

leadership. We need not waste time, says Professor Rendel Harris, in scolding the Roman pontiff for persecuting Galileo, at least until we have quite ceased to build Galileo's tomb. But still, it should have been the pope and not Galileo that said, 'And yet it moves.'

There was a man whose name was Thomas Story, 'whose life in a folio volume is one of the historical treasures of a society which more than any other has suspected that biography is the right way to make history.' One day Thomas Story went to Scarborough, to attend the Quaker meetings 'and see the high cliffs and the great variety of strata therein, and their present positions.' And he wrote a letter to his friend to tell him what were the conclusions he had come to on observing these cliffs and their strata. 'I further learned,' he wrote, 'and was confirmed in some things, as that the earth is of older date as to the beginning of it than the time assigned in the Holy Scriptures, as commonly understood, which is suited to the

common capacities of human kind, as to six days' progressive work, by which I understand certain long and competent periods of time, and not natural days, the time of the commencement and finishing of all these great works being undiscoverable by the mind of man, and hid in that short period, In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.'

When did Thomas Story write that letter? Its date, in Quaker wise, is 12th month 8th, 1738. He thus anticipated Hugh Miller and the *Vestiges of Creation* by one hundred years.

Now this was a saint's discovery, and it was made in the region of the intellect. For it was geology and not guesswork that gave Thomas Story this knowledge of the antiquity of the earth. It was the result of the observation of the strata in the cliffs at Scarborough, their thickness, and their position. Did he reach this knowledge because he was a saint? Yes, because he was a saint.

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## Ignatius Loyola.

BY PROFESSOR GEORG GRÜTZMACHER, PH.D., HEIDELBERG.

DURING the war of Charles v. with Francis I. of France, a small Spanish garrison had to hold the fortress of Pampeluna against the overwhelming numbers of a French army. All the officers were in favour of surrender except the youngest, who by his vehement words succeeded in determining them to a hopeless resistance. This was Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, of the house of Loyola, then 29 years of age, the future founder of the order of the Jesuits. With unquailing courage he stood in the breach until a cannon-ball shattered his right leg. Conveyed to the castle of his brother, he bore with admirable fortitude the pains of his situation. The wound healed slowly, and it became evident that the leg would remain stiff and shorter than the other. With unflinching soldierly spirit he allowed the bones to be broken

twice over, that the limb might be better set, and the muscles to be stretched, that they might attain the proper length; all this without a single cry of pain being suffered to pass his lips. He afterwards jestingly declared that he bore all this with the hope of being able once more to wear tight boots. It was his intention not to abandon his military career.

Don Inigo, the scion of a Basque noble family, was born in 1491, and was thus only eight years younger than Luther. He belonged to that unique mountain people which is hard as steel, full of energy, and at the same time fantastic, spiteful, and cunning, and which still supplies to Spain the most ingenious smugglers and the best officers. Brought up as a page at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, he displayed a *penchant*

for fine weapons and horses, for the adventures of duelling and of love. But as a Spanish knight he had shown also knightly reverence for the Church. On his sickbed in the castle of Loyola he asked for the Spanish knightly romance *Amadis*, but as this was not included in the primitive library, he read a Harmony of the Gospels and selections from the *Lives of the Saints*. A new being grew up in him. 'What if I were to do like the holy St. Francis or the holy St. Dominic?' The most loving and most lovable saint of the Middle Ages—St. Francis of Assisi—and the gloomy Spanish zealot—St. Dominic—are rivals for his heart. He is tossed to and fro by alternating thoughts. He dreams of a lady who is more than countess or duchess; he beholds in a dream the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms. He is too modest to put forward this dream as an actual appearance, but this vision displaces every other female figure in his heart. He determines to dedicate himself to the immaculate Virgin. Leaving his couch, he sits meditating till far into the night, and gazes at the heavens and the shining stars. 'How dark to me is the earth,' he exclaims, 'when I look up to heaven!'

In enthusiastic rapture Ignatius bids farewell to his former life. In doing so he deceives, as he himself confesses, his friends as to his plans. To any real sense for the truth he could never make claim, but for this we are not to throw all the blame upon himself. Any such sense had been early blunted in him by the ambiguous enigmatic expressions and insincere formulæ, influenced by an Oriental spirit, used in the society by which he was surrounded. Like a true Spanish cavalier, Ignatius consecrates himself as the knight of the immaculate Virgin. On the sacred Catalonian mountain, Montserrat, whose serrated peak rears itself from the plain, he hangs his weapons on the altar of Mary, and keeps watch standing or kneeling the whole night through. In the garb of a hermit, after having given away all his property, he entered the Dominican monastery at Manresa and began there to perform religious functions. Severe enough were the penances to which he subjected himself, scourging himself, for instance, three times a day. But the more he imposes excessive discipline upon himself, the darker and the more despairing is the outlook within, till he actually begins to entertain the thought of suicide. A prey thus to conflicts like those of Luther at

Erfurt, he finds deliverance through remarkable visions. He beholds Christ, as the words of transformation are uttered, descend as a bright beam into the host; he sees the holy Trinity as three organ keys bound together in harmony. Then he sets himself with all his might to combat in succession his different vices. Sin is to him the sum of individual faults—the precise opposite of the sin-consciousness of Luther, who knew only one sin, namely, the breach with God.

It was the above experiences of Ignatius that led him afterwards to the construction of his spiritual *Exercises*. On the basis of the work of the Dominican abbot, Garcia Cisnero of Manresa, Ignatius made, in his rules for these exercises, his own religious development to serve as a scheme for his followers. The object is to give a methodical guidance to meditation. The meditating subject is to reach by contemplation and prayer such an attitude of mind as to form an irrevocable resolution by means of which his life is to take a decisive turn. In entering upon the exercises one submits himself unreservedly to the guidance of the director, who supplies him with the guiding thoughts one by one according to a prescribed methodical gradation, and shows him at the same time how he is inwardly to work upon these. The whole process is divided over four weeks, and each day has its peculiar thought assigned to it. The first week is devoted to meditation upon Sin, the second upon the Life of Jesus, the third upon His Sufferings and Death, the fourth upon His Exaltation. The 'contemplations' are assigned to five different periods of the day, and last as a rule for an hour. Each of them commences with a preparatory prayer, in which the help of God's grace is invoked. Then follow two so-called 'preludes.' The first of these consists in a picturing of the place, the persons, and the circumstances of particular biblical occurrences as vividly as if one had been an immediate witness of them. One sees the angels fall, our first parents sin, the Judge condemn, hell open its abyss. He hears the Persons of the Trinity resolve upon man's redemption, he stands by the manger, or by the Jordan at Christ's baptism, or in Galilee, or in the Temple. He tarries on the mount in the company of the transfigured One, he sits with the disciples at the Lord's Supper, he loses himself in contemplation of the agonies of the suffering and dying One, he walks with the risen Lord. In the

second prelude the subject prays for a frame of mind suitable to the object of contemplation, whether this be sorrow, contrition, or holy joy. The meditation attached to the preludes moves in the same sphere of sense. The subject gazes thoughtfully at Christ as He sends out the apostles into the whole world and exhorts them to poverty and despising of the world, and as He strengthens them for victory. He places himself in spirit in the Holy Family and ministers to Joseph, to the Virgin, to the Child. He is required to carry the intensity of sensible perception to its extreme height in the so-called application of the senses. During the first week he is to be so penetrated with the consciousness of his sin and liability to condemnation as to perceive hell with his five senses: he beholds the dreary regions lit up with the fire-glow, he hears the cry of despair which goes up from the abyss in lamentations and blasphemy, he smells the sulphur smoke and the noisome stench, he tastes the bitterness of all the tears shed there, he feels in his own members the flames in whose blaze souls burn. In these exercises Ignatius further insists that even the outward mien of the subject is to correspond with the object of contemplation. During the first week his windows are darkened, he casts himself on the ground, and imposes various forms of abstinence on himself. In the last week, on the other hand, all breathes joy, the sunshine is to penetrate into his cell, he is to procure himself comforts and take his seat by the warm hearth. The most noteworthy point to observe is that Ignatius is no common enthusiast, he is an enthusiast with consciousness, the most careful economist in the matter of his enthusiasms. Thus the visions in the above exercises are not an end in themselves, they are a means to spiritual discipline. That the contents of the Catholic doctrine of salvation may be impressed upon the mind, the imagination is compelled to picture these to itself in the most glowing colours, and so the orthodox believer becomes assured of the things beyond. At the close of the exercises he is expected to be firmly established in the faith of the Church. And so he receives, on appropriate occasions, counsels for attending to church ordinances, such as pilgrimages, indulgences, veneration of relics, adoration of saints, building of churches. He is to come to submit his judgment to the decision of the Church, to call that black which his eye sees

to be white, if such be the Church's pleasure. Jesuitism shows itself in the exercises as a cooled enthusiasm, it is a calculating piety, a conscious calling up of emotions, a mode of keeping, as it were, an exact account of one's own feelings. Ignatius leads the soul to a kind of see-saw between illusions of its own fancy, that it may finally submit itself absolutely to the Church.

After Ignatius had gained his end at Manresa, he mitigated the ascetic rigour of his life; he even abandoned the hermit's garb and once more cut his hair and nails. The former officer woke up again, and in reference to monks who gloried in neglect of their personal appearance he declared: 'One who loves poverty need not on that account love dirt as well.' Trusting to alms to support him, he started in 1523 on a pilgrimage to Palestine. As a true Spaniard, who still lived quite in the spirit of the Crusades, he felt the utmost pleasure in his stay in Jerusalem, where heaven had kissed earth. When his caravan was about to leave the city for home, he hastened once more to the Mount of Olives to kiss yet again the footprints of Christ, which He left on the rock on the occasion of His ascension. On reaching home he set himself to acquire the theological learning of his time before beginning his work—not like the holy St. Francis, who, without any theology but simply with the sacrifice of love to the Saviour of souls, set himself to labour on behalf of the followers of the poor Christ. At the age of 33 Ignatius took his seat among the boys of Barcelona to learn the elements of Latin. After two years he entered the university of Alcalá, where he studied the scholastic theology, but without losing sight of his practical aim. Here he came into conflict with the Inquisition. The future founder of the Jesuit order was called to account as a heretic. He was accused of belonging to the Allumbrados, a harmless sect of enthusiasts who set themselves to cultivate the habit of silent prayer. The spiritual exercises which Ignatius, along with some companions in Alcalá, practised, were the occasion of the charge. He was prohibited from teaching publicly until he should have completed a four years' course of study in theology. Thence he went to Salamanca to continue his studies, but was once more thrown into the danger of the Inquisition, where he remained a prisoner for forty-two days. The most zealous defender of the Catholic Church had almost ended his days on the pyre of the Inquisi-

tion! Although he was acquitted, he was marked in the eyes of Spaniards with an ineffaceable stain. A prophet has no honour in his own country, and so he directed his steps elsewhere.

Leaving his ungrateful fatherland, he betakes himself in 1528 to Paris. At the age of 36 he goes through the philosophical and theological course at that university of ancient fame, whose star, however, had begun to pale. He sits at the feet of the same teacher as John Calvin. Here he gathers around him a circle of students, with whom he practises the spiritual exercises. These disciples he selects with the greatest skill. He finds an adherent of enthusiastic loyalty in the poor Savoyard shepherd, Peter Faber, a man of as inflexible will as of gross superstition—afterwards the pioneer of Jesuitism in Germany. Side by side with Faber he gains the attachment of the noble Basque, Francis Xavier, who afterwards laboured as an ardent missionary in India, China, and Japan. The friendly band is joined by the two Castilians, Diego Lainez and Alonso Salmeron—the first the most notable theological intelligence of the order, a youth with the head of an old man, a cold species of intellect, the most influential theologian at the Council of Trent; the second a remarkable combination of cunning, fearlessness, and fire. Lastly, Ignatius gains over the restless Spaniard, Bobadilla, and the gloomy Portuguese ascetic, Rodriguez, both of them personalities whose selfwill even Ignatius himself could not break. In the church of St. Mary at Montmartre, on the anniversary of the Assumption of the Virgin, in the year 1534, the little band takes a vow to devote themselves to mission work in Palestine, or, in the event of insuperable difficulties preventing this, to place themselves at the disposal of the pope to be employed in any way for the cure of souls. What was at the outset merely a last shift became afterwards the mark of the Jesuit order.

In 1536 the companions, who meanwhile had received priestly ordination, met in the city of Venice, intending to proceed to Palestine. Loyola found that John Peter Caraffa was also here. These two great personages of the counter-Reformation met. One in aim, they were both too independent to yield either of them to the other. Loyola the Spaniard, Caraffa the Neapolitan, these national antagonisms heightened the strain. Caraffa, the founder of the Theatine order, favoured

a rigid monkhood, with abandonment of preaching and cure of souls. He invited the companions of Ignatius to join his order, but Ignatius declined. Caraffa took offence, he could not brook contradiction, and afterwards, as Pope Paul IV., a fanatical old man, he continued to pursue Ignatius with the hatred of one who has been surpassed by a greater, and declared the Jesuit order to be a plagiarism from his own institution.

The naval war between Venice and Turkey made the voyage to the Holy Land impossible. Accordingly, in 1537, Ignatius and his band betook themselves to Rome, intending to place themselves at the pope's disposal for care of the sick, but especially for street preaching and the instruction of children. At the street corners they would mount on pillars, wave their hats, invite passers-by to listen, and then began their discourse whether many or few assembled round them. The men, with their foreign garb, with their strange demeanour and their half-Spanish, half-Italian dialect, drew attention to themselves. The improvised street sermon began to tell. Now also Ignatius discovered—the Jesuits have always regarded the coining of the title as an inspiration—the proper name, Company of Jesus, *i.e.* not companions of Jesus, but, in a military sense, host of Jesus. They had no intention of setting up as a new order. Without any special costume, and entering freely into all relations of life, they were willing to undertake any duty the pope might assign to them. The reigning pope, Paul III., had himself no hearty interest, but only a politic one in the projects of Loyola. Alexander Farnese was a genuine child of the Renaissance. In the gardens of Lorenzo Medici at Florence he had imbibed an elegant learning and acquired the æsthetic sense of the period. He acknowledged a natural son, Pier Luigi, and a natural daughter, Margaret. This enlightened humanist, who liked to express himself only in classical Latin, cherished a belief in the gross superstition of astrology. He never called together a *consistorium* of cardinals, when there was an unlucky conjunction of heavenly bodies. Under Paul III. the Catholic Reformation movement achieved its triumph. After Ignatius had for the eighth time undergone a process at the hands of the Inquisition, and had been completely exonerated of all suspicion of heresy, the pope, in spite of the violent opposition of Caraffa, gave his sanction to the Company of Jesus, at first

with limitation of its membership to sixty, a restriction which, however, was dropped after three years.

From burning enthusiasm Ignatius had now developed far-seeing worldly wisdom. He had meant originally to be a preacher of repentance, now the sincere glow of his piety was exchanged for crafty and stubborn diplomacy. He had no interest in an internal reform of the Church, he took no offence at the life of Paul III. 'Our supreme lord is not to be troubled with counsels for the bettering of his conscience.' For the Church and the popedom, as it is or as it was in the Middle Ages, he is ready to fight and conquer. Preaching, religious instruction, missionary work are specified in the bull that authorized the new society as its chief commissions. Paul III. gave to it the important permission to alter its constitution according to the aims of the order, and in this way it acquired unexampled elasticity and vitality. In 1545 the Jesuits received the important right of preaching everywhere, and of hearing confession by its priests, and even of pronouncing absolution in many cases that had been hitherto reserved for the pope. With extraordinary rapidity the order diffused itself after the papal sanction. In 1550 Loyola founded a college at Paris, which, however, gained ground only slowly, owing to the opposition of the university. In 1554 the university of Paris, which had also banned Luther, still condemned the Jesuits 'as dangerous to the faith, inclined to disturb the peace of the Church, and to overthrow monkish orders, and tending more to destruction than to edification.' In 1551 the *Collegium Romanum* was founded upon lines drawn up by Ignatius himself, a type of the Jesuit system of education which is founded upon the instant rendering of unconditional obedience in all things by all. An important affiliated institution was the *Collegium Germanicum*, the chief source of disturbance in Germany.

On the 4th April 1541 Ignatius was chosen as General of the order. He hesitated about accepting the dignity. We may not stigmatize his conduct as hypocrisy, it was his way of practising humility. The constitution of the society demanded from every member unconditional obedience, to the point even of sacrifice of intellect, 'as if he were a corpse which suffers itself to be handled in any part and in any fashion, or the staff of an old man which serves him that holds it in his

hand everywhere and always, however or wherever he pleases to use it.' At the same time Ignatius requires the cultivation of individuality, but the submission of those who have been thus trained to his rules. The order constitutes a vast mechanism, in which all the wheels have their place assigned them and their motion given them by a single will. Each member has to pass through a severe novitiate, in which he has to practise the spiritual exercises. All relations with the world outside have to be dissolved. It is a holy counsel to accustom oneself to say that one *had* parents and brothers, not that one *has* them. The members of the order take the three monkly vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, but the vow of poverty does not exclude the possession of property by the colleges. A fourth vow is taken only by the narrowest circle of the order, the 'professed'; it has regard to obedience to the pope in the matter of missions among heathen and heretics. Monkish asceticism is dispensed with; attention to the body and moderate indulgence of bodily appetites are specially prescribed in order to adapt the body to the work required by the spirit. It is strictly forbidden to mortify the body. Ignatius did away also with the holding of common hours for prayer. The aim of the order is no longer guidance and contemplation, but work in the world in the service of the Church. Immense success was achieved by the order through preaching, the confessional, and education. It put a decisive check on the spread of Protestantism, and succeeded in re-catholicizing large Protestant domains. Through its missions, moreover, it won a huge territory for the Romish Church. The Jesuits exhibited an unlimited world-wide activity, which pushes its way at once in the Andes and the Alps, sends its spies alike to Thibet and Scandinavia, and strives for State authority in England as well as in China. And on this boundless stage everywhere there is fresh and tireless activity, and the impulse from the central point still animates with living power every worker, even at the farthest point. A great part of this success Ignatius himself lived to see. At his death, on 31st July 1556, he left his order a society of more than 1000 members, with 100 settlements in twelve provinces, including Brazil, the East Indies, and Abyssinia.

Ignatius not only gave to the Company of Jesus its outward constitution and its aims, he also gave

it its animating soul. It is true he had as successors in the generalship of the order three notable men, Diego Lainez, Francis Borja, and Claudio Aquaviva. These maintained the work handed on to them by him, but it would be false to speak of them as new founders of his creation. Ignatius far surpasses them all in insight, mental power, and ambition to signalize himself. But during those very last ten years, when a great field of work was opening up for the order, Ignatius was ageing fast. His weak bodily frame had been almost worn out with his exertions and mental conflicts. In outward appearance he had completely changed. The long black hair, of which the vain young officer had taken such care, had long disappeared, and the strongly developed contour of his head showed itself plainly. The delicate outline of the small face, the powerful aristocratic nose, the mouth bespeaking self-control, and equally at home in speech or in silence, the deep black-shaded sockets in which a pair of calm piercing eyes sparkled, a countenance as inscrutable as the character concealed behind it!

Ignatius was in every way a striking, original, and powerful personality; yet how different this man, to whom the counter-Reformation owed its origin, from the reformer Luther! Luther, who never heard the name of Loyola, for the epoch-making activity of the latter began only after Luther's death, proclaimed the freedom of a Christian man who is his own priest and subject to none; Loyola proclaimed the closest enchainment of the intelligence, the bondage of will and

thought. Luther addressed himself to the great eternal feelings of humanity, its deepest misery on account of sin, and its sense of the need of redemption; Loyola to the instincts of sense and to the imagination, which he uses skilfully but cuts off from all reality. Ignatius was blunt and unscrupulous in the use of means for attaining his ends, in fact the end hallowed for him any means; Luther was unreservedly true, he might be dogmatically unjust, but always straight to the point. Ignatius turned to courts and princes, Luther to the nation. Both had natures born to rule, but Luther by the weight of his personality, Ignatius by means of superintendence and denunciation. Luther a hero and yet simple as a child to the last; Ignatius first a fiery enthusiast and then a clever ecclesiastical politician! Luther with strong passions, yet always pure, a true husband, a loving father; Ignatius first a gallant officer and then a homeless man, with neither family nor national feeling! Both completely dominated by the cause for which they contended, but Ignatius a defender of the unimpeachable system of the Church of the Middle Ages; Luther not only an ecclesiastical but a religious reformer! Ignatius created with skill and success one of the greatest masterpieces ever conceived by the human mind, he saved the Romish Church and reconquered wide tracts for her; Luther showed men the way to a deeper truer Christian piety and a sounder morality, he impressed once more upon the heart of Christians the old and yet ever new gospel of God reconciled in Christ.

## Requests and Replies.

What is the distinction between *πίστις* and *πεποιθήσις*, and what is the relation between them?—W. H. G. T.

THE word *πεποιθήσις*, which is late Greek, is found in the N.T. only in the Pauline Epistles, 2 Co 1<sup>15</sup> 3<sup>4</sup> 8<sup>22</sup> 10<sup>2</sup>, Ph 3<sup>4</sup>, and Eph 3<sup>12</sup>. It occurs once in the LXX for *יִתְקַבֵּל* (2 K 18<sup>19</sup>).

In distinction to *πίστις*, St. Paul seems to use it as denoting the attitude of joyful confidence which accompanies or follows upon the exercise of *πίστις*, more particularly when the latter is used in its highest Pauline sense of personal adhesion to

Christ. This comes out very clearly in Eph 3<sup>12</sup>, the only passage where the two expressions occur together—*ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ*. Amidst the wealth of synonymous expressions here employed, Calvin finds three steps or stages in the believer's progress clearly marked. There is, first, the faith in the promises of God, or, as we should rather say, in Christ Jesus our Lord. There is, next, the confidence resulting from this faith, and issuing in a good and peaceful mind. And this again is followed by the boldness with which we