its own; this is at once to reassure for the present, and to open a road for the future.

But if the Jesuits are not politicians, is it not at least true, that they wish to create a state within the state? This is a second objection, which has often been brought against them. Count de Maistre considers this to be a snare laid by sectarians to delude sovereignty, and scare it to its ruin, as the bird-catcher frightens birds to drive them into his net. The illustrious writer is not sparing of similitudes, and here is another which he substitutes for reason; like some of the preceding ones, it is borrowed from military usage, as it is a military government which he wishes to convince.

“The Jesuits, it is said, wish to create a state within the state. What an absurdity! they might as well say that a regiment wished to create a state within the state, because they like to depend only upon their own colonel, and would consider themselves humbled, even insulted, if they were subjected to the examination and control of a strange colonel. The regiment is not shut up in its quarters to go through their exercise, they exercise in the public place. If they manœuvre ill, the Inspector-general or the Emperor himself could see it, and place them in order. But if, under the pretext of unity, they should deprive this regiment (which I suppose to have been celebrated and irreproachable for three centuries) of the power of regulating itself, and that they should place such a regiment, and its officers, under the control of a captain of citizen militia, who had never

drawn a sword, such an idea would be laughable, if the consequences were not likely to be exceedingly fatal. See, then, M. le Comte, to what we have reduced this burlesque bugbear of a state within the state; a state within a state is a state concealed, or a state independent of the state. The Jesuits, like all other legitimate societies, and more so than others, are under the hand of the sovereign; he has only to let it fall, and they are crushed."

The captain of city militia under whose care the regiment is supposed to be placed is doubtless the University of Wilna; the regiment who will have no commander but its own is the Order of Jesuits: but when he says this regiment is under the hand of the sovereign, he forgets *one fact*, which is, that their sovereign is at Rome, and consequently they form exactly, according to the definition of the Count de Maistre himself, a state independent of the state.

This able negotiator has still another argument in reserve, in order to obtain the elevation of Polotzk into an academy; and as it addresses itself to the national pride of the Russians, he keeps it for the last.

"What a spectacle is here, M. le Comte! On one side grave and learned priests, who for forty years have inculcated nothing but good principles, under the eyes of all Russia, reminding all of their duties to the State, recalling to their recollection their Russian oath, and preferring the Russian language before all others, placing it even on a level with Latin, on which their teaching is based. On the other side a Polish academy, enthusiastically attached to their own language, which perhaps is natural and reasonable, attacking the Jesuits for their ancient habits, endeavouring to tear from them a grammar which displeases them, and to substitute their own; and the Russian Government under these circumstances hesitates between the two bodies, and even inclines towards the Polish academy. By what sorcery—by what inexplicable fatality—do governments attach them-

selves to those who seek their ruin, and hate those who would save them?"

Who could believe that these were the ancient allies of the Poles—the very men who had several times induced them to invade Russia—who speak in the foregoing passage? He here represents the Jesuits as Russians in heart and Russians by oath, Russians by language and in their teaching; and the whole quarrel between the Jesuits and the University is reduced to a squabble about the choice of a grammar; but, more marvellous still, on the choice of this grammar depends the safety of the empire. In the infinitely *little* the infinitely *great* is concealed; and, looking back on the length of road we have travelled to arrive at this point, one cannot but allow that it is the acmé of ingenuity. Perhaps we have not sufficiently exemplified it by this rapid sketch of the letters of Count Joseph de Maistre; let us hope that their projected publication will soon fill up our incomplete analysis.

It has not been said, but perhaps the reader may have guessed, which of the arguments of the Father-General and of the Sardinian Ambassador produced a sufficiently lively impression on the minds of the minister, Rasoumoffsky, and the Emperor Alexander, to overcome the arguments of the University of Wilna, and the resistance of the Minister of the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*). What is certain is, that very soon after, the seminary of Polotzk was elevated into an independent academy, under the direction of the Jesuits, and they found themselves on an equality with the institution whose superiority they had found it so difficult to endure. For the moment, the Jesuits had attained their object.

The Father Brzozowski well knew that the principal obstacle to his designs had proceeded from the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*); but though well assured of this fact, he deemed it prudent to attribute to the head and to

the director of this department a share in his great success ; and he flew to thank them with an air of mingled humility and triumph. We do not know how the Prince Galitzen received him, but the Counsellor Tourguéneff contented himself by answering, with more frankness than was to be found in the compliment of the Father-General:—"This is the beginning of the end ; you will do so much that you will be sent out of the country."

---

## V.

This prediction, however, did not appear to be near its accomplishment, but very much the contrary. After having obtained a share in the public instruction in Russia, the Order aspired to make in other countries conquests in no way less glorious. Already in 1804, at the instance of Ferdinand IV., notwithstanding that he had inaugurated his reign by banishing the Jesuits, Pius VII., for the second time set aside the apostolic letters of his predecessor, Clement XIV., and extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies the benefit of the brief, by which, when establishing the Society, Pius VII. had limited its existence to the Russian Empire. They now turned their eyes towards Spain, formerly under the dominion of the House of Bourbon. The Jesuits had been driven out of Spain in 1767, in the reign of Charles III. ; forty-one years afterwards, Charles IV. followed them into exile, and there was nothing to prevent them from considering the fall of his dynasty as a just punishment for having dared to send away their Society.

But other circumstances had arisen — the extraordinary man whom Charles had flown to meet (to announce to him, on the territory of France, on the 20th of April, 1808, that he ceded to him all his rights to the throne of Spain) had

made his public entry into Wilna on the 28th of June, 1812, preceded by the famous proclamation, in which he declared himself resolved "to put an end to the proud influence which Russia had exercised for fifty years over the affairs of Europe." On the 15th of September following, Napoleon took possession of the Kremlin, and the next day Moscow was in flames. At the other extremity of Europe the fate of war was very different: Wellington took possession of Salamanca; King Joseph retired on Valencia; and the Cortes, breaking off the negotiations in which they had engaged with him, formed an alliance with the Emperor Alexander, who consented to recognise the Spanish Constitution. But what were the Jesuits doing all this time?

Twice there had been fighting at Polotzk, and the Father-General had fled to St. Petersburg; and in the midst of this convulsion of nations he coolly prepared the re-establishment of his Company in Spain. This daring attempt—the moment for which appeared to be strangely chosen—was sure to be well looked upon by the Russian Government, because it would naturally foment a reaction against France; and as to the Jesuits, they had very many reasons for this attempt. To labour for the restoration of the son of their persecutor Charles III. was at once to pay a debt of gratitude to the sovereign who had received them into his dominions, and to astonish the world by so admirable an example of forgiveness of injury, and on this they resolved. It is quite true, that by the same means they were working for the restoration of their own Order.

The first note of the Father-General concerning this affair is dated the 28th of August, 1812. He afterwards solicited passports for himself and five of his companions. It does not enter into our plan to follow them into Spain; but it is important to our design to show the attitude assumed by the Russian Government at this juncture. The following letter, dated in the month of November 1812, and addressed by the

Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*) to the Father Brzozowski, can leave no doubt about the consent of the Emperor, though he did not depart from the reserve he had determined to maintain. We rejoice that we have been able to save from destruction this document, which throws so much light upon facts little known or misunderstood.

“Most reverend Father,—I have laid before his Imperial Majesty the letter which you addressed to me on the 30th of October, and also the note which you intend to present to the Supreme Junta, concerning the re-establishment of your Order in Spain. His Majesty has commanded me to say, that he will not present any obstacle to the execution of your project; but he will take no part in it. The object from its nature must be entirely foreign to him, because the establishment in question is to take place out of his dominions.”

The Jesuits asked no more; they felt that the more they agitated Spain, the more they would be favoured in Russia, and they had reason to think so, because in so doing they served its interests. But while the Jesuits carried their efforts elsewhere, another important element was added to those of which we have already spoken, and which completely changed the situation of affairs; and to this we must direct our attention.

---

## VI.

The Count de Maistre was convinced that if the heads of families were consulted, the greater part of them would be found willing to confide the education of their children to the care of the Jesuits. And here we find the cause of his forming that opinion: “Even the worst fathers,” said he, in one of the letters which we have examined, “endeavour to give their sons the best masters;” and to prove this he



cites a curious example, — “Diderot was one day surprised reading the Bible to his daughter, ‘What can one do better?’ said he to his friend, who appeared much astonished.”

Whatever the reader may at first imagine, he would be wrong to conclude from this anecdote, that in the eyes of Joseph de Maistre the Bible was the most perfect means of instruction ; he had fully explained himself on that head in some pages written in 1810, which we must class among the most original of his writings, and in which he endeavours to prove, on the contrary, that all writing is a symptom of weakness, ignorance, and danger, and that men can neither constitute nations, nor rule human beings, with ink. His hatred of ink went so far, that he set himself at once against written constitutions for nations, and against the written word of God, only consenting to see a necessary evil in either the one or the other : indeed, it was worth his while to make war against ink ; it was to attack at once the guarantees demanded by the Revolution, and the fundamental principles of the Reformation.

This last alone will occupy our attention. The Count de Maistre has assailed them with more frankness than most of their enemies have dared to do.

“All should shudder,” said he, “at the fundamental sophism of a system which has unfortunately divided Europe. The partizans of that system say, ‘We believe nothing but the word of God.’ What an abuse of words ! what a strange and perverse ignorance of the Divine will !—we alone believe *the word*, whilst our dear enemies persist in believing nothing but what *is written*, as if God could or would change the nature of things, of which He is the author, and give a life and efficacy to writing which it has not. Are not the Holy Scriptures *writings*? Were they not traced *with a pen and a little black fluid*? *Do they know what ought to be told to one man, and hidden from another*? Do not Liebnitz and his maid read the same words there? Can writing be any-

thing but the portrait of a word? and though very much to be respected on that account, if people come to interrogate it, must it not *keep a holy silence*? If you attack it or insult it, *can it defend itself in the absence of its father*? Glory be to Truth, if *the Word* living to all eternity does not vivify *the writing*, never can it become *the word*; that is to say, *life*. Let others, then, invoke as much as they please the *dumb word*. We laugh in peace at the false god; waiting with tender impatience for the moment when its undeceived partizans shall throw themselves into our arms, which have been extended towards them for nearly three hundred years." \*

The originality of this passage arises, above all, from the singular idea conceived by Joseph de Maistre, of borrowing his principal arguments from Plato: all the passages underlined, and they were so underlined by the author himself, belong to Phædon, to which he refers us. That which Plato says of writing, or of books in general, the Count de Maistre applies to the holy writings; by which means he places them on an equality, and he refuses to them all that Plato refuses to human books. Like them, according to Count de Maistre, the Holy Scriptures can only address themselves to certain understandings; like them, they cannot answer those who interrogate them, nor defend themselves, if the Father, not the author but the interpreter, not God but the Pope, is not there.

Joseph de Maistre, while writing these lines, was far from supposing that the system, which he deprecated because it had divided Europe, would attempt to introduce itself into Russia, almost at the same moment that the Jesuits, its most formidable adversaries, had gained so important a position there, thanks to the support which he had consented to give them.

It must not be imagined, that until that time the Empire of the Czars had neglected the Holy Scriptures. As early as the sixteenth century, Ivan Vassiliewitch had undertaken, and

\* "Essai sur le principe générateur des Constitutions Politiques," § xxii.

worked with great zeal to effect, the civilization of his subjects; and having founded for that purpose at Moscow the first printing-press established in Russia, there issued from thence in 1564 the Acts of the Apostles, general Epistles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, translated into Sclavonian in the ninth century by Cyril of Thessalonica; these were the first-fruits of his press.

Some years afterwards, Constantine, duke of Ostrog, caused all the ancient manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures he could procure to be revised by men learned in the Greek and Sclavonian languages. In 1580 he published, at his own expense, the first edition of the New Testament in Sclavonian, and in 1581 the first edition of the whole Bible in the same language; and what adds to the interest of these publications is, that they were undertaken for the purpose of enabling the inhabitants of Poland, by referring to the Holy Scriptures, to satisfy their wish to determine the controversy between the Greek and Roman Churches.

In the eighteenth century, Peter the Great did not confine himself to having the Holy Scriptures reprinted; he issued an ukase in 1712 for the revision of the ancient Sclavonian version. This work was finished a short time before his death, but it was not printed till 1751, during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, and which has served since that period as the basis of all the editions of the Bible, and we count no less than twenty between 1756 and 1813; but they scarcely amount altogether to 50,000 copies. They are either in folio or in octavo, in four or five volumes, printed at Moscow, at St. Petersburg, at Kiva, at Slovanka, and at Buda.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, the connexion between the Poles and the Russians considerably altered the language of White Russia, and there arose a new dialect, the Polish-Russian, which is still spoken in that province; but, like all other dialects, it is continually modified.

The Bible had also been translated and published in this language between 1517 and 1525, partly at Prague and partly at Wilna; and the books of which it was composed have been united under this title,—“*The Russian Bible, translated by Doctor Francisco Skorina, of the celebrated town of Pologzk, for the glory of God and the good instruction of the people.*” This translation has not been reprinted—the language in which it was written having been considerably altered.

The Slavonian version, revised by order of Peter the Great, is still understood by the clergy, and by those who are in the habit of assisting in the offices of the Church, but does not answer for general use; and at the period we are speaking of it was in the hands of very few. By men of learning, however, it was much valued, and the translation of the Psalms was considered as a work of extraordinary merit. Count de Maistre himself confessed that the whole world was agreed on that point; but he begged to be forgiven for what he jestingly called *his prejudices* and *his invincible systems*. “Three languages,” he said, “had been consecrated on Mount Calvary—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and there I wish to stop: two religious languages in the library, and one in the Church, that is enough.\* Pope John VIII. with whom Count de Maistre is, for this reason, very much dissatisfied, had said the contrary in 880, and actually issued a bull at that time to authorise the use of the Slavonian language—to make known the doctrines and the works of the Redeemer. “We are exhorted by sacred authority to preach the Saviour, not in three languages only, but in all languages; for He who made the three principal languages, that is to say, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, made also all others for His praise and His glory.”†

\* “*Soirées de St. Pétersbourg, septième entretien.*” This book did not appear till 1822; but the Conversations are dated 1809.

† *Baronii Annal. ad An. 880.*

The sentiments expressed by Count de Maistre were participated by his friends at Polotzk: the Company of Jesus have always considered the diffusion of the Bible in the vulgar tongue as the most formidable obstacle to the species of influence they aspire to exercise. One may, therefore, easily imagine the displeasure that the menacing events we are about to relate must have occasioned them.

In 1811, the London Bible Society resolved to publish the Holy Scriptures in the language of Finland; the Emperor Alexander approved of the idea, and associated himself with it by a gift of 5000 roubles, and ordered the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg to superintend the printing of the book. Encouraged by the kind disposition evinced towards them, the English Bible Society, in 1812, sent Dr. Patterson and Dr. Pinkerton to Russia, commissioned to endeavour to form a similar society in St. Petersburg. No moment could, apparently, have been less favourable to the execution of such a plan. Immediately on their arrival, the two travellers learnt that Napoleon, leaving behind him the smoking ruins of Smolensk and Drogobouge, was marching towards Moscow. Alexander had gone to that ancient capital of his empire, but was soon obliged to leave it, and after his departure the city of the golden cupolas had been abandoned by its principal inhabitants; the rest is well known. Napoleon wrote from the palace of the Czars words of peace to Alexander; he received no answer but the conflagration of Moscow!

But if all that is well known, the private history of the Emperor of Russia at that period is much less so: distressed from the bottom of his heart, he earnestly desired to draw nearer to the God of peace, to find the support which he needed; but he knew not how to approach Him. It was then that a memorable conversation took place between Alexander and Prince Galitzin, who, as it is said, had but lately received a deep impression of Divine grace. The details of this conversation have been preserved, and reported

to us by a person well informed of the occurrences of that period. In that conversation the Emperor demanded of his minister, the friend and companion of his youth, where he should turn to find the consolation he required; and that minister indicated to his sovereign the word of God, as the only source of all power and all peace.\*

A few days afterwards, Alexander entered the apartment of the Empress, and surprised her by asking if she possessed a Bible. She had a French translation of the Vulgate, printed at Cologne, which she gave him. The Emperor carried it away, and from that hour he assiduously studied it.

Strange coincidence! In the midst of these convulsions, and the powerful emotions which they caused, the sovereign of this vast empire, for the first time in his life perhaps, opened the Bible with feelings of genuine devotion. It was at this moment that it was proposed to him to place the sacred volume in the hands of all his subjects; and here it is impossible not to observe the intimate connexion between political and religious movements, for we cannot fail to perceive the influence exercised by the one over the other in the mind of the Emperor Alexander.

In the last days of November the French army had passed the Bérézina, the defection of our allies had commenced, and Russia was saved. Well, it was in the midst of these catastrophes that Alexander laid the foundation of this new institution. How can any one fail to see in this his feeling of gratitude to God? The dates are too remarkable to be omitted.

The establishment of the Bible Society in St. Petersburg, which soon afterwards took the name of the Russian Bible Society, took place on the 18th of December, 1812.† It was, therefore, only a few days after Alexander had received

\* "Notice sur Alexandre, empereur de Russie." Par H. L. Empaytey.

† 6th December, old style; but the ukase was not published till the 2d or 14th of January following, and the Bible Society was established on the 11th or 23rd of the same month.

intelligence of the departure of Napoleon, and of the destruction of our army by a cold of thirty degrees. For a man to have found time at such a crisis, he must, like the Czar, have attached to it high hopes, mingled with feelings of gratitude and duty. Alexander had learnt by the light of the flames of the Kremlin to see, in a new point of view, the duties and obligations of the sovereign of such a multitude of people. He had resolved to civilise them by the influence of the Gospel.

Nothing, perhaps, can demonstrate so clearly the great importance which the Russian Bible Society had obtained in the eyes of the Emperor, and all he dared to hope from it, as the composition of its committee. The Prince Galitzin was named President of the Society. The Counsellor Tourguéneff, Director of the Department of Public Worship (*des Cultes*), and the Counsellor Popoff, Director of the Department of Public Instruction, were nominated its secretaries, and the greater part of the Bishops of the Russian Church were Vice-presidents of the Society; which was not surprising, as the Russian Church had never imitated the Roman Church in prohibiting the translation of the sacred writings into the Russian tongue,—“*In hac barbara lingua*,” as said a barbarous pope of the ninth century. But that which will surprise us still more, is to see figuring among the vice-presidents Stanislas Sestrenzewitch, the Metropolitan of the Roman Catholic Churches in Russia, and Boulgak, the Metropolitan of the United Greeks. “I cannot help expressing the general satisfaction which is felt,” said Prince Galitzin, in a letter written at this period, “in seeing so many denominations of Christians thus cordially uniting their efforts to serve the great cause of Christianity.”

In truth, what could be more imposing than to see Christians, of the Greek, Armenian, Catholic, and Protestant Churches, all agreeing to spread the Bible from the shores of the Baltic to the sea of Ochotsk, from the Frozen Ocean

to the Black Sea and the frontiers of China, to place in the hands of Mahometans, Lamites, and Shamans, the oracles of the living God ?

But if the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church gave an unreserved assent to the formation of the Russian Bible Society ; if the Bishop of Podolsk, Mazkewitch, and the Metropolitan, Sestrenzewitch, so far forgot themselves, as even to publish mandates to their flocks to interest themselves in its success ; the General of the Jesuits, better informed, or more penetrated with the true spirit of his Church, conducted himself in a very different manner : he went to Prince Galitzin, and declared to him that the Roman Church prohibited the reading of the Bible by the people, and therefore he absolutely could not consent to become a member of a Society whose object it was to disseminate the sacred volume ; and no one attempted to constrain him.

---

## VII.

Such zeal deserved a brilliant recompense. With the fall of Napoleon the fortunes of the Company of Jesus were about to change. Pius VII., to whom the Company already owed its partial re-establishment, could at last do that which he affirmed he had ardently wished to do ever since the commencement of his pontificate. In the year 1814, on the 7th of the Ides of August, "*yielding to the unanimous entreaties of almost all the Christian universe,*" he re-established the Order of Jesuits all over the world ; and the reason which he gives for this is very remarkable.

"We should conceive ourselves guilty of a great sin before God," said he, "if, placed as we are in the bark of St. Peter, and incessantly agitated by storms, we should reject the aid of the *robust and experienced navigators*\* who

\* "*Robustes Rameurs.*"—*Translator's note.*



offer themselves to our acceptance to stem the force of the waves, which at every instant threaten to overwhelm us to our destruction."

The chief of this experienced and powerful crew, Thadeus Brzozowski, is named in the Constitution of Pius VII., and it is to him, as their general, that the government of the Company is confided in every place wherever it may establish itself. The Society of Jesus, then, is no longer a Society belonging to Russia, as Joseph de Maistre had written to Count Rasoumoffsky. It is, again, an Order which aspires to extend its dominion to the confines of the earth, and to whom the vast territory of Russia is to be in future no more than a province. Whatever the future conduct of the Jesuits might be, this important change could not but modify the feelings of the Russian Government towards them; with the re-establishment of the Company disappeared all their dependence upon the good pleasure of the Emperor—all that gratitude for the hospitality they had received, of which the Father-General had made so great a display. The Czar had extended his protection to exiles, but these exiles having obtained their complete restoration, like the Bourbons, had again like them become kings. But probably it would have been long before any explosion would have occurred, had not the Company derived from the Bull which reorganised them an exaggerated opinion of their power, and committed the same kinds of imprudence which they always have committed in periods of prosperity.

---

### VIII.

Education being one of the principal means by which the Society of Jesus is called upon to serve the Church of Rome, the Society resolved to become a still more powerful instrument in the proselytism of Russia, by extending itself even into the bosom of its most illustrious families. The scarcity of tutors

in the country at that time was so great, that parents were not deterred from placing their children in their hands by the difference of religion. Besides, they could not believe that they would abuse the confidence reposed in them, by endeavouring to exercise over their sons an influence contrary to that to which they could have given their consent. Thence the origin of the celebrated Lycée Richelieu, founded at Odessa by the Abbé Nicole, at once the friend, the protector, and the protected of the Jesuits, where a part of the young nobility of Russia were educated, and where they numbered no less than 250 pupils. We must remember, that the Jesuits had obtained the elevation of the seminary of Polotzk into an academy, and in 1815, 200 young nobles were studying there. Perhaps the reader has not forgotten the college which the Jesuits (founding their pretensions on an old decree) had reattached to the Roman Catholic parochial church of St. Petersburg in 1800, notwithstanding that this establishment had been designed exclusively for the children of Roman Catholics.

They made use of it to separate children not belonging to the Church of Rome from their lay instructors, and to introduce into the capital the same struggle with the universities which they had begun in White Russia, and which would have been far less interesting to them, if it had still been confined to that locality. It happened accidentally, that their magnificent college in Rue Sadovii adjoined to a house that the Emperor had given to the Bible Society. This neighbourhood reminded them continually of the efforts made to oppose them, and perhaps this rivalry excited them to have recourse to those secret means of proselytism which they had at their command. However, it is certain that they received into their college children of other sects, even those belonging to the Greek Church, and endeavoured to draw them to their own belief, and by the instrumentality of the children, their mothers, and thus to obtain a footing in the noblest families.

“Little by little,” says an official Report made to the Emperor, and which we have under our eyes, “pushing their audacity and their ingratitude to the utmost, even to a complete disobedience of the fundamental laws of the empire, the Jesuits employ every species of seduction towards the pupils committed to their care, as well as towards others, to tear them from the bosom of the Greek Church, and draw them into their own.” But that which this Report does not say was, that their college comprehended the children of many very influential persons, and that they ventured to exercise their attempts of proselytism even over a young Prince Galitzin, the nephew of the Minister of the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*) and of Public Instruction, which the Emperor had a short time before united under one head.

By thus at once addressing themselves to the most distinguished families in the country, the Jesuit fathers clearly betrayed their intentions, and the advantages they expected to derive from the partnership in public instruction, to which they had been admitted; and this made it evident that they had had powerful reasons for wishing to withdraw their establishments from the inspection of the State throughout the empire, by confining its superintendance to one single academy.

Informed that the young Galitzin had been found dressed in hair-cloth, and provided with amulets, by the assistance of which the Roman Catholic Church pretends to work miracles and effect conversions, the Emperor was filled with indignation. The child was hastily removed from the grasp of these unfaithful men, and was confided to the care of the Archbishop Philarète, now Metropolitan of Moscow, but then residing in St. Petersburg, who brought him again within the pale of the orthodox Church of Russia. A work which the Archbishop wrote at that time on the errors of Popery has since been frequently reprinted.

But it did not satisfy the Emperor to have rescued this inexperienced victim: he determined to punish the Jesuits

for this abuse of the confidence he had reposed in them. It is needless to say that it is not our purpose to canvass the determination of the Emperor in their case, or the abstract point of the liberty of proselytism and the liberty of instruction. We are on the territory of an Autocrat, and there is there no other absolute right; all concession there is an act of benignity on the part of the sovereign, and it is only accorded on the condition that certain limitations, determined at the time, are not to be infringed. The Emperor, therefore, was justified, by this infraction of the law of the empire, in the proselytism exercised by the Jesuits in the bosom of the families of his nobles. He determined to punish them by sending them out of St. Petersburg, and by prohibiting their residence in either of the two capitals, nearly in the same manner that Napoleon had prohibited the residence of Madame de Staël in Paris.

This banishment was planned, decided, and prepared, unknown to any one, between the Emperor Alexander and the Minister Galitzin. The day after that on which they had agreed how to act, Galitzin went himself, at five o'clock in the morning, to the Roman Catholic Metropolitan, Stanislas Sestrenzewitch—the same man who, in the time of Catherine II., in his capacity as Bishop of White Russia, had allowed the Jesuits to remain in the Empire—and communicated to him the order of the Emperor that they should depart. He informed him from the Emperor, at the same time, that immediate measures must be taken to allow no priest connected with the Society to officiate in any of the Roman Catholic churches or chapels in St. Petersburg, and to execute this order in such a manner, that in two hours from that time [that is, at seven o'clock] the Mass might be celebrated, and the congregation attend prayers as usual. Sestrenzewich acted in strict conformity with these instructions. All the services took place as usual. It was only perceived that no Jesuits were there.

While these events were passing, the Jesuits received an order to send all their pupils home to their families, and to prepare for their own departure on the same day. To prevent delay, pelisses for the journey were provided for them. The Father-General and the Inspector of Studies, Father Rozaven (who has since been known as the author of the refutation of a book by Stourdza on the Russian Church), were among the number of those expelled. They were not even told to what place they were to be conducted; they only learnt it on their arrival at the appointed places, at Polotzk and at Witebsk, in their own colleges, and among their own serfs. The public were informed of the reasons which had occasioned this measure by a statement which the Emperor ordered to be printed and distributed. It had been written, and was signed by the Director-General of the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*), Alexander Tourguéneff. This decree of expulsion of 1815 was a singular response to the bull of restoration of 1814.

In all this no one can fail to remark the care the Emperor took to make it evident (as Peter the Great had done before him), that while chastising the Jesuits because he felt he had to complain of their conduct towards himself, he had no intention to hurl the same weapon against his other Roman Catholic subjects. The Jesuits had derived great profits from their sacerdotal functions, from the salaries paid to them by their scholars, and by the rent of houses dependent upon the churches in which they had been permitted to officiate, of which receipts they gave no account. Notwithstanding this, the establishment was found to be in debt to the amount of 200,000 roubles at the moment of their expulsion. The Emperor, who did not wish that the priests who succeeded them should be embarrassed by this circumstance, ordered the sum total to be paid from the imperial treasury.

## IX.

In Russia, people scarcely dare to raise their voices, even to approve of acts of authority, silence being there considered more respectful than praise. But the expulsion of the Jesuits from St. Petersburg was followed, even there, by some manifestations,—faint, indeed, like all those in which people can indulge in that country, but which showed nevertheless that sorrow had been felt at the preponderance which Government had for some years past permitted this Society to assume.

One journal, which was published in the capital—sometimes in German, sometimes in Russ—allowed itself a short time afterwards to insert in its pages of the 3d of February and the 15th of March, 1816, two articles against the Jesuits. In France these would have passed unheeded, lost in the multitude of attacks of this description; in Russia it was an unheard-of occurrence, a real event.

The Father-General wrote immediately from Polotzk, dated March 29th, to Prince Galitzin, to solicit his intervention. “My lord,” said he, “a journalist of St. Petersburg, the editor of the ‘*Invalide*,’ has twice allowed himself to attack my Order in a manner *that appears to me not authorised by the laws of the empire.*” This was claiming the verdict of the law against the journalist. But, doubtful whether he could obtain it, the Father-General wished to invoke publicity. He entreated the Prince Galitzin would himself send an answer to the “*Invalide*,” written by the Father Rozaven, and which he enclosed to him, because, if the letter was sent by such high authority, its insertion could not be refused.

We shall not enter into the details of this dispute, as it only proves that the recent check which the Jesuits had received had not deprived them of their taste for contest. But

it may be useful to mark the curious contrast between the letter addressed to the journalist and the letter to the minister. The former is as follows :—

“Though there might be little generosity in attacking the Jesuits at the moment when a storm has overtaken them, it may be possible that you have persuaded yourself that their total annihilation is essential to the peace of the human race, and that, consequently, no one owes them either forbearance or commiseration; then declare yourself against them, allow them no peace, make open war with them; but do it like a man of honour. You are not ignorant that war itself has its laws, and that all species of arms are not allowed. To employ poison to destroy an enemy is a crime which the laws of nature and of man alike condemn; and the world does not expect that an honourable man like yourself would make use of it. Use all your talent, if you will, against the Jesuits. Use all your eloquence, cite authorities, and support your arguments, upon incontrovertible facts.”

All this sounds very well; but, unhappily, these generous sentiments, written for the public, find themselves contradicted by the following lines, written by the Father-General, and addressed *only* to the Government :—

“One of my fathers wished to write to the journalist, to induce him to repair the injustice he has been guilty of towards us. I have the honour of enclosing to your Excellency his letter, unsealed; that after having seen it you may transmit it or not, as you may judge expedient. But this is not a letter from which I expect any result. I can only obtain the justice which I claim by the intervention of your Excellency; in the state to which we are reduced, we more than ever need your protection. I dare flatter myself that I shall not apply for it in vain; and that your Excellency will deign to take such measures as will not allow journalists to take liberties with our Order, such as they would not dare

to take with the most humble individual without becoming 'amenable to the law.'"

Here, even in a schismatic country, they have recourse to the secular power; and while demanding its protection, they take care to confound their own cause with that of the Roman Catholic Church. Let us then hear Father Rozaven on this subject:—

"Do not expect," he writes to the "Invalide," "that I should undertake to prove that the doctrines of the Jesuits are not abominable, that their Constitutions are not in-pious, &c.; who does not see that these are direct attacks, not against the Jesuits alone, but against the Pope, against the Bishops, against the whole Catholic Church? It is not my place to examine how far such attacks ought to be tolerated. I confine myself to my personal defence, or rather to the defence of my Order."

The re-establishment of the Order by the Pope authorised this language; but all must allow it was a strange fancy to address themselves to Prince Galitzin, who thought he had personally so much to complain of from the Jesuits,—he who had just obtained their exile into the provinces—to ask him to interfere in their favour, and to make himself their avenger. Of course, the Prince took no notice of their request; and the letter of Father Rozaven to the "Invalide," of which we have given an extract, was buried in one of the portfolios of the Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*).

But the question was one of far greater importance than appears from our statement. To show its extent we must look back a little. While the Jesuits, as we have seen, were labouring in their colleges to make proselytes, the return of Napoleon from the Island of Elba had reopened all the European questions; and after the Hundred Days the coalesced sovereigns found themselves once more together at Paris. We already know the new ideas which now occupied the mind of the Emperor Alexander; the events, both



political and religious, which had just taken place, had contributed to their development. They had recently assumed a solemn expression, which was followed by negotiations, the extraordinary character of which has remained a mystery until now ; and to this subject we must now turn our attention.

---

## X.

The decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits from St. Petersburg bears the date of December 20th, 1815.\* The Emperor Alexander had returned from Paris only two months. Before his departure from Paris, he had there signed, with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, the celebrated Treaty of the Holy Alliance. Of all diplomatic Treaties, perhaps this was formed with the most generous intentions, and few have been so generally misconstrued.

We have seen that, during the siege of Moscow, the Emperor Alexander had received (from the Bible) the most unexpected religious impressions.

When the events which obliged Europe to take up arms once more in 1815, took him a second time into France, those feelings became deeper and more lively than before. The conversations held by the Czar with Madame de Krüdener, at Heilbronn and at Heidelberg, are assuredly one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of that period.

A general war had recommenced, and in the midst of these preparations, having spent the whole day in the transaction of public business, Alexander consecrated the night to inquiries, for himself alone, into the holy doctrines of the Bible. There he gathered Christian convictions, and learnt to consider them as the principle of new duties. There

\* This date, old style, corresponds with Jan. 1, 1816, new style.

he knelt with those who had produced so powerful an effect upon his mind, and entreated them to pray for him, that he might have power to sacrifice all to follow Jesus Christ *and to confess Him openly before men.*

These are the feelings which filled the mind of Alexander during his sojourn at Paris. Let those who will, see nothing in this but the exaltation of mysticism; but it would be difficult to dispute its reality. A thousand words and traits related of the Emperor Alexander at this period leave no doubt upon the subject. Some days before his departure for Russia, he conceived the idea that a public and official act, intended to honour God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and to invite all nations to range themselves under obedience to the Gospel, would be better than any other act of solemn confession of faith, of which he felt the want. This was the origin of the Holy Alliance. "I wish," said he to Madame de Krüdener, and to the friends by whom he was habitually surrounded, when he brought them the project on the 24th of September,—“I wish that the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia would unite with me in this act of adoration, in order that we may be seen, like the Magi of the East, to recognise the supreme authority of God the Saviour.” And then he entreated them to pray to God to dispose the hearts of his allies to subscribe to it.\*

The Treaty of the Holy Alliance was signed two days afterwards, on the 26th of September, the evening before the departure of the Emperor Alexander for St. Petersburg. It was a personal convention between the three sovereigns, signed by themselves, without the intervention of any of their ministers plenipotentiary. Alexander himself verified the conformity of the copies made on his text. Here is the act itself, with which it is essential to be acquainted in order to comprehend the situation :—

\* "Notice sur Alexandre, empereur de Russie," par H. L. Empaytez.

“ In the name of the Holy and indivisible Trinity,—

“ Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in consequence of the signal events which have occurred in Europe during the last three years, and principally on account of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower upon those states whose Governments had placed their confidence and hope on God alone, having acquired an intimate conviction that it is necessary to base the policy adopted by these great powers, in their mutual relations, on the sublime truths inculcated by the divine religion of God the Saviour, solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to manifest to the universe their unalterable determination to adopt no other rule of conduct, either in the administration of their respective States or in their political relations with other Governments, than the precepts of His holy religion. Precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace, which, far from being applicable to private life alone, ought, on the contrary, to influence directly the resolutions of princes, and guide all their proceedings, as being the only means to consolidate human institutions, and to remedy their imperfections. In consequence, their Majesties have agreed upon the following Articles :

“ Art. I. In obedience to the dictates of Holy Scripture, which commands all men to consider themselves as brothers, the three contracting monarchs will remain in bonds of true and indissoluble fraternity, considering themselves as compatriots. They will give each other on all occasions, and in every place, assistance, aid, and succour ; and, considering themselves as placed towards their subjects and armies in the relation of fathers of families, they will direct them in the same spirit of fraternity by which they are animated for the protection of religion, peace, and justice.

“ Art. II. In consequence, the only actuating principle, either between the said Governments or between their subjects, shall be that of mutual assistance, showing by unalter-

able benevolence the mutual affection by which they ought to be animated, and to consider themselves only as members of one and the same Christian nation, the three allied Princes see only in themselves delegates appointed by Providence to govern three branches of the same family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; thus confessing, that the Christian nation of which they and their people form a part have no other allegiance than to Him to whom all power belongs; because in Him alone is found all the treasures of infinite love, knowledge, and wisdom: that is to say, God our divine Saviour Jesus Christ, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties in consequence recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the only means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, the only peace which can endure, to strengthen themselves daily in the duties inculcated to man by the Holy Saviour.

“ Art. III. That all powers who will solemnly acknowledge the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and who will acknowledge how important it is to the happiness of all nations, which has too long been disturbed, that these truths shall henceforth exercise over human destinies all the influence which properly belongs to them, shall be received with eagerness and affection as parties in this Holy Alliance.

“ A threefold act, signed at Paris in the year of grace 1815, 14th (or 26th) of September.

“ FRANCIS,  
FREDERICK WILLIAM,  
ALEXANDER.”\*

It has been said, that this act was a confession of political faith; it would be more true to say, that it is a confession of religious faith, from which the princes who signed it wished all the mutual duties of nations and sovereigns to emanate.

\* “ Recueil des Traités de Martens.” Tome sixième des Suppléments, p. 656.

Alexander there expressed his personal feelings ; here he appears to say to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, " Here is the result which the experience of the last quarter of a century has taught me ; there is no other means by which the happiness of the world can be assured, than by applying to all governments, and to all international relations, the truths and precepts of the Christian religion, which have hitherto been too exclusively applied to private life : let us, then, become the fathers of our people ; let us consider each other as brothers ; let us induce our subjects to do the same ; and let us endeavour to propagate our own convictions, and to cause them to be accepted by all nations and by all kings."

Such a declaration tended to nothing less than to reconstitute on a new basis that ancient Christianity which had held so important a position in former times, but which the Reformation had broken up three centuries before, and taking into consideration the religious position in which Europe then found itself. In former times the Pope had been the visible head and the bond of union ; that could not be in the present day : it was necessary, therefore, to institute a new Christian organisation without a visible head, and to indicate a new bond, which might be accepted by all powers contracting this Holy Alliance between all Christian kings and people.

The act of the 26th of September leaves nothing more to be desired under these two heads. On one hand are three sovereigns, a Protestant king, a Roman Catholic emperor, and a Schismatic emperor, who there represent their people, notwithstanding the difference of their worship and sacraments, as being *all members of the same Christian nation*, which would establish a union more vast than Roman Catholicism ; and when they add, that *this Christian nation has no other sovereign than God alone*, it is evident that from such a union the Pope was abstracted. On the other hand, by the

unanimous appeal of these princes (in this act) to the Holy Scriptures alone, do they not declare them to be all-sufficient to indicate the new boundary of Christendom ?

It is impossible not to be struck by the desire here expressed, to extend to all Europe those resolutions of support and fraternity, between all denominations of Christians, by bringing all to acknowledge one and the same source of faith, exactly as the Czar had endeavoured to realise it in his own states for the last two or three years, by means of the Bible Society ; in which you have seen seated on either side the Metropolitans of the Russian Church, of the Roman Catholic Church, of the United Greeks, of the Armenians, the Almoner of the Anglican, the Superintendent of the Lutheran, the Pastor of the Reformed Church, and a Minister of the Moravian Brothers, all agreed to propagate the Bible, and to pursue together the same religious object, following the same principle. The Holy Alliance must have been understood by Alexander to be a union of all Christians, without distinction of sects, for the common profession and practice of the doctrines inculcated in the Holy Scriptures. To have imagined such a plan, was to declare the spirit of the eighteenth century right and wrong,—right as regarded the Jesuits and the Pope, wrong as regarded the Bible. This distinction is very just. The only error of Alexander was his having conceived that he was himself as a sovereign commissioned to cause it to be universally accepted, and that it depended upon him to transform his individual convictions into a general conversion of nations.

Great fault has been found with the Holy Alliance. The greater part of these objections were undeserved ; for example, could any one pretend that it was intended to establish the divine right of kings, or of legitimacy, while that question was not established in the dominions of the three contracting monarchs ? Two faults only can justly be attributed to this act, and they would be found by very different

adversaries. It is, in the first place, the having considered the admission of Christian truths as a national act; and, secondly, the attempt to impose upon Roman Catholicism a spirit of toleration abhorrent to its nature. If people did not immediately perceive these two tendencies in the treaty, it arose no doubt from the fact, that the minds of men were at that period exclusively occupied with politics. The world had lost on the field of battle that intelligence in religious questions which was soon to be revived.

---

## XI.

The Emperor Alexander did not lose sight of the end he had in view. On the 14th of March, 1817, eighteen months after the signature of "The Act of Fraternal and Christian Alliance," which was the name given to this convention, he caused to be inserted in the "Conservateur impartial de St. Pétersbourg," under the title of "Considerations," an article intended to explain its intention, which people still continued to misunderstand. This article is an important document, which cannot be attributed to the journalist; as an official paper, it is easily distinguished by its style, which is unlike that of the public offices. This explanation of the act evidently emanates from the same source as the act itself.

It is necessary to be well acquainted with the origin and character of this act, to attribute it, as the writer of the article does, "to a chain of causes which had disposed the minds of the greatest Christian monarchs to found an alliance between themselves, independent of all momentary interests or personal predilections, and which rests solely on the immutable basis of conscience, upon a perfect identity of convictions, and upon the experience of past calamities."

Then follows an enumeration and an examination of the various objections raised against the Holy Alliance. It is

exclusive, some have said—it is menacing—it is a chimera, emanating from enthusiasm, and totally inapplicable to the realities of the world—it is without utility or stability. We shall not pause on the answers given to these allegations: it is more to the purpose to fix our attention on some passages, which, while explaining a real theory, bring into observation the two principal intentions which we have attributed to this memorable act.

“It is solely founded,” says the anonymous writer, “upon precepts and dogmas common to all Christian nations, and which suffice for the deduction of all social duties and of political principles, well fitted to cement by degrees confidence and union between all states. Thus the act discards even the suspicion of a dangerous spirit of proselytism, and authorises no other means of drawing all nations together but the peaceful seductions of happiness, of which its stipulations contain at once the pledge and the germ.”

“Human nature, whatever the disciples of palpable and material interests may say, has always fought, and always will fight, for opinion, of which fact periods of fanaticism and of impiety alike offer the most bloody testimony. Struck by this great truth, the august and pious founders of the Holy Alliance have endeavoured to find in one grand and imperishable idea an effectual remedy for all our miseries and all our errors. This attempt to induce the heads of all nations to fraternize, under the paternal influence of God the Saviour, does not exclude any combination dictated by human prudence for the conciliation of divergent interests, but it supplies their insufficiency by establishing a point of union, equally distant from all extremes, equally opposed to fanaticism and impiety. This act, then, is not *exclusive*, excepting to all that is inspired by prejudice, or by *the thirst for power, either in religion or in politics. This alliance is a neutrality, armed against irreligion and fanaticism.* It has adopted the corrective of these two plagues: it raises a solid barrier against their



attacks, without imposing other fetters on human intellect than those of a tolerant and universal belief, which softens all misfortune, and prevents all error; it penetrates even to the source of all our calamities, shows their true origin, and proscribes all the palliatives employed by licentiousness or by oppression.

“ Since a *whole nation* dared to deny, by the organ of its Government, the religion of God the Saviour, this great principle has been confined within the limits of private life: for two ages it has now recovered the right of acting upon assembled nations. Here, then, is a new era, clearly and distinctly defined, a sublime compensation of Divine Providence, which already manifests itself, and which, notwithstanding the confused opinions and frivolous resistance of man, will soon fulfil its mission.”

No one can complain that these explanations are not sufficiently explicit. According to them, the act of the Holy Alliance is at once a protest of three sovereigns against unbelief and fanaticism, and the re-establishment of Christianity without the supremacy of the Pope. To rise thus against Voltaireanism the moment they believed they had suppressed the spirit of revolution, and against the thirst of religious power immediately after the re-establishment of the Jesuits, was to mark distinctly the difference between a Christian spirit and the spirit of domination evinced by the priesthood. It was to recommend the Bible to all nations, as the arch of salvation, and to declare to them that they did not intend to support the Papacy, that old enemy of kings and people, which they had just seen so eager to repossess itself of its ancient authority at the first favourable opportunity.

It may have excited surprise to find the Emperor Alexander proclaiming at St. Petersburg the power of *opinion*. It ought to do still more, to see the Autocrat representing the act of the 26th of September, precisely because it was founded entirely on conscience, religion, morality, and expe-

rience, as "The surest warrant of well-organised liberty, as the true safeguard of political rights, and the most implacable enemy of arbitrary power."

"The infraction of conditions made in partial engagements between sovereigns," resumes the author of the "Considerations," speaking in his own name with a frankness which appears to us quite sufficient to designate him clearly, "too often occurs in a manner which surprises the good faith of a sovereign, deceiving him by secondary causes of complaint and specious pretexts; while a single act which lays down general principles, and above all, clear principles, cannot be violated without awakening the consciences both of the sovereign and of his people."

This certainly is generous language, and yet, as we have said, the whole compact was based on one great error,—the Emperor Alexander (too quickly forgetting how those convictions had been forced upon him, through which he had himself become a Christian) allowed himself to imagine that the recognition of Christianity by Government was a sufficient guarantee for the Christianity of the people; as if faith could exist in a nation by any other means than by the internal conviction of individuals.

Convictions of this kind were then only rare exceptions: thus the "Holy Alliance," which by the first intention of Alexander was a confession of faith, soon became a lie upon an enormous scale. One may even say, that the more brilliant and striking were the accessions it received, the more they denaturalized the spirit in which it had been conceived. States of all ranks, monarchies and republics, even the Hanseatic Towns, gave their adhesion to it. In less than two years the King of France and the Regent of England set the example, but only by engaging themselves personally, and the rest of the world followed, but without making the same restrictions: there were only two exceptions,—the United States, whose government could not give its adherence to any peculiar confession, whether it bore the title of a Treaty or not,

because the constitution of the country proclaimed the neutrality of the state on all religious subjects; and the Pope, whose refusal it is easy to understand, because the confederation of all Christian Churches instituted by this compact was the formal denial of the pretensions of the Holy See.

This point alone must now engage our attention.

---

## XII.

We have anticipated events, by relating the history of the expulsion of the Jesuits from St. Petersburg before we spoke of the Treaty of the "Holy Alliance," which is *anterior* to it.

It is so given, because the interdict against the residence of the Jesuits in either of the two capitals had a distinct cause, sufficient to account for it, without seeking for any other explanation for the change in the Emperor's views respecting them; but it is important to observe that this measure, taken only three months after the signature of the act of "Fraternal and Christian Alliance," could not therefore be opposed to its intention: but it seems, on the contrary, to explain the spirit of that act, exactly in the sense in which we have understood it, and obliges us to see it in the light of a manifesto against the practices and projects of the Church of Rome, which had just set her *robust navigators* to work.

The decree of expulsion recalls, in the first place, the facts we have stated; and secondly, it demonstrates the consequences in the following passage, which is truly a counterpoise to the Bull of restoration.

"After such conduct, we are no longer surprised that this order of priests should have been expelled from all countries, and that they should be tolerated nowhere. Where, in fact, can we find a state which would suffer those to remain in its bosom who spread hatred and trouble around them? Constantly occupied in watching over the welfare of our faithful

subjects, and considering it a sacred duty to arrest evil in its origin, in order to prevent its ripening and producing bitter fruits, we have resolved to command as follows."

The decree here contains, besides the orders relative to the expulsion, a much more general order, which precedes the other two.

"The Roman Catholic Church in Russia shall be replaced in the same state in which it existed in the reign of our grandmother of glorious memory, the Empress Catherine the Second."

It is difficult to misunderstand this; the state to which the decree alludes is that of the subjection of the priests to the jurisdiction of the bishops. The question of the Jesuits was then placed in the Russian Empire in nearly the same position as that in which it is now placed in France; the Government dreaded their enterprising spirit, and endeavoured to restrain them, by rendering them dependent on the episcopal authority. One circumstance must be remarked, which rendered the situation rather more complicated. Until that time the Father-General had resided in Russia, but Pius VII. called him to Italy, because, by living in Rome, he would better understand the interests of the Church, and be able to render his Company more serviceable to them. The Emperor of Russia, on the contrary, would not allow of his leaving Russia, because he foresaw much inconvenience would arise if the Jesuits of Russia should become dependent on a general residing in a foreign country.\*

The Holy See was at that time negotiating with England on the subject of the Irish Roman Catholics. It was impossible to foresee the issue of these negotiations; but the Court of Rome announced by those journals which were devoted to its interests, that Rome wished to establish general principles of public rights in favour of Roman Catholics living under

\* This explanation was given in the "Quotidienne," in its number of the 4th February, 1816.

Protestant Governments; and these organs took care to add the name of the Emperor of Russia to that of the other powers, by whom Rome hoped those propositions would be accepted.

The Holy See could not fail to perceive that this country, which it had made so many attempts to subjugate, was entering further and further on the course which was most likely to withdraw it from its influence. Scarcely had he returned from Paris, when the Emperor of Russia inquired into the results of the labours of the Russian Bible Society. Prince Galitzin having presented to him translations of the Holy Scriptures in the various languages spoken in his dominions, the Czar had been surprised to find that the Russians alone, instead of being able to read them in their own language, were still obliged to make use of the Slavonic version—so difficult to be understood by the common people. In consequence he commanded the holy synod, by a special ukase, to prepare a translation of the New Testament into modern Russ. The Bible Society continued to extend its ramifications throughout the empire. Poland also had accepted it, and already a Polish Bible Society, over which the Prince Czartorysky presided, had been formed; and several Roman Catholic bishops were among its vice-presidents. But if the Metropolitan of the Roman Catholic Churches had shown himself favourable to the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, the Archbishop of Gnesen, primate of Poland, showed himself entirely opposed to it. Pius VII. hastened to interpose, by addressing briefs almost at the same time to the two ecclesiastical dignitaries who agreed so ill together.

“These Societies are abhorrent to me,” said the Pope to the Primate, while praising his wisdom in having opposed the Bible Societies; “they tend to the subversion of the Christian religion, even to its very foundation: it is a plague which must be arrested by every possible means.” In ad-

dressing Sestrenzewitch, on the contrary, he reproaches him with having misunderstood the doctrines of the Council of Trent, and forbid his taking any part in future in the work of a Society which he had made a grave mistake in protecting. This last brief is dated September 3d, 1816. The Jesuit Fathers gave to this brief all possible publicity. The Emperor Alexander, on his return from Paris, had adopted for his empire some of the principles of the French Liberals, even while with us every precaution was taken against the journals. The liberty of the press was lauded in an official paper of St. Petersburg, published in the Russian language, and under the peculiar direction of the Minister of the Interior.\* The moment was propitious, and the agents of Rome took advantage of it to attack the Bible Society in pamphlets. They also attacked it from their pulpits.

Such was the state of things when the Emperor Alexander returned from visiting the new kingdom of Poland, established by the Congress of Vienna, and he had thus been able to ascertain by personal observation that he was directly opposed by the Company. He confided to M. d'Italinsky new instructions, in continuation of the negotiations with the Court of Rome, with which General Baron Tuyll had been charged. The Holy See had testified a desire to send a nuncio into Russia; the Russian Government insisted that the nuncio should only bear a diplomatic character, representing the temporal government of the Pope, and demanded for this reason that the negotiations, which were intended to establish on an unalterable basis all affairs concerning the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, should be terminated before the nuncio was sent there.

\* "The liberty of the press, protected by our august monarch, has the inappreciable advantage of carrying truths to the foot of the throne. It can only displease those who wish to isolate the prince from his people, and such men will not be listened to under the reign of Alexander."—*La Poste du Nord*, Oct. 4, 1816.

M. d'Italinsky had a special mission, to obtain the acknowledgment of the distinction between the Sovereign of the Roman States and the Pope,—qualities which it has always been the policy of the Roman diplomatists to confound. Nothing could have been devised to distinguish them so clearly from each other as the adhesion of Pope Pius VII. to the Holy Alliance.

Therefore, in inviting the Pope to join it, General Tuyl had said to him that this proposition was made to him “only” as a sovereign, “which alone entitled him to have this highly honourable proposition made to him.”

Pius VII. at once rejected all idea of acceding to it. M. d'Italinsky's instructions were, not to return precisely to the charge; but he was ordered to represent to the Pope that in this refusal he had misunderstood his own interests as a temporal prince, because it was only by maintaining the social and political order, of which the principles were maintained in the treaty which he had been invited to join, that the sovereign of the States of Rome could assure to himself the inviolability of his possessions.”

Another consideration, not less important, was suggested to him,—that by this tacit protestation against it he compromised his character as head of the Western Church. Here follows the language which the Russian envoy was commanded to hold on this last point:—

“That in his character as head of the Western Church, the Pope set a very singular example in refusing to do homage to precepts common to all Christian communities, and which nevertheless do not, by their expression, attack his pretensions to universal supremacy.

“By this refusal he has placed himself in the painful alternative of either declaring that the fundamental doctrines of the religion of God the Saviour are, in his estimation, far beneath those by which he aspires to establish his own prerogative, or that of declaring them to be inseparable, and

consequently, assimilating all those Christian princes who are not under his supremacy with monarchs plunged in the darkness of Paganism.

“ The first of these assertions is of a nature which it is impossible to enunciate. The last shakes the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the see of Rome ; because it involves the overthrow of all the differential relations which exist between that see and Russia, Prussia, Sweden, all the North of Germany, &c.

“ Here again, as on many former occasions, the twofold character of a spiritual and a temporal power presents itself, as the rock on which the policy of the Vatican has so often struck, while on all other subjects so clear-sighted. The temporal and spiritual power, which are always incompatible, and whose union in the same individual is prohibited by the text of Scripture, has been the cause of the inconsistent measures of the see of Rome, which in the conflict of its attributes has assumed a negative position very little edifying to Christendom, and which we must be content to deplore, without presuming to return to the subject.”

The Russian Government having thus begun to theologise, had no intention of stopping short, and we scarcely know whether to believe our eyes when we come to the other arguments against the twofold power of the Pope, suggested to M. d’Italinsky by his Government :—

“ The two powers have never been legitimately united, excepting in the person of Melchisedec — an entirely mysterious, emblematic, and supernatural personification of regal, pontifical, and prophetic power, belonging only to our Saviour Jesus Christ. The Old Testament demonstrates the punishment of those who, like Uzziah, attempt to unite them (2 Chron. xxvi.). Even Pagans dared not to approach the altar sword in hand. The sceptre of the sovereign is but the sword which punishes the guilty and protects the innocent.”

Notwithstanding the refusal of the Pope to enter into the



proposed alliance, M. d'Italinsky was authorised to tell him that Russia would support the inviolability of the treaties which had reintegrated the temporal power of the Holy Father, and to promise to act in conjunction with his allies, to deliver the Mediterranean from the Barbary pirates.

The Russian envoy was instructed, in the second place, to remonstrate forcibly against the brief of censure addressed to the Metropolitan Sestrenzewitch, for the part which he had taken in the work of the Bible Society, and to say that, instead of the retractation which the Holy See demanded of him, the Emperor thought a cardinal's hat was not too much to expect as an indemnity for the unjust blame which he had cast upon him. The organization of the Bible Society being under the presidency of a Minister of State, and openly protected by the sovereign, was such, they said, that to admit the right arrogated by the Church of Rome of forbidding its prelates to take any part in it, would be to admit a foreign jurisdiction into the government. This reasoning appears to us not very conclusive: nevertheless, they continue as follows:—

“Consequently, the brief addressed to the Metropolitan will not be acted upon, and will be returned. The prelate will continue to be a member of the Bible Society. The Court of Rome will not provoke a discussion that Russia does not wish to engage in. The Emperor is firmly resolved not modify his opinions or his will.

“Taken in a religious and purely dogmatic view, the objections directed against the Bible Society may be confuted by arguments drawn from the text of Scripture itself; besides, the objections fall of themselves, the moment it is remembered that these Societies publish only the text, without claiming the right of interpretation, which belongs to the Church alone. The object is to diffuse the written word, in order to assist pastors in preaching the Divine word: it provides a two-edged sword without aspiring to use it.

“The Emperor, therefore, hopes that the Court of Rome will cease in good faith, and once for all, to censure the part which its prelates may take in Bible Societies, either in Russia or in Poland.”

In this demand, as in that relating to the adhesion of the Pope to the Holy Alliance, there is more simplicity than judgment; to invite the Church of Rome to place itself upon an equality with other Churches, and to suggest its conceding a liberty of circulation to the written word, was to propose to it suicide in two different forms. M. d'Italinsky succeeded no better in rendering Pius VII. favourable to the Bible Societies than General Tuyll in inducing him to accede to the act of Fraternal and Christian Alliance. Sestrenzewitch did not obtain a Cardinal's hat; but in 1820, when the old man had attained his ninetieth year, and had no more to fear or to hope for in this world, we find him still sitting in the Committee of the Bible Society of St. Petersburg, and consecrating his last days to the diffusion of the word of God. He died almost a centenarian; and here is his funeral oration, as we find it in a work published under the auspices of M. le Comte de Montalembert:—

“Happily for the Catholic Church in the Polish provinces of the Russian empire, death took from them about this time the Metropolitan Stanislas Sestrenzewitch, who had been during a period of fifty-four years the pest of the country.”\*

The question of the definitive organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, and particularly in the kingdom of Poland, where it prevails, remained unsettled. To determine this was the essential object of M. d'Italinsky's mission; and it was to be done according to the following principles, the ascendancy of which he was ordered to establish:—

“To preserve the supremacy of the Holy Father over the

\* “*Vicissitudes de l'Eglise Catholique des deux Rites, en Pologne et en Russie.*” Tome 1<sup>er</sup>, p. 315.

Roman Catholic Church existing in Russia, in all its spiritual purity, and consequently secured for ever from taking any part, direct or indirect, in political or worldly interests, of any kind whatsoever; to define *positively the form* in which such supremacy shall be exercised, and by means of which the Holy See may be secured in its legitimate ascendancy in the spiritual direction of the Church, *in such manner that this ascendancy shall in no case be confounded or complicated with the authority of the laws, or the temporal power of the Government*, under the protection of which the Roman Catholic Church exists in Russia."

Then follow instructions of detail, both concerning the application of the preceding principles, and also such modifications of jurisdiction as were rendered necessary by the partition of Poland. The Russian Envoy was recommended to address the Court of Rome, "in the clearest and most positive language," in order to convince the Pope that the Emperor would never allow the Papal supremacy in the exercise of Roman Catholic worship to overstep the limits he had indicated; and which, moreover, he could not permit, say the Instructions, without granting rights to that supremacy which the laws of the empire forbid.

The result of this negotiation was the decree of the 6th of March, 1817, by which the Emperor Alexander gave to the kingdom of Poland an Ecclesiastical Constitution in accordance with the principles he had laid down, and which he made to prevail equally in Russia and in the Polish provinces dependent upon it. One remark, we think, has never yet been made; which is, that this Constitution appears to have been traced on the plan of our Concordat, as far as the different circumstances of the two countries would permit, only taking care to make the precautions more salient, in order that there might be no mistake in their intention or their meaning. One may judge of this by the following arrangements:—The Commission of Public Worship (*des Cultes*) and

Public Instruction is invested with functions very similar to those which our organic articles assign to the Council of State. As in France no Bull can be published, or Synod assembled, without the permission of Government, the approbation of the Emperor is necessary for the nomination of bishops, the abbots of convents, and all ecclesiastical functionaries. The funded property, and all lands belonging to churches, or to the clergy, are placed under the superintendence of the Commission; and it is also under the same superintendence that ecclesiastics enjoy the revenues attached to their functions. No person can be admitted to a novitiate in a monastery without a previous permission from the Commission. As to the Jesuits, here is the article which concerns them, and which, by confounding them with other monks, subjects them with others to that episcopal jurisdiction from which they had by every means endeavoured to withdraw themselves.

“ Art. XX. The bishops are to exercise an active supervision over the police of the monasteries, who can only address themselves to Government through the intervention of the bishops and the consistory.”

Russia preserved the monasteries, but did not say that which the legislative power had said in France in the eleventh of the Organic Articles,—“ All other ecclesiastical establishments (excepting cathedral chapters and seminaries) are abolished.”

But Russia took great care to place all religious houses under the inspection of the bishops, and borrowed from our organic law its tenth article:—

“ All privileges of exemption, or attribution of episcopal jurisdiction, are abolished.”

The Cardinal Gonsalvi, who arranged and signed the Concordat of 1801 with Napoleon, so violently attacked at the present time by the Ultramontane party in France, had also been empowered to follow up the negotiations with

M. d'Italinsky, which terminated in the Ecclesiastical Constitution of March 6th, 1817. His biographer expressly names Russia as one of the countries with whom that able statesman had concluded Concordats and Conventions.\* A Bull of the 30th of June, 1818, confirmed the new organisation of the dioceses of the kingdom of Poland; and their relations with the Church of Rome, which were again brought nearly to the same state in which they had formerly been placed by the Empress Catherine II., might appear to the Russian Government to rest upon that immutable basis on which it desired to place them.

But let us not forget, that this was the fulfilment of the menace contained in the decree which expelled the Jesuits from St. Petersburg. We shall see how they responded to it.

---

### XIII.

The Government had gained its point, and it was a hard task for the Jesuits to accept with a good grace the unfavourable position in which the Ecclesiastical Constitution had placed them. Without doubt they did not protest openly against it,—protestations are not allowed at St. Petersburg; but they found means to elude its regulations, and we find them devoting themselves more zealously than ever to propagandism to procure the supremacy of the Pope; a hopeless mission it might indeed be called, to endeavour to subdue so vast an empire by attempting to inculcate the idea into the minds of a few women and children, and perhaps it might be so; nevertheless, they employed themselves as assiduously as if immediate success were likely to crown their endeavours.

\* "Cenni Biografici sul Cardinale Ercole Consalvi, Segretario di Stato di S.S. Pio VII." Venezia, 1824, p. 71.

“The Jesuits of St. Petersburg,” said the “*Quotidienne*,” after having announced their expulsion from the capital, “are gone to Polotzk in Lithuania, where this Order has a rich and magnificent establishment. They have in that town a very numerous noviciate, and a much-frequented college. The Society of Jesuits continues to perform the services in the greater part of the Catholic churches in Russia, and possesses several colleges in this vast empire.”\*

But we are not reduced to these vague statements in order to form an idea of the importance the Company had at that time acquired. We have seen that in 1786 it consisted in Russia of 178 members, and that towards the close of 1804 it numbered 264. At the period at which we are now arrived its numbers amounted to 674, according to a catalogue published by themselves; † they were spread like a net across the empire,—from Polotzk to Odessa and Astracan, from Witebsk to Irkoutsk and Omsk, teaching in the colleges or in missions belonging to the Order; others, disseminated throughout the country as tutors, rendered themselves no less useful, by instilling their principles in great families. The Government was constantly receiving circumstantial reports from the military and civil authorities, of the perseverance with which they followed that same system of propagandism which had caused their expulsion from the two capitals. After their college at St. Petersburg had been closed, they transferred their efforts to obtain proselytes to the college of Mohilew, neglecting no means to draw within the pale of the Church of Rome the children belonging to the Greek Church who had been confided to their care. They were again forbidden to receive any pupils into their houses who were not Roman Catholics. Perceiving that the young

\* “*Quotidienne*,” No. 10, Février 1816, giving the news of St. Petersburg of the 12th January.

† “*Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Societatis Jesu, in Imperio Rosiaco, in annum 1816.*”

nobility were escaping from them, they fell back upon the common people, and applied themselves to the conversion of all to whom they could obtain access. The United Greeks are very numerous in the government of Saratov. The Papal Bulls, which agreed with the law upon this point, forbade their interfering with them. Notwithstanding this, the Jesuits never ceased to press them to adopt the Roman faith. But that which above all appeared to the Emperor to require immediate repression, was their conduct towards the military at Witebsk, a town only a short distance from the central head-quarters of the Russian army called *the Army of the West*, whom they endeavoured to persuade that they could only save their souls by submitting themselves to the Holy See.

They did not act in this as in a common case of proselytism, which aimed at the acquisition of disciples to their doctrines. No. We must recall to our minds that Comte de Maistre, writing to Count Rasoumoffsky, had expressly said to him, that in respect of dogmas, "*the religion of the Jesuits was almost the same as that of Russia;*" therefore all this zeal was not expended on dogmas properly so called. The mission of the Jesuits in Russia, as everywhere else, has never been to propagate any one dogma in preference to another; they combat schism rather than heresy; they would care little for the latter, provided they could absorb the former; they would even tolerate it if necessary, without much difficulty, as in China they tolerated paganism under the name of Christianity, when, by accommodating themselves to an apparent unity, they hoped to raise or extend the supremacy of Rome, which is all they care for. The struggle had commenced, and it did not stop there. The Government discovered with indignation that the correspondence which the Jesuits carried on with China tended to the expulsion of the Russian mission from Peking, which had been established there for scientific purposes. The Company no longer dis-

puted with the Greek Church for the souls of its disciples; it attacked the Emperor himself, and dared to cross his best-laid schemes.

After this it was easy to foresee that a new storm must soon overtake the Society of Jesus. The twentieth Article of the Ecclesiastical Constitution, which placed its members under the inspection of the bishops, having failed to restrain their attempts, could it be expected that the absolute Government of Russia should not take further measures against them? We must allow that, even supposing it was already inclined to do so, the Jesuits did not deny themselves the pleasure of direct provocation.

---

#### XIV.

Count de Maistre, as we have seen, interfered more than became his character as ambassador in the affairs of the Company, and it was insinuated to the Court of Sardinia that his presence in St. Petersburg had ceased to be agreeable to the Emperor. He was recalled in 1817.

It was not perhaps without some wish to unite his recall and its secret cause with his book, "Du Pape," that he dated the preface in the month of May, 1817, though the work did not appear until the beginning of the year 1820. Every one knows the motto borrowed from the Iliad:—

*" Trop de chefs vous nuiraient; qu'un seul homme ait l'empire.  
 Vous ne sauriez, ô Grecs, être un peuple de rois;  
 Le sceptre est à celui, qu'il plaît au Ciel d'élire  
 Pour regner sur la foule et lui donner des lois."*

The Greeks to whom M. de Maistre applied this quotation were the kings of Europe. He politely invited them by these lines to submit themselves to the sceptre of "the elected of Heaven," who wears the tiara.



“ Now is the time,” said he, “ for princes to reflect seriously. They have been taught to fear that power which occasionally embarrassed their predecessors a thousand years ago, but which deified the kingly character.\* They have fallen into the snare so dexterously laid for them. They have allowed themselves to be brought again to earth. They are but men.”

The book of Count de Maistre is too original a composition for the author himself not to have felt surprised to see it adopted as the manifesto of a party; it was, from the beginning to the end, an answer to the act of “ Christian and Fraternal Alliance.” The contracting monarchs had imagined that it was possible to reconstitute Christendom, abstracting the Pope. But here is Count de Maistre come to demonstrate to them, that without the Pope there can be no real royalty. All the enlightened friends of the Holy See hastened to associate themselves with this opposition to the principle of the Holy Alliance. They had understood its intentions, and they waged open war against it. In 1822, two years after the publication of the book of the ex-Minister Plenipotentiary, M. de la Mennais likewise expressed himself as follows:—

“ It must be said, because it is already seen, and it will be seen more clearly every day; it must be said, in order to hasten the moment when that which cannot be done to-day will become possible; the Holy Alliance wants a foundation, for in the spiritual order, in which the monarchs in making it have placed themselves, there can be none: there is no alliance without real union; no union without unity of faith.

“ What object do they propose to themselves? To defend Society against revolution by opposing to it Christianity, its most formidable enemy, or rather its only enemy. Now, what is the Christianity on which the Holy Alliance is founded? It is an assemblage of different sects, who have

\* The divine right of kings.—*Translator's note.*

neither the same faith nor the same head, several of whom recognise no head, and cannot explain what their faith is.

“ Hence it results that either the Holy Alliance has no basis, or it supposes that all these sects are equally Christian. In the first case, there is no real alliance; in the second, it rests upon the indifferentism of religionists: that is to say, upon the same foundation as the revolution which they are combating.”\*

This union, as we have shown, was elsewhere. It did not result from the recognition of one common head, but from adhesion to one revelation.

At the same time this bond was more apparent than real. The Emperor of Austria did not understand its consequences in the same sense as the Emperor of Russia, or as the King of Prussia. At first, it is true, that in the month of August, 1816, and while under the first and vivid impression produced by the words of Alexander, he had eagerly accepted the project of an Austrian Bible Society, which Prince Metternich had submitted to him on the part of the London Bible Society, and he had already allowed the printing of the Holy Scriptures to be commenced at Presburg, in Hungary, in the four languages spoken in that monarchy. But in the following year, in consequence of a brief issued by Pius VII. against Bible Societies, it was forbidden by an imperial decree. This act of the Emperor Francis no doubt did not openly detach him from the Holy Alliance, but it did certainly abjure its spirit. The Court of Rome could not hope for anything like this from Frederick-William, who made it in some sort a point of honour to deserve the name of the Protestant King, as the King of Spain does that of Catholic King. As for Alexander, Count de Maistre endeavoured once more to gain his ear, though there was absolutely nothing to encourage him.

\* “ De la Saint Alliance, 1822.” Tome viii. des Œuvres complètes de M. de la Mennais.

If we read with attention his book, "Du Pape," we shall be astonished to see him here, after having spoken of the CONSPIRATORS OF THE SECT, as he elsewhere calls the Calvinists or the Revolutionists ; for to him they were all one :—

" Hélas ! ils ont des rois égaré les plus sages." \*

" Alas ! they have misled the wisest kings."

And having endeavoured to prove to these misguided kings that *Christianity depends entirely upon the Sovereign Pontiff*, address himself more particularly to the Emperor of Russia, and redouble his zeal to gain him.

But the arguments which he makes use of in two chapters of the third book "Du Pape," to induce the Czar to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, are of such a nature that, if they did not succeed in convincing, they could not fail to exasperate him.

The title of the fifth chapter is as significant as it is singular,—*On the Average Life of Princes ; the Secret Alliance between Religion and Sovereignty.* †

Joseph de Maistre shows, in the first place, that a violent death is the natural death of princes, and that in their case natural death is the exception. Then he inquires, What is the influence of religion on the duration of reigns? According to him, an average reign in Christian countries may amount to twenty-five years ; and according to a calculation, which embraces three hundred years, that is *precisely the average reign* in France.

The Reformation, if we believe him, has shortened reigns in Protestant countries. Before that time the average length of reigns in England was three-and-twenty years : since the Reformation, it is only seventeen years ; and in Sweden, the reigns have shortened in the same proportion.

\* " Du Pape ;" discours préliminaire.

† " Vie commune des Princes ; Alliance secrète de la Religion et de la Souveraineté."

The next chapter is entitled, *Observations peculiar to Russia*. The ex-Sardinian Ambassador remarks that Russia is placed under great disadvantage in respect to religion, because the schism of the Greeks and the invasion of the Tartars have hardly left Russia time to *feel the hand of the Sovereign Pontiff*. Withdrawn beyond the reach of the *great constituting sceptre*, it bears the consequent penalty!

“The average length of the reign of its masters does not exceed thirteen years; while Christian reigns reach to double that length, and will soon attain or even surpass it, whenever men will be wise. For a nation to raise itself to the level of civilization (which is outwardly evinced by the prolongation of reigns), there is but one way,—that which Russia has left.”

Further on the author adds in conclusion:—“All sovereignty whose brow has not been touched by the efficacious finger of the great Pontiff, must ever remain inferior to others, as much in respect to the length of its reigns as in the character of its dignity, and the form of its government. All nations, even Christian nations, who have not sufficiently felt the constituting action, will eternally remain inferior to others, though equal in all other respects; and every nation separated after having received the impression of the universal seal, will feel at last that something is wanting to them, and will sooner or later be brought back to the fold, either by reason or misfortune. There is in every nation a mysterious, but visible connexion, between the duration of reigns and the perfection of religious principle.”

Now this was an argument *ad hominem*. The ex-Minister Plenipotentiary appears to say to the sovereign, to whom he had been accredited,—“If you would reign happily, and live long, submit yourself and your people devoutly to the Holy See.” The man who wrote these lines was the same who had for so long a period constituted himself the advocate of the Jesuits at the court of Alexander. It is, perhaps, of this prolongation of life and of reign that he had wished to speak, while

pressing the Count de Rasoumoffsky to allow the good Fathers to do everything they pleased. He then wrote to him, "These pages are not so much consecrated to the interest of the illustrious Company, of which I have wished to confer with you, as to those of your own country." However this might be, the words of Count de Maistre hit the mark, but produced a different effect from that which he had expected. Again in other pages, particularly in a "Lettre à une Dame Russe," (Letter to a Russian lady), published about this time in the "Défenseur," which had just replaced the "Conservateur," he entreated the Russians to renounce schism; thus associating himself by these public appeals, intended to be read at St. Petersburg as well as at Paris, with the underhand work in which the members of the Company were engaged all over the empire.

It is necessary here to mark some dates precisely. That of the first publication of the book "Du Pape" is very important; the impression was finished at Lyons in the last days of 1819; on the 22d of January, Count de Maistre writes from Turin that he had seen the first copy of his work.\* As it is not announced in the "Journal de la Librairie," so well known for its precision, until the 12th of February, we must conclude that it had only reached Paris a few days before that time. On the 13th of February, Louvel assassinated the Duke de Berri. The Emperor, then, must have received almost at the same time, perhaps by the same courier, the intelligence that this unfortunate prince would never reign, and the Ultramontane book, which endeavoured to demonstrate that reigns are longer in empires where the Catholic religion is the religion of the state, than in schismatic countries.†

\* A letter from Joseph de Maistre to M. de la Place, who had superintended the printing at Lyons.

† This circumstance probably did not escape the attention of the police, for we find in a letter of Joseph de Maistre, dated April 20, 1820:—"I now know that an indirect order has enjoined silence to all the journals; but what

## XV.

We are not authorised to suppose that Alexander recalled to his recollection, more particularly at that moment, by whom other reigns had been abridged in the kingdom of France, and what religious order had defended the doctrine of regicide. One thing only is certain, that the sinister event of the 13th of February did not retard, even for a day, the fall of the Jesuits; and that on the 13th of March, 1820, the Emperor sanctioned the Report demanding their expulsion, which was presented to him by the Prince Galitzen; at the end of which we find, besides the signature of the minister, that of the Director of the Department of Public Worship (*des Cultes*), the Councillor Alexander Tourguéneff, the same man who, some years before, had said to the Father-General, "This is the beginning of the end; you will do so much that you will be sent out of the country."

This document is of extreme importance in the history of the Order. To appreciate its character, we must not place it in the same point of view as the theory of absolute liberty of worship, which we wish to see established all over the world—but in the same point of view as the acts and the political doctrines of Russia. The Russian system, such as Alexander had found it established when he came to the throne, was not that of Louis XIV., who, guided by the Jesuits, had only allowed the exercise of one religion throughout his dominions. It was a species of religious immobility—a juxtaposition of sects, which did not allow any one to encroach

of that? No doubt they have not yet understood my book, for it is neither Gallican nor Ultramontane; it is only logical and historical." M. de Maistre, no doubt, deceived himself; it is not the Ultramontanism of his book, it is the chapters on the duration of reigns which caused the journals to be forbidden to make any mention of this work, in months immediately succeeding to the death of the Duke de Berri.

upon the others. The Russian Government had very positively laid down this system in an imperial decree of the 4th of July, 1803, in which the Emperor commands the priests "to abstain from influencing the consciences of men in matters of religion, and not to allow themselves to make any attempt to alter their mode of worship," declaring that he himself was resolved to adhere to these rules. As to the tyranny of the case, this act is conceived much in the same spirit as that of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but it is less odious; for, instead of *compelle intrare*, it is the *statu quo*: the one aims at a forced abjuration, the other a congelation of doctrines. After his conversion to biblical doctrines, the Emperor Alexander continued to think that he could impose upon the different churches the law of mutual support; he did not think it necessary to permit any sects to overpass their own limits, because it appeared to him, that without overpassing them they would find themselves sufficiently approximated, if they were all animated by that Word which he desired all might learn to understand. This is another phase of despotism; but it must be allowed that he did his best not to make it intolerant. Would the Jesuits, if they had been allowed to act as they wished, have given more life and liberty to Russia? In truth, they never dreamt of it; they also represented a despotism, and they really hoped that, by patience and dexterity, they might succeed in supplanting the other.

The Report of the Commission of Public Worship and of Public Instruction, of which we have spoken, recalls at once to our recollection under what restrictions the Jesuits had formerly obtained protection from Catherine II. *against* the Pope. After the restoration of White Russia to the Empire of Russia in 1772, and the suppression of the Order in 1773, they had only been received under conditions, and it was understood that, if they failed in obeying the laws which had been prescribed to them, that protection would cease of itself.

Well, they did fail in their obedience, and that is the argument maintained by the authors of the Report.

“After having granted so benevolent a toleration to a Society reprobated by the Pope, its supreme head, and by all the powers of Europe, Russia had a right to expect,” they said, “that this Society should remain faithful to the monarch and obedient to his laws: the result proved contrary.”

Here they report the causes of displeasure, which we have mentioned, and also others which are alleged against them. Thus the Jesuits are accused of having employed violence to convert Jews.

“People had been obliged to apply to the local authorities for assistance to release the children of Jews from the houses of the Jesuits; and though some of these acts had been curbed the principle remained, and the Jesuits continued to act upon it, notwithstanding the contrary orders of Government.”

Then, again, the use made by the Jesuits of their possessions did not appear to the authors of the Report to answer the ends for which they had been allowed to keep them. At the period of the restoration of White Russia to the empire, 22,000 Polish peasants belonged to the Jesuits as serfs. Well, these men, who wish to be considered as the proper instructors of the whole human race, had left these people to grovel in the most deplorable ignorance, and in the most frightful poverty. The Emperor had been convinced of this in some of his journeys, having met some of those miserable people, whose physical sufferings had deprived them of all means of subsistence, and who had been furnished with passports to beg their bread. He caused the Father-General to be informed that it was contrary to all Christian principle to abandon them to the charity of the public; and that the Jesuits, above all others, who had every means of assisting them, were inexcusable in having taken no care of them.



The act of accusation, of which our recital has shown the principal features, terminates by general considerations, from which we shall only extract one passage, intended to explain what a long experience of the spirit of the Order had taught Russia :—

“All the actions of the Jesuits are prompted by self-interest alone, being directed solely to the acquisition of unlimited power ; dexterous in finding excuses for each and all of their illegal proceedings, by some regulation of their Company, they have made for themselves a conscience as elastic as it is extensive.”

This opinion of the Russian Government was not quite recently formed. It is even probable that the difficulty of replacing them immediately by others among the Roman Catholic population had alone prevented the Government from sending them altogether out of Russia, when their residence in either of the two capitals was interdicted. But now, when new acts called for increased severity, better measures were taken ; and when events arose in exact accordance with the opinions of Alexander, inducing him to say the final word, there was nothing to prevent his pronouncing it. The decree of expulsion was adopted without hesitation, exactly as it had been drawn up by the Councillor Tourguéneff, which was justly preferred to another a little different, proposed by the Count Capo d'Istria, and which we have also seen. The following is the first article of the sentence :—

“The conduct of the Jesuits having placed them beyond the protection of the law of the empire, as they have not only forgotten the sacred duty of gratitude, but also those duties imposed upon them by their oath as subjects, they will be sent beyond the frontiers of the empire, under the care of the police, and will never be allowed to re-enter the empire under any other character or denomination whatsoever.”

The other articles, ten in number, only contain directions

for the execution of the preceding article. They order the suppression of the Academy of the Jesuits at Polotzk, and of the schools dependent upon it; the reintegration of the University of Wilna in its ancient rights; and that the priests should be replaced in the parishes by monks, either regular or secular, to be nominated by superior ecclesiastical authorities, with a permission to the members of the Company to prolong their stay until the arrival of those who were to replace them. Precautions are to be observed in the transfer of their properties into the hands of a mixed commission, to be composed of priests and magistrates, and dispositions are to be made relative to the administration of those properties; "which shall never," says the eighth article, "be confounded with the crown lands." The produce of these properties is to be employed for the advantage of the Roman Church, and for pious uses. The decree of expulsion contains in favour of those members of the Society who have not taken orders, and may wish to return to their families, and of those who, having already taken all the vows, may obtain permission of the Holy Father to enter into other congregations, or to become secular clergy; and ends with directions relative to their departure, and the formalities to be observed at the frontiers, in order to ascertain the departure of the Jesuits from the empire. By all these arrangements the Government took extreme care to demonstrate, that in thus striking the Jesuits, it did not in the slightest degree wish to impede the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion,—that it punished the infraction of positive laws, but persecuted no one.

The Report in which Prince Galitzin proposed this decree, ended, as the brief for the suppression of the Order by the Pope had done, by a quotation of that passage of St. James, in which bitter zeal and the spirit of contention, which produces trouble and every evil work, are contrasted with the wisdom from on high (iii. 13–18). By thus borrowing this sentence from Clement XIV., he intended to justify this politi-

cal severity in the eyes of Pius VII., by using the same words which the Holy See had itself employed. It insinuates that the only fault committed by Russia was, that it had not permitted itself to be convinced as readily as the Pope.

The decree of the 13th of March, 1820, was put into immediate execution. The Jesuit Fathers were conducted to the frontier, where each of them received from thirty to fifty ducats,\* for the expenses of their journey to the new residences which they had chosen. The empire which had received them in those days when Europe rejected them from its bosom, now in its turn cast them out. But if Russia was closed, the world was reopened to them. Some weeks before this time the Spanish Government had demanded of the Emperor Alexander some Italian and Spanish Jesuits, established in his empire; and that prince, we can easily believe, had joyfully consented to their departure.† The others dispersed themselves into Austria, Italy, and France. The General of the Order went to fulfil his functions at Rome, whither the Pope had previously summoned him. The Father Rozaven, who is still alive, followed him, and he now occupies there the situation of librarian, and has been one of the successors of the learned Father Kircher in the Roman College. The Father Petrovani, less unknown than most of the members of the Company, inhabits alternately France and Spain.

All was not lost to the Roman Catholic Church in Russia by the expulsion of the Jesuits; other Roman Catholic orders are very numerous there. We there find Benedictines, Franciscans, Récollets, Bernadines, Capuchins, Augustins, Carmelites, Trinitarians, Pietists, Dominicans, the Fathers of St. Vincent de Paul, Chartreux, and Camandoline: there was therefore abundant means of replacing the Jesuits, both

\* Russian money, made of platina.

† "Quotidienne," numéro du 5<sup>me</sup> Janvier, 1820. The reaction was not long delayed, for the Constitution having been proclaimed by the army, the Cortes hastened as soon as they met to proscribe the Society of Jesuits.

in the parishes and in the colonies. The administration of Prince Galitzin had adopted the principle, that the Government ought not to appropriate anything which had belonged to the Jesuits; in consequence, their property, together with their schools and their churches, were divided among the other orders with the most exact justice. This principle has since been modified by others, who, notwithstanding the positive terms used in the decree of expulsion, have united the property of the Jesuits with those of the Crown, and have satisfied their consciences by making their revenues support Roman Catholic establishments in Russia.

---

## XVI.

Thus, with one stroke of the pen, this great measure was accomplished, and, to judge by the little attention that was paid to it by the journals of the day most devoted to the Roman Church, it might appear that it had produced but little effect in France: very short notices of the events appeared in the public papers, under the head of "News." Scarcely did the "Constitutionnel" venture to say that the Emperor of Russia had done well in banishing the Jesuits, or the "Gazette de France" to express a contrary opinion. But we must not forget, that the "Censure" had just been re-established, and it was no doubt to that cause that the Society must attribute the silence of the numerous friends it possessed in that country. One may judge that this was the case from the suppressions we find in an article in the "Défenseur," written by the heads of the Legitimist and Ultramontane party; *Russia* and *Jesuits* being nearly the only words remaining amidst a prodigious number of dashes and points,\* like

\* "Quelques Réflexions sur les Jésuits." Tome 4<sup>me</sup> du "Défenseur," p. 185. The article is signed "V. R."

ruins in a desert. But it was useless to attempt to conceal the importance of this event by the forced silence of the journals; the book "Du Pape," written by M. de Maistre, had fixed the attention of thinking men upon Russia. Let us see in what terms M. de la Mennais speaks of the Russian Church and the Greek Church, in an account of them given in the collection we have just named, and which produced a great sensation at that time.

"Equally destitute of centre or bond, they do not live; they slumber, ready to crumble to pieces as soon as the spirit of Protestantism, which has already made a rapid progress within them, shall pervade them entirely. As it appears necessary that their decomposition should be achieved before they can return into the bosom of the Universal Church, the moment of their return appears to be less near than that of other Protestant Churches, and more particularly than that of the Anglican Church, which is destined, according to M. de Maistre, to give the first signal of this desired reunion."\*

Thus Russia appeared to M. de la Mennais to be turning towards Protestantism. The last lines of the "Soirées de St. Pétersbourg," those which Joseph de Maistre was writing when the pen fell from his dying hand, were intended to combat the means by which he thought that the Russian Church was Protestantising itself. It must be understood that we are now speaking of the Bible Society,—"*inconceivable institution*," as he calls it, "so much more important than it appears at first sight." Of course, he does not hesitate to condemn the object of the Society. "Read without notes or explanation, the Holy Scriptures *are poison*," said he. "With respect to proselytism, that which displeases at Rome is worth nothing." But, notwithstanding all this, the Bible Society prospered. During the reign of Alexander, the Holy Scriptures had been printed in Russia

\* "Œuvres complètes de F. de la Mennais." Tome 8<sup>me</sup>, p. 160.

in thirty languages or dialects, and 876,000 copies issued. The number of auxiliary societies amounted to 289, and by their means the holy volume had been carried into every part of the empire. "Its influence on the various races in Russia has been immense and incalculable," writes a Russian to us, who was himself no stranger to the work. "It was one of our great means of evangelisation and civilisation." But the greater the effect produced by it, the more the Jesuits, who had failed in maintaining their position in Russia, desired the overthrow of this powerful adversary. Soon from the lands of their exile they continued to insinuate to the Russian clergy that the Bible Society would in the end undermine their authority; soon after, at Laybach and Verona, drawing nearer to ministers and sovereigns, they endeavoured to persuade them, that by encouraging the liberty of religious examination they were favouring a political and revolutionary spirit. Alexander paid no attention to these suggestions: however, to tranquillise his clergy, who were in some degree excited by them, he consented to call Séraphim, the Russian Metropolitan, to the presidency of the Bible Society. Under this new direction it lost much of its activity. In 1825, the Emperor Nicholas, scarcely seated on the throne, suspended all its operations by an ukase; and it was soon apparent that this suspension was equivalent to a suppression.

Alexander would not tolerate the Jesuits, because they laboured to bring Russia under the supremacy of Rome. Nicholas has overthrown the Bible Society, because he aspires to constitute a new unity, of which he intends to be the centre and the head. The Christian idea has then given place to the Russian idea; of course there could be no solid union between them: two principles are in view; after having subdued the first, absolute power passed into hands well inclined to take advantage of it. It turned at once against the other, and triumphed without difficulty. Now Cæsar

demands to have rendered to him, not only that which belongs to Cæsar, but also that which belongs to God.

The founder of the Russian Bible Society, the man who had taken upon himself to banish the Jesuits, the noble Prince Galitzin, to whom belongs the initiative of all the great measures undertaken in the reign of Alexander to promote the progress of Russia, has lately finished his career in the Crimea, whither he had retired, far from the grandeurs of the world, the better to prepare himself for death. His friend the Councillor Tourguéneff, a disciple of the learned and celebrated Schloezer, and prepared in his school to be an associate in those great works, survives him. But his career has long been brought to a close by the misfortunes of his brother, which were, it is said, unmerited. He is now one of the last representatives of the political and religious tendencies of the reign of Alexander, which have not been for a single day those of the reign of Nicholas.

---

Such are the events which relate to the Jesuits during the half century which has elapsed since the day when their Order, suppressed by Clement XIV., obtained a refuge in Russia, until the period of their expulsion from that empire. I guarantee the authenticity of the documents which I have made use of to trace them, and to which it is very difficult to obtain access. Their great importance will explain the eagerness with which I have taken advantage of the permission granted me to make use of them. It is an important page, and hitherto unknown, now added to the history of the Company of Jesus.

It would not justify the Russian Government, if, in their contests with the Holy See, their conduct had been arbitrary and cruel, as the Roman Catholic writers assert it to have been. Perhaps, however, by showing how the Holy See had, both in times past and recently, endeavoured to subject to

its supremacy the Russian Church and the empire of the Czars, it will in great measure explain the violence of a policy for which they had given continued cause, until, wearied by resistance, the Government in its turn became aggressive. There is in their history a time *past*, which we must not allow ourselves to forget while occupied with the present.

It is above all in showing the manner in which Jesuitism reveals itself, its spirit, its proceedings, and the ambition of the Order, that this new page appears to us so interesting. Such as we see them at this moment working in France, such they were working in Russia at the beginning of the century. The means they employ, the arguments they bring forward, the end they pursue, is the same at both periods and in both countries. We find the same care to appear insignificant until they have acquired power to usurp everything. There is the same art in offering themselves as instruments to power, until, under the pretext of assisting and securing it, they assume the dominion themselves.

In Russia, absolutism dreamt for a moment of forming an alliance with the Company; but it soon discovered that the alliance would be dangerous to absolutism itself. In constitutional countries it is impossible (at least it would be inevitable ruin) to any free government that was rash enough to attempt it. Emanating from the people, they ought to represent their tendencies as they arise, and even every modification of opinion. How could they do so if they were stereotyped to the likeness of a Society which insists upon imposing its own spirit on all ages? All would be well if theirs was the spirit of that Gospel, which is always the same, yet always in advance of time. But no—theirs is the denial of the principles which the Gospel was sent to teach. It is the retrograde spirit of its adversaries.

The struggle in Russia ended in the expulsion of the Jesuits. By the secularisation of the Jesuits we hope it may terminate in France; but we know that, after measures in-



tended to be final have been passed, much generally remains to be done—because opinions can only be overcome by opinions, tendencies by tendencies, the old spirit by the new spirit, evil by good.

In such a war it is not enough to strike your enemy, the great object is to know him ; and it is in order to make him better known that this episode in his history is given to the world.

THE END.









