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JESUIT ACTIVITY IN THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION IN BAVARIA

**A Thesis presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary**

**in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of**

Bachelor of Divinity

By

Frank Joseph Bauer, B.A.

**Saint Louis, Missouri
1943**

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Introduction

The Catholic Reformation may be defined as "all that was done on the part of the Catholics to hinder the progress of the Protestant Reformation."

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already occupied regions. The Jesuits' share of this work was done by the Jesuits. This order was founded in 1540, and this order is often given the besting of the Catholic Reformation. They found and at peak performance in these countries in which the Reformation had made serious inroads. This was true of Bavaria. It is to the credit of the Jesuits that the Reformation was not carried out in Bavaria.

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It was possible that the Jesuits had a large share of the Reformation work in Bavaria. The Jesuits were the leading force of the Reformation, but that Reformation was not a Reformation by the Jesuits - Jesuit Reformation, with the intention of Jesuit order in Germany generally, and in Bavaria particularly, was not a Reformation by the Jesuits. This was a Reformation by the Jesuits.

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In fact, many of the Jesuits who were active in the Reformation were political agents. The Jesuits were

Introduction

The Catholic Reformation may be defined as "all that was done on the part of the Catholics to hinder the progress of the sixteenth century Reformation and to reconquer the already occupied regions." The lion's share of this work was done by the Jesuits. This order was founded in 1540, and this date is often given for the beginning of the Catholic Reformation. They functioned at peak performance in those countries in which the Reformation had made serious inroads. This was true for most of Germany. It is to one of the principalities of Germany - Bavaria, to which we turn our attention to observe the Jesuits at work.

It was evident that in Germany such a blunt force as the Inquisition would never bring desired results as it did in Spain. The Inquisition never became the peculiar tool of the Jesuits, for that institution was used - particularly by the Dominicans - against heretics, while the subjects of Jesuit action in Germany generally, and in Bavaria particularly, were still considered Catholics, albeit with heretical tendencies. Heresy and treason were not synonymous terms in Germany. In fact, many of the princes and rulers opposed the Roman Church on political grounds. The Inquisition,

which needs the support of the state to be effective (the Roman church claims that the institution itself is civil) was impossible in Germany. This land required an institution which would win back Catholics inclined toward Lutheranism and regain their full loyalty for the church. The German people were falling victim to Lutheranism, although they seemed to have no conscious intention of deserting the established church. They either objected to or condoned and followed evils within the church, and if these evils would be removed, they would have neither brief against Rome nor sanction for their wicked life. Germany was really not in need of a counter-reformation, but of a Catholic reformation.

The founder of the Jesuit order, Ignatius Loyola, looked upon Germany as a real challenge. "It is there," he said, "that the pest of heresy has exposed men to graver dangers than elsewhere." ¹ Here was the proving ground for his principles. His whole system was implemented to regain antagonistic or indifferent adherents through persuasion and conviction. His followers were organized in a militaristic fashion under command of the General of the order. Obedience to him, and through him to the pope as the representative of the historic Roman church, was the first requisite for joining the order. The establishing and confirming of faith in this papal institution was the "greater glory of God" to which the Jesuits

1. Edward Hulme, The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe, revised edition, p. 422.

were pledged. Only after they themselves had experienced the joy and glory of this faith - obtained through use of the "Spiritual Exercises" and complete submersion of the will to the principles of the order - were they sent to convert and bring others to the same glory. The success of the Jesuits in combatting Lutheranism among the German people lay in this fact that they themselves by their good conduct and pious life were the best argument against heresy and for the Catholic church. It was obvious that their piety and zeal was not a weapon which they were employing temporarily against Lutheranism, but an integrate part of their souls, sincere and unapologetic. "The Jesuits of this early period were different from those of the two centuries which followed - no probabilism or end justifying the means - but undaunted men who overcame all difficulties, trained boys and girls, made the youth go to Mass and confession and study doctrine, and elevated obedience as a religious principle." They supplied the Catholic Reformation with the "Spanish spirit" of their founder who dreamed of nothing but conquest. "Repression might stamp out reformers, but faith, enthusiasm, unselfish and self-denying work were needed to enable the Roman church to assume the offensive - the Jesuits supplied this."³

During the Reformation Bavaria had remained the center

2. Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 611.

3. Ibidem, p. 606.

of scholasticism and a stronghold of priests and monks. Tetsel had established his indulgence sale here; there was great laxity of morals among the clergy as Eck at one time reported to the Cardinal-legate Contarini.⁴ The externals of the Lutheran Reformation found great acceptance with the people. The ruler during Reformation days was William IV, by birth a good Catholic but "by nature incapable of passionate adherence to any religious principle."⁵ In 1547 he married a daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I, and this ended Bavaria's political rivalry with Austria. The Count was now free to devote himself to the task of establishing Catholic conformity in his dominions. He pursued this work only because he was convinced that the fortunes of his royal house, that of Wittelsbach, were inseparably connected with the cause of Catholicism. The nobles in Bavaria were inclined toward the Reformation, so the Count allied himself with the church against the nobles, an old story in history. And the nobles were moved by political reasons in their religious persuasion. They saw that where the Roman Church was ousted in other countries in Germany, the nobles absorbed the ecclesiastical lands and their revenues - reason enough for them to favor Protestantism!⁶

The purpose of William to re-establish the Roman church in

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4. Chr. Neudecker, Geschichte des Evangelischen Protestantismus in Deutschland, p. 433.
 5. Walter Goetz, "Albert V of Bavaria and the Counter-Reformation," in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, vol. 1, p. 104.
 6. A.W. Ward, "The Empire under Ferdinand I and Maximilian II," in The Cambridge Modern History, vol. 3, p. 140.

Bavaria was accomplished "not by the native clergy, to a large extent unmannered and unlearned, and distinguishable from the peasantry chiefly by their greater licence of life," but by the Jesuits, a resolute and devoted external agency "which had here early taken in hand what it regarded as its proper work."⁷

7. Ibidem, p. 160.

I

Beginning and Progress of Jesuit Activity in Bavaria

A. Early Jesuit Influence under William IV (1508 - 1550)

The first Jesuits who entered Germany were Faber, Le Jay, and Bobadilla. Loyola had sent them, Faber in 1540 and the other two in the following year. They were to report on the general spiritual condition of Germany. Faber went into the Rhine territory, and his greatest contribution to the order, like that of the disciple Andrew, was his winning of the man who was to become known as the "Second Apostle to German" - Peter Canisius. Canisius, a theological student at this time, was attracted to the Jesuits through his inclination to mysticism. Faber explained the Exercitia Spiritualia to him and induced him to undergo the course of discipline which they prescribed. So he was won for Loyola and the order. Faber seemed to sense what a great catch he had made. He wrote to his General: "He is the man I have been seeking - if he is a man, and not an angel of the Lord." Nor was this much of an overstatement, for "what the Church in Germany needed at this juncture was not so much a fiery defender of the faith, or a scholar to taunt the heretics in finely-pointed sarcasm with their want of learning, as a saint, demonstrating in his own life the beauty of holiness, while

8. Thomas Lindsay, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 557.

laying aside polemics, he expounded the philosophy of Catholic doctrine . . . such a man was . . . Blessed Peter Canisius.⁹"

Le Jay went to Vienna and became a great favorite of the German king, Ferdinand I. Bobadilla began operations in Bavaria, and almost spoiled the future for the Jesuits in this country. At Regensburg he injudiciously launched out in a speech against Lutheranism during a religious conference between Lutheran and Catholic theologians. The Emperor Charles V was eager for the parties to come to an agreement, and so unify the empire, which was his firm hope. Nor was this impossible at the time, since the great mass of medieval doctrines lay uncodified - they remained so until Trent - and the conciliating Cardinal Contarini was representing the pope. No wonder that Bobadilla exasperated the emperor. And the people of Regensburg were so enraged that they would have thrown him into the Danube had he not escaped under cover of night. He came to the capital, Munich, where, after several years, he managed to win the favor of the duke, William IV (1508 - 1550). He convinced the duke to oppose the so-called "Interim" which the emperor wished to introduce all over Germany in the year 1548, but he unwisely made some insulting remarks about Charles, who promptly banished Bobadilla out of Germany. However, Bobadilla had obtained a promise from

9. J.M. Stone, Studies from Court and Cloister, p. 105.

William that he would erect a Collegium for the order in
 10
 Bavaria.

In the spring of 1548 William requested the pope to send two Jesuits to lecture at the university in Ingolstadt. The duke mentioned nothing in his request concerning a Jesuit Collegium but did write that he would like to have Le Jay, who had once given lectures at the university. The pope sent this request to Loyola, who was more than willing to comply with it. In fact, he sent three of his followers to Bavaria. Canisius and Salmeron were chosen to go with Le Jay to Ingolstadt. Their first stop was at the university of Bologna, where, upon the express wish of Loyola, the latter two received the doctor's degree, a requisite for a university professor and essential for establishing the members of the order on an equal basis with the university professors. The trio arrived at the university of Ingolstadt on the 13th day of November, 1549, an auspicious day not only for the university and Bavaria, but for all of Germany. Here the beginning of the Catholic Reformation was made, and from this university, city, and country the heralds of the envigored Catholicism made their sallies against the ignorance and wickedness of the
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 clergy and laity and against the heresy of the Reformation.

The Jesuits began their work at the university under dis-

10. Theodor Griesinger, The Jesuits, 3rd ed., p. 215.
 11. Paul Drews, Petrus Canisius, p. 26.

couraging circumstances. There was nothing left of the theological faculty. After the great scholastic professor, Johann Eck, had died in 1543, one man had lectured in theology: Leonhard Marstaller, and since his decease in 1546 there was no one at all in the theological department. The students were known for their dissipation and revelings and the professors for their immoralities. Few of the instructors were good Catholics, and none of them showed any concern for his students. Worse, some of them were teaching Lutheran heresy, and Luther's writings were in the hands of the students. In general the students had no zeal for their studies and much less for theology. Spiritually, the common people were no better. Canisius wrote to the secretary of his General at this time that "nichts als der Name des Katholizismus ist noch vorhanden."¹² The people neglected the Sacraments, failed to attend Mass, and went without prayer and holy exercises. Fasts were dispensed with, feasts were forgotten, and the clergy was despised. When the Jesuits first said Mass at Ingolstadt, one or two was the usual congregation. Canisius, after reporting the above in his letter, ended with a plea to his fellow Jesuits to pray so that where sin is so powerful,¹³ grace should be more powerful.

Canisius diagnosed the situation correctly from the beginning. This laxity in doctrine and life among the people

12. Ibidem, p. 28.

13. Ibidem, p. 28.

was usually not an indication of wilful rejection of the old church and of an intention to leave it. They were merely following the example of the clergy in their unorthodoxy and immorality. They had been exposed to Lutheran doctrine and practice and had almost unknowingly incorporated them into their thought and life. It happened frequently that a congregation would sing a Lutheran hymn with gusto. Often the children of a parish were instructed by means of Luther's Catechism. At some places the Sacrament was administered in both kinds. The people had to be won back to the old faith and life, and the clergy and nobility had to be consecrated to the work of rooting out all anti-Catholic principles and of affirming the tenets and practices of the ancient faith. William IV had attempted such a reform, which he considered his holy duty and to his political advantage, and had not hesitated to use force. But he abandoned this method quickly for it effected no change either in the people or the clergy. The Jesuits, however, ¹⁴ accomplished the reform by other means.

They began their reformatory work with the powerful and effective weapon of example. With courage and determination they lived and walked in impeccable piety. Their whole activity in Ingolstadt was propaganda for this ideal of Catholic piety. At the university they began their classes with prayer - unheard of before. Nor did they restrict their con-

14. Ibidem, p. 26 - 29.

tact with the students to the classroom, but they would meet with them in small groups, always with the purpose of bringing them to regular use of the Sacrament and of the "Spiritual Exercises." They revived debating to foster interest and zeal among the students. Congregations of Mary were organized among the students and also for the young people of Ingolstadt to urge frequent confession and reception of the sacrament. They visited the sick (Canisius even preached to lepers) and distributed alms, acts of Christian charity long neglected by the Bavarian clergy. That all this was in sharp distinction to the lack of spirituality of the whole city impressed the people all the more and made the pious example of the Jesuits shine all the brighter. Yet, after a half-year of such activity, Le Jay complained to the ducal councillor, George Stockhammer, that their activity was bearing little fruit and insinuated that this was due to the failure to carry out William's promise to Bobadilla to erect a Collegium for the Jesuits where a pious clergy could be trained and the youth indoctrinated and established in the faith. The opportunity to express these sentiments definitely came when the duke's chancellor, Leonhard von Eck, visited Ingolstadt. Le Jay made it quite clear that a Jesuit Collegium was the only means to overcome the hostility in the university toward theology and to rejuvenate Bavaria's feeble Catholicism. The chancellor was convinced, and the duke was no less impressed by the argument. An exchange of zealous letters between Munich and Ingolstadt pointed to an early con-

clusion of the project. Only the pope's approval for reallocation of the income from several monastic estates to support the institution was needed. Then, on the 6th of March, 1550, William IV died, followed in death eleven days later by his faithful chancellor.¹⁵

B. Establishment of the Jesuits under Albert V (1550 - 1579)

The sudden death of William was a blow to the Jesuit cause, for his successor, Albert V (1550 - 1579), was suspicious of them at first. At this time he had little sympathy for these "Spanish priests."¹⁶ So while he was quite satisfied to have them teach at the university he was loath to carry out the plan of his predecessor. Le Jay tried to make the most of his casual acquaintance with the new chancellor, George Stockhammer, to win him and the duke for the Jesuit Collegium, but in vain. The Jesuits, of course, were not at all satisfied. Loyola threatened to withdraw his men from Ingolstadt. Albert seemed unconcerned. Loyola promptly sent Le Jay to Vienna and called Salmeron back to Italy. However, Nicholas Gaudanus and Peter Schorich were soon dispatched to fill these vacancies, although the latter remained in Ingolstadt for only a short while, leaving to join Le Jay in Vienna.

Gaudanus remained with Canisius whose zeal and enthusiasm were undaunted. On October 18, 1550, he was elected temporary

15. Ibidem, p. 30 - 31.

16. Gustav Droysen, Geschichte der Gegenreformation, p. 235.

rector of the university, despite the statute forbidding a member of the regular clergy to hold this office. He accepted upon the express wish of Loyola who saw what influence Canisius might exercise from this office. The Jesuit held the rectorship for six months and used this time to institute a reform. He visited the parents of the more licentious students and asked them to watch more carefully over the conduct of their sons. He did everything to remove Lutheran writings from the university and persuaded the duke to endorse an index of prohibited books. Yet he was wise enough not to press matters too far and arouse the antagonism of either the professors or students. When the new rector was elected, Albert showed his friendliness toward the Jesuits by offering Canisius the vice-chancellorship. But there was a condition which prevented an immediate acceptance of this honor: the office included a position in the cathedral chapter of Eichstadt, which would not only somewhat restrict the activity of Canisius but also place him under jurisdiction of the bishop. Albert made a trip to Rome to see Loyola and obtain permission for Canisius to accept this office. Satisfactory arrangements were made. Loyola did not fail to use this opportunity to impress upon the duke the need for a Jesuit Collegium in Bavaria, but Albert left without making any definite promise.

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17. Paul Drews, op. cit., p. 32.

Perhaps Albert's reluctance to do more for the Jesuits can be explained by the success which attended their efforts in their present circumstance. Just about this time Canisius reported the following to his general:¹⁸

"Abgesehen von unserer günstigen Stellung an der Universität, so ist der Zulauf zu meinen Predigten so gross, dass die Kirche die Menge nicht fassen kann, obgleich ich schon gewechselt und eine andere, weit geräumigere und bequemere Kirche gewählt habe. Dank sei dem ewigen Gott, dass er mir eine so wohlwollende, ausdauernde und fleissige Zuhörerschaft gegeben hat, obwohl die Aussprache zum Teil noch unvollkommen ist. (Canisius preached in high German, while he was conversant with low German.) Ich glaube, dass kein Priester hier zu Lande mehr Volk zur Messe hat, und sie sind so andächtig, dass sie gegen alle Gewohnheit bis zum Ende bleiben, wenn ich predige. Und der Herr zeigt und öffnet dazu verschiedene Wege, um mit dem Volke in Verkehr und den Kranken, Gefangenen und Entzweiten durch fromme Werke nahe zu kommen, so dass ein ähnlicher Erfolg bisher unter den Bürgern nicht geerntet worden ist. . . "

In regard to the progress at the university Canisius wrote the following shortly afterwards:¹⁹

"Während die anderen Lehrer ihre Vorlesungen aussetzten, hat Nikolaus Gaudanus die seinen nie unterbrochen, nicht einmal in den Hundstagen. Die Hörer sind gegen den Anfang ums Doppelte gewachsen. Alle halten ihn in höchsten Ehren und hören ihn mit Erfolg, da er ja nach seiner Art die Ethik des Aristoteles so auslegt, als läse er über einen heiligen Gegenstand. Durch freundschaftlichen Verkehr hat er den deutschen Jünglingen sehr gedient, und es sind ihrer wenige, die nicht an fast allen Festtagen beichten und kommunizieren. So etwas hat man vormals nicht gesehen. Wir haben verschiedene Predigten eingerichtet, wobei sich die Studenten üben, die uns vertrauter sind; und so erreicht man, sie wirksamer in der Frömmigkeit zur fördern. Wir

18. Ibidem, p. 33.

19. Ibidem, p. 34.

haben auch einige Privatvorlesungen neu eingeführt, um ihre Zuneigung mehr zu gewinnen und um sie in ihrem guten Anfang immermehr zu befestigen. So wächst uns hier unter den Händen von Tag zu Tag der Erfolg, und das gereicht uns zu nicht geringem Troste und den anderen zur Verwunderung. Es ist hierorts ohne Beispiel, dass jetzt so viele zum Gottesdienste kommen und unsere Arbeit begehren. . . Ausser in den theologischen Vorlesungen, zu denen sich sehr viele einfinden, besonders seit ich das Johannesevangelium zu erklären begonnen habe, predige ich schon seit vier Monaten in deutscher Sprache. Die Güte Gottes hat dies mein Amt gesegnet. Und obwohl die Aussprache sehr schwierig ist, verstehen mich doch alle, und das Volk strömt in Haufen herbei mich zu hören. . . Möge es Gott gefallen, dass die Frucht grösser sei, als der Beifall und die Zahl der Hörer. Auch die Magistratspersonen und die Vornehmen kommen aus freien Stücken."

Albert was no doubt pleased and satisfied with these results and could not see the advisability of establishing another institution which would be an addition drain on the ducal treasury. When Loyola realized this, he removed his men from Ingolstadt - this time all of them - for the second time. He managed to do it in such a way as not to offend the duke and yet make him conscious of the fact that it was a punitive measure. The Emperor Ferdinand, having heard that Loyola was planning to transfer his men from Ingolstadt, wrote him that they would be welcome at Vienna. On January 12, 1552, the Jesuit general wrote two letters - one to the emperor, the other to Albert. To the former he wrote that he was immediately inclined to accept his invitation unconditionally, but the pope had decided that the Jesuits should absent themselves from Ingolstadt only until a Jesuit Collegium would be established there. To the latter he wrote that he had persuaded

the pope from his purpose to recall the Jesuits from Ingolstadt unconditionally, rather to make their return dependent upon the founding of the Jesuit institution. So any possible ill feeling against Loyola and the order was averted, while the main thing of urging Albert to found a Collegium was forcibly impressed.²⁰

Canisius left for Vienna with his companion in the spring of 1552. Here he prepared, upon the suggestion of the Emperor, his Summa Doctrinae Christianae (1554) and an abridgment of it in the form of Luther's catechism. This was translated into German under the title, Principles of Christian Piety.²¹ Canisius became the confessor and private advisor of Ferdinand and administered the affairs of the diocese of Vienna during a long episcopal interregnum.²²

Meanwhile, Albert did not forget the Jesuits and kept in touch with Canisius through his councillor, Wigulejus Hund. Canisius always showed great desire to return to Ingolstadt - if the condition would be met. Finally Albert gave indication that he was ready to comply. But the Jesuits did not immediately respond, for he stipulated that the order should supply twenty professors for the university. The duke's interest in the Jesuits is clear enough; he wanted them to maintain the fine reputation and high standards which they had brought to the Ingolstadt university. Canisius was opposed to this con-

20. Ibidem, p. 35.

21. Theodor Griesinger, op. cit., p. 223.

22. Thomas Lindsay, op. cit., p. 559.

dition (seemingly contrary to the wish of Loyola, who, wisely enough, however, left the matter in his follower's hands), for he argued that unless the Jesuits were placed over the regular professors at the university, the order would suffer. The regular professors could be expected to object to the disciplinary measures and reformatory principles of the Jesuit instructors. Canisius was not interested in building up the university, but in obtaining an establishment for the Jesuits in Ingolstadt in which they could educate the youth in all branches of learning and train future members of the order.

Between November 27th and December 7th, 1555, Canisius met with representatives of the duke in Ingolstadt to see if some agreement could be reached. From the first the Jesuit demanded a complete Collegium, including a separate training school and living quarters for Jesuit candidates. He also asked for a new church and an endowment for it and for the Collegium. But Canisius was unable to win the duke's representatives for his plan. He could not overcome their objection that it was senseless to erect a separate training school when there was a theological department at the university, that it would be an insult to the clergy of the city to erect another church, but, above all, that the plan would require a great amount of money, and the duke was in financial straits already. Albert was a great patron of the arts, and this interest of his was costly. He subsidized Orlando di Lasso, and the copper-engraver, Hugo

Goltzius, found a living at his court. Paintings, statues, old manuscripts - practically any objet d'art captured the fancy of Albert, and he could never refrain from purchase. It is said that it is impossible to study the antiques and art treasures of this period without being reminded again and again that this and that was once in the collection of Albert
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of Bavaria.

So the Jesuits had to be satisfied with concessions. From twelve to twenty candidates, approved by the duke, could be trained by the Jesuits at a Collegium theologicum connected with the university. It was endowed with an annual fund of 1500 Gulden. The order had to furnish two theological professors for the university and maintain a school for the poor. Further, the Jesuits were to serve the duke in any religious matter. Although the order was entrusted with the administration of the Collegium, it was under the jurisdiction of the university rector and the Jesuits were bound by the statutes of the theological faculty, except where freed by privileges of the order. Loyola dispatched a letter which contained a proposed constitution for the Collegium, so phrased, that had it been adopted, it would have made the newly established institution as independent of the university as Canisius first
24
had hoped it would be.

Yet there were certain political developments which

23. Karl Brandi, Deutsche Reformation und Gegenreformation,
vol. 2, p. 48.
24. Paul Drews, op. cit., p. 56.

threatened to prevent the successful conclusion of these proposals.²⁵ In a declaration of March 21, 1556, Albert gave great concessions to his nobles who had demanded freedom from celibacy and fasting for the clergy and communion in both kinds for the laity. On the surface it appeared that this was a religious matter, but both the nobles and the duke had other motives for their action. In making religious demands the nobles wished to express their independence of the duke, while the latter made the concessions with the hope that the nobles would assume some of his debts.²⁵ Nevertheless, this conciliatory policy of Albert did not aid the cause of the Jesuits. Canisius, busy at Vienna and Prague at the time, wrote the duke that his action would surely be interpreted in Rome as favoring Lutheranism, and that the best way to correct this impression would be to found a separate Jesuit Collegium as the order wished.²⁶ But Albert was unmoved, and matters were concluded as they had been planned. By summer eighteen initiate Jesuits had arrived in Ingolstadt, sent by Loyola. The order had not succeeded in establishing itself in Ingolstadt as they would have liked, but the Jesuits had obtained a sure foothold in the university. Already they had succeeded in introducing Aristotle's dialectic, in restricting appointment to a professorship to Catholics, in forbidding theological lectures

25. G.B. Nicolini, History of the Jesuits, p. 199.

26. Gustav Droysen, op. cit., p. 235.

without approval of the dean of the theological faculty, and in prohibiting books to be printed or sold in Ingolstadt without the latter's nihil obstat. Canisius, who by this time had been appointed the provincial of the order for Upper Germany, saw the promise in the future of the things which they had failed to achieve in the past. His wisdom continued to gain advantages for the order. When the Jesuits at Ingolstadt came into conflict with the university professors because they bluntly made efforts to gain control of the administration and Canisius was called upon to arbitrate, he did not hesitate to reprove his own fellows. But at the same time he ruled that the Collegium theologicum should be entirely separated from the university - and then it wasn't long before the Jesuits had exactly what they wanted. So the first victory was won in Bavaria, and with this beginning the Catholic Reformation and influence of the Jesuits spread farther and farther.²⁷

But by this time the Roman Church had suffered a severe setback in the Religious Peace of Augsburg (September 25, 1555). This peace secured legal recognition for the territorial princes and free cities who signed the Augsburg Confession and gave them, as well as Catholic princes and cities, the right to introduce their religion within their domains. As Luther had destroyed the power of the papal excommunication over the individual, this peace destroyed the power of the

27. Paul Drews, op. cit., p. 58.

papal interdict over a ruler and his subjects. Although slow to realize this, the Roman pontiff could no longer place a Lutheran prince of Germany and his country under the interdict and invite obedient Catholic rulers to conquer the heretics and possess their land.

28

In Bavaria the peace meant that the Catholic ruler, Albert V, could work for religious conformity within his territory, not only with ecclesiastical but also with political sanction. As a step in this direction, Albert started to carry out an intention which he had had soon after he called the Jesuits to Ingolstadt: to establish them in his capital city of Munich also. Presently we shall see how Albert dealt with his nobles, showing the strongest determination of any contemporary sovereign (chiefly for political advantages, however) to put into practice the principle of the peace calling for religious conformity.

29

In the beautiful city of Munich the second Collegium of the Jesuits in Bavaria was founded. After an agreement had been reached between the councillors of the duke and Canisius in Augsburg in 1559, Albert requested Lainez (the second general of the order) to send fourteen Jesuits to Munich. Lancy was dispatched from Ingolstadt with another Jesuit to make preparations. By November of 1559 seven more Jesuits arrived

28. William L. Langer, editor, An Encyclopaedia of World History, p. 201.

29. A.W. Ward, loc. cit., p. 159.

in Munich, of whom four were priests, one with the special office of preacher. The duke exerted pressure on a defunct monastic order to house the Jesuits in their quarters (in which there were only two or three monks), to grant the rear section of their property for the site of the future Jesuit Collegium, and to turn over their church to the Jesuits. Classes began on December 13, 1559, in rooms of private homes, which could no longer hold the number of students by the time the new school was ready to be used in March of the following year. The enrollment continued to increase so that these quarters became inadequate. In 1576 a group of new buildings was dedicated, to accommodate over six hundred pupils.³⁰

During their first years at Munich the Jesuits were not without opposition. They incurred the jealousy of other schools, as also of the clergy whose income from tutoring ceased since the Jesuits asked no fee for this service. Their morals came under suspicion, and this was forcibly expressed by some one who placed a newborn baby in front of their confessional! But this did not retard the growth of the school, nor did it dull the ardor of the duke who endorsed the work of the order and expressed his pleasure over the fact that young men were being trained for service at court and in the church. The duke's successor, William V, was no less pleased with this Jesuit institution. The objection of his nobles did not keep him

30. Bernhard Duhr, Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, vol. 1, p. 185.

from carrying out his plan to build grand new wings which would complete the lecture halls and the church in the form of a large square with four enclosed quadrangles. In 1591 thirty-three Jesuits took residence in the new quarters, and six years later a new church was dedicated with great pomp and ceremony, complete even to the striking of a medal to commemorate the occasion. This whole group of building has long been an object of admiration to all connoisseurs of art.³¹

The educational scope of this institution extended from elementary school to university, which offered courses in theology, ethics, polemics, rhetoric, logic, and physics. At the turn of the century there were 900 students at Munich, and this enrollment continued for one hundred years. The Jesuits were in complete control of its administration, subject only to the general of the order. William richly endowed the institution so that it was not in any way burdened financially.³² Because of the great influence which this school exerted for Catholicism, Munich became known as the "Rome of Germany."³³

As mentioned above, after the Peace of Augsburg Albert's policy toward his nobles changed from conciliating to suppressive. From 1553 to 1563 there was a spirit of revolt against the church in Bavaria, which was more an expression of opposition against the duke. These were the days in which a "nobles'

31. Theodor Griesinger, op. cit., p. 218.

32. Bernhard Duhr, op. cit., p. 188.

33. Albert Henry Newman, A Manual of Church History, revised and enlarged, vol. 2, p. 382.

war" was spoken of rather freely. By now the Jesuits - and especially Canisius - had convinced Albert that the religious demands of nobles made at the diets at Landshut (1553), Munich (1556), and Ingolstadt (1563) were directed against him and that any new concessions would diminish the obedience of his subjects. But Albert needed the financial aid which his nobles could give him. The pope, Pius IV, promptly turned over to the duke the income from one tenth of the ecclesiastical estates in Bavaria. Albert now broke the opposition of the nobles by his coup-de-main (early in 1564) of the possessions of the Protestant count, Joachim von Ortenburg.³⁴ From this time loyalty to the church was identified with loyalty to the duke. All professors, all his household, all civil officers - in a word, all public functionaries were compelled to subscribe to the professio fidei of the Council of Trent.³⁵ The Jesuits were authorized to make frequent visitations among the clergy and the people, to exercise a strict censorship of the press, and to continue their educational activity. By these means heresy was completely stamped out in Bavaria before 1580, and this country became at once a refuge for persecuted Catholics and the stronghold of the Catholic reaction in Germany.³⁶

With dual authority behind them, the Jesuits continued

34. Leopold von Ranke, History of the Popes, revised edition, vol. 1, p. 217.

35. G.B. Nicolini, op. cit., p. 199.

36. Walter Goetz, loc. cit.

their work with all the more vigor and zeal. We find the Jesuits being established in the free cities and domains in Bavaria which were not under the sovereignty of the duke. So in Albert's time the Jesuits gained control of the university at Dillingen and later, under William V, they became active in the free cities of Augsburg and Regensburg.

The Jesuits gained control of the university of Dillingen because of the good reputation which they had with the bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who was in charge of its administration. The university was originally a training school for priests, founded in 1549. In 1554 the Collegium of St. Jerome, for so it was called, became a Studium generale and obtained the privileges of the universities of Paris and Bologna. But the newly-founded university did not fare well. The professors either left, were called elsewhere, or became ill. Then it was that the cardinal-bishop Otto decided to turn the whole university over to the Jesuits. The transfer was arranged by the rector, Cornelius Herlen, who went to Rome to confer with Lainez. Final incidentals were taken care of in March, 1566, when the cardinal himself went to Rome and conferred with the third general of the order, Franz Borgia. The order obtained complete control of the institution, while the responsibility for supplying funds for its maintenance fell upon the shoulders of the cardinal. Immediately he had to build a new dormitory for the Jesuit teachers, for Canisius pointed out that the professors' health would be

undermined in the present crowded quarters. Canisius, to whom the title was ceremoniously given on the day of opening, appointed Heinrich Dionysius of Nimwegen as rector. But he died in eight months, and Canisius appointed his half-brother, Dietrich Canisius, to the position, and he served for twenty
37
years.

Classes at Dillingen followed a strict schedule. Those who were studying for the order met for study from six to eight in the morning and from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. Lectures in theology were offered for all from nine to ten and from three to four, at which times no other lectures could be given. From ten to twelve in the morning lectures in Hebrew and mathematics were given and in Greek at four in the afternoon. As the university grew, more subjects were taught, and more professorships established. So in 1578 a third instructor was added to the philosophical faculty. The following year two professors were called to teach scholastic theology. Yet at this time there was only one lecture per week on
38
the Holy Scriptures.

It is perhaps interesting to note that contrary to the rules of the order, and due to the fact that the cardinal was unable to keep up his subsidy for the university, the Jesuits at Dillingen accepted money at graduation with the understanding, however, that this was not for the order, but for the

37. Bernhard Duhr, op. cit., p. 194.

38. Ibidem, p. 196.

maintenance of the school. But more interesting is the fact that the "strength" of this institution lay in the strict rules which governed the student-body. Daily attendance at Mass, frequent communion and compulsory attendance at lectures gave the school a peculiar character. The students were mostly all younger boys, for the older ones were frightened away by the above-mentioned, and until now practically unheard of rules! But the devotion of the young students after having gone through such strict discipline was unshakable. The rector wrote to his general:

"So haben wir jetzt ruhige und hinreichend zahlreiche Studenten, aber der grössere Teil besteht, wie gesagt, aus kleinen Knaben, von denen allerdings mit der Zeit viele Frucht zu erwarten ist. Anfangs war die Stimmung der Bürger und Studenten infolge von Hetzereien uns nicht sehr günstig, aber sie scheinen sich jetzt mit uns versöhnt zu haben."

Most of these boys were sons of noblemen and candidates for the holy orders who were sure to fulfill the wish of the bishop of Augsburg "dass aus Dillingen wie aus einem Trojanischen Ross viele durch Frömmigkeit und Wissen ausgezeichnete Männer hervorgehen würden."³⁹

C. Jesuit Action under William V (1579 - 1597)

Although the Jesuits exercised great influence in Bavaria during the reign of Albert V, they were even more powerful and influential during the reign of his son and

39. Ibidem, p. 199 ff.

successor, William V (1579 - 1597). This was to be expected, for the Jesuits had educated William. He was taught, by the Jesuit Hoffhus particularly, that the cause of Catholicism was inseparably connected with his political security. Sugenheim in his History of the Jesuits in Germany, vol. 1, pp. 119, 120, outlines the argument which the Jesuits used.

"All the good fortune, and all the blessing of a then existing good government, depend upon the establishment of unity in the Catholic faith, as religious disputations had brought about nothing but disorder into a state, and had roused the bur-gesses one against another. On that account a ruler who happened to be called to the throne during a time of distraction through religious dissensions in his country, ought to look upon it as his first duty to accord no consideration whatever to heretics, and show no toleration or forbearance; no means should be considered too stringent and no sacrifice should appear too dear in order to restore again the foundations of the society, shattered by religious separation."

Then, too, William had married Renata, the daughter of Duke Francis I of Lorraine and a most pious Catholic. She was glad to accept her husband's confessor, the Jesuit Dominicus Mengin, as her own. He completely directed the affairs of the ducal household, and duke and duchess vied with each other in bestowing favors upon the order. As mentioned above, it was during William's reign that the splendid buildings of the university of Munich were erected.

The piety of the duke and his wife was outstanding, a credit to and fruit of their Jesuit training. William would

40. Theodor Griesinger, op. cit., p. 235.

41. Ibidem, p. 241.

request preaching services three times a week at the beginning of Lent and later in the season every day. He himself did not miss any of the services, but with his whole court he would come to church. There he would take his place right among the common people explaining that they were all God's creatures, and would frequently receive the Sacrament. On Maundy Thursday it was his custom to fete twelve poor men, serving them a dinner upon silver plates and giving each a Goldgulden. On Good Friday the duke partook of only bread and water until in later years his physician forbade this because of his ill health. The duchess, however, would eat nothing until evening. At all times William was very solicitous for the poor and the sick, visiting and helping them himself and always exhorting the clergy to be faithful in this work. His wife was no less renowned for her charity and was called "eine Mutter der Armen." This pious couple had ten children, and after the birth of the last child, they agreed to live in continence, although William was only thirty-nine years old.

In 1597 William abdicated in favor of his son, Maximilian. There were a number of reasons for this action. As intimated above, the duke was frail and his health was failing him. Then he expressly stated that he wished to devote himself more fully to his works of charity. Finally, there seems to have

42. Ibidem, p. 710.

43. Ibidem.

been a general feeling of discontent among the people over the extravagant expenditures of the ducal house to fulfill the costly projects of the Jesuits, of which the new building for the university at Munich was the most striking example. This may have been the chief reason for the duke to renounce his office. After his abdication William retired to the Jesuit institution at Munich and devoted his life to meditation and holy exercises, particularly the making of pilgrimages, going on foot even in the burning sun or pouring rain, clad in the garments of a poor pilgrim. In such asceticism the retired duke lived until 1626, by which time he was regarded by the people of Bavaria as a kind of a saint.⁴⁴

Under Albert the project of the Jesuits had been to establish themselves firmly. Their institutions at Ingolstadt and Munich testified their success. Under William the project of the Jesuits was to spread their influence throughout the land and make Bavaria completely Catholic. That they were also successful in this is best attested by the fact that they were able to establish themselves in two free cities of Bavaria whose very names recall Lutheran confessions and treaties of religious peace and toleration: Augsburg and Regensburg.

When Bishop Otto Truchsess wrote Lainez in 1559 to obtain Canisius for cathedral-preacher at Augsburg, he

44. Theodor Griesinger, op. cit., p. 242.

expressed his desire to see a Jesuit Collegium in that city. Various plans to achieve this were proposed by the bishop and friends of the Jesuits, but they all called for a transfer of income from another Catholic institution, usually a monastery. But the pope, Gregory XIII was determined to have the new school financed without such an appropriation. Another way was found which made the founding of the institution an easy matter and also insured it of a liberal endowment. Christopher Fugger of Augsburg and of the wealthy banking family had died without children. His relatives did not need his inheritance, and they had given indication that they were ready to use the estate of the deceased to establish a school. On September 29, 1579, the sum of 30,000 fl. was given for the Collegium. Later, Christopher's brothers, Philip and Octavian, gave more money. By the time the institution received its charter from the city of Augsburg on May 3, 1580, the Jesuits did not only have their Collegium, but also a Schule, a preparatory school
45
for seminary and university work.

The problem of whether to admit children to the Schule who could not read and write was discussed before it opened. The original plan was to take in only the children of the families who had helped to found the school and of the nobility. But the general of the order, Aquaviva (the fourth successor of Loyola, preceded by Mercurian), ruled that other children should be admitted (who, being of humble birth were

45. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 200.

usually illiterate) but that they should be instructed separately. By this arrangement there was no disturbance in the planned curriculum and make-up of the classes, while the entire citizenry of Augsburg was all the more won for the Jesuit cause.⁴⁶

Another problem was solved just as wisely. That was whether to allow Protestant children to attend the Schule. The Jesuits were willing to admit the children all right, but wanted to make attendance at catechism instruction and Mass compulsory.

Aber hier glaubte der Ordensgeneral den protestantischen Bürgern mehr Rechnung tragen zu müssen. "Ich fürchte," antwortete Aquaviva, "dass die Nötigung, Katechismus und Predigt anzuhören, einigen Leuten vielleicht Anlass bietet, über uns herzufallen, als wollten wir die (Religions-) Freiheit verkürzen, was der Stadtrat in seiner Zustimmung zur Gründung des Kollegs durchaus verboten hat. Ew. Hochwürden wird das nun besser beurteilen können, und falls diese Gefahr bestünde, so könnte die Sache so gemildert werden, dass jene Schüler zwar dazu eingeladen, nicht aber gezwungen werden. Was übrigens das Spotten usw. angeht, so dürfen solche Schüler durchaus nicht weiter geduldet werden.⁴⁷ Das entspricht auch ganz der genannten Bestimmung des Stadtrates." Damit überstimmend vorordnete später P. Hoffaeus als Visitator: Die Kinder von Protestanten können die Jesuitenschule besuchen; sie sind nicht gezwungen, die heilige Messe zu hören und den Katechismus zu lernen, müssen aber beim Katechismus zugegen sein wie bei den andern Schulstunden; auch dürfen sie nicht andere Schüler und diese nicht die Protestanten wegen der Religion belästigen.⁴⁸

So the Jesuits accomplished their purpose without arousing any antagonism or ill will.

46. Ibidem, p. 202.

47. The Jesuits wanted to forbid debates on religious subjects, lest the Catholic faith be disparaged.

48. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 204.

The enrollment at Augsburg did not entirely satisfy the Jesuits, but they explained this by the fact that there were three other schools just a day's journey distant from Augsburg and also because of "die hiesige protestantische Schule." Later financial difficulties were removed by further endowments from the Fugger. An 18th century historian called the Jesuit institution a monumentum Fuggerianae pietatis in Deum et patriam.⁴⁹

The Jesuits had greater difficulty in establishing themselves in Regensburg. Faber, Le Jay, and Bobadilla, the first Jesuits to enter Germany, had all been active in this Reichsstadt between the years 1541 and 1546. Ten years passed before the next Jesuit set foot in the city; Peter Canisius preached at the cathedral on the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin in 1556. But thirty years passed before a Collegium was founded, and then only because of the solicitude of William V. In 1579 the latter's son - then only three years old - was named for the bishop's chair, and so the duke felt responsible for the defense of Catholicism in this pre-dominantly Lutheran city of Regensburg. In 1586 William wrote Aquaviva concerning a Collegium for Regensburg and requested that two or three Jesuits should be sent immediately. They could take temporary quarters with the clergy of the cathedral and begin operations.⁵⁰

49. Ibidem, p. 205.

50. Ibidem.

The Jesuits came in the same year and began preaching in the cathedral. However, they were baited so severely by the populace that the cathedral chapter forbade further preaching. William immediately informed the pope of this, for he had been appointed visitor for Regensburg. He reported that the city was almost in complete control of the heretics before the Jesuits arrived. Already over one thousand people came to hear them preach, although he doubted that there had been ten true Catholics before this. But because the Protestants raised an objection, the cathedral chapter - without consulting William - forbade further preaching. The duke asked the pope to order the chapter to rescind their resolution, under threat of excommunication, especially since the Council of Trent had decided that preaching came under the jurisdiction of the bishop and not of the assembly of prebendaries.⁵¹

The pope followed William's suggestion, and William satisfied himself that the papal orders were being carried out by a personal visit in January of 1587. Later, however, the prebendaries showed their opposition to the duke by vetoing his choice of a successor for one of the Jesuit preachers who had been removed to Austria. This brought a sharp reply from William, but matters were amicably settled with the help of the papal legate at Vienna. The duke's appointee remained in office, and efforts toward founding a Collegium

51. Ibidem, p. 207.

were resumed. Early in 1589 the cloister of the Benedictine nuns was transferred to the Society of Jesus to be used as a dormitory by order of the pope, Sixtus V. Although the city officials opposed the efforts of the Jesuits, they opened a Schule in the same year. The first year the number of students was small, but the next year there were 115 and in 1592 two hundred "unter denen sich einige talentvolle arme Studenten befanden, denen wir den Unterhalt zu verschaffen suchten." In this same year a new church was dedicated, and the fact that it had seven altars and could accommodate 5000 people indicates the progress of the Jesuits in reclaiming the populace for the Catholic church. The opposition of the Lutheran officials had not ceased, however. Once while the church was in the process of being built, the magistrate banned the contractor from the city so that both the emperor and the duke of Bavaria had to intervene.⁵² But by the turn of the century Regensburg was strongly Catholic, again a result of the Jesuits' zealous instruction of the youth and pious example of a good life. The order had succeeded in reclaiming Bavaria - including the free cities - for the pope and the old faith. William's successor had to look beyond the borders of Bavaria for opportunity to express his zeal for the spread of Catholicism.

52. Ibidem, p. 211.

D. Counter-Reformation under Maximilian I (1597 - 1651)

Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria from 1597 to 1651, was educated by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, where he was a schoolmate of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, later Emperor Ferdinand II. Both were zealous Catholic rulers. Maximilian had coins struck with the image of Mary, along with the inscription, "Patrona Bavariae." But since his country was already won back for the church, he determined to rid the rest of Germany of Protestantism. The Jesuits, no longer as hesitant as they once had been to enter politics and less scrupulous,⁵³ encouraged the duke. He assembled an army and prepared for war under the pretext of a Turkish invasion. But the duke's real intentions were evident enough from his action in regard to the town of⁵⁴ Donauwörth.

Donauwörth, at one time a Bavarian town, had obtained its freedom in 1420. At this time four-fifths of the inhabitants were Protestant, the rest Catholic, who rallied around the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross. The Peace of Augsburg had caused very little disturbance in this city, both parties getting along peaceably together. But in May, 1602, the monastery elected a new abbot: Leonard Hörman, who was a Bavarian subject. Maximilian, supported by his Jesuit confessor, John Buslidius, urged him to ignore the civil regula-

53. Cf. above, p. 3.

54. Theodor Griesinger, op. cit., p. 244.

tion of the town which forbade public processions with the cross and banners of the Catholic church. When the abbot made such a procession, it excited nothing more than an order from the magistrate forbidding any recurrence. This was reported by the abbot to the imperial councillor as evidence of oppression which the Catholics had to suffer in Donauwörth. He ruled that processions should be permitted, and, although the magistrate withdrew his previous order, he pleaded with the abbot not to incite the populace. Hörman, however, made preparations for a magnificent procession, which he announced from his pulpit a day in advance. The enraged populace greeted the procession with jeers, and some not only threw stones but also tore to pieces one of the banners carried in the procession. The result was that the emperor, Rudolph II, authorized Maximilian "to protect the Catholics in Donauwörth from further insolence, as the magistrate was clearly too weak to hold in check the evil-disposed part of the population." Maximilian sent commissioners to the city who were instructed by Buslidius to be stern and uncompromising. They not only followed the Jesuit's injunction, but also became arrogant and oppressive so that the populace expelled them from the town. The emperor promptly placed Donauwörth under ban of the empire, August 3, 1607. Maximilian, as the closest Catholic ruler, was to execute the ban. He surrounded the town

55. Ibidem, p. 245.

with a huge military force, and the gates were opened to him
without resistance in December, 1607.⁵⁶

The duke lost no time in establishing Catholic conformity in Donauwörth. The Protestant clergy was deposed, and their church was taken over by the Jesuits. The children were forced to attend Mass and instruction in the Canisian catechism. Just at this time the Protestant princes and rulers were assembled for a conference with the Catholics at Regensburg. When news of the Donauwörth incident arrived there, the Protestants issued a protest, which the Catholics ignored. Everyone seemed to sense that Germany was being divided into two camps: Protestant and Catholic and that conflict between the two was inevitable. The Lutherans joined with the Calvinists to form the Protestant League and to present a united front. Maximilian organized the Catholic League in opposition, and so it was only a matter of time before Germany was torn by that deadly religious strife which we know as the Thirty Years' War, 1618 - 1648.⁵⁷

56. Ibidem, p. 246.

57. Ibidem, p. 247.

II

The Program of Jesuit Action

Wherever the Jesuits came in Bavaria, they were eminently successful in winning people back to the Roman church. This success can be attributed to their educational and pastoral program. By the former they won the youth for their cause and trained candidates for the priesthood and the order. By the latter they regained the mass of the common people, as well as the nobles and rulers, for the pope. Both the educational and pastoral phases of the program were always carried on simultaneously, and the founding of Collegia marked the progress and success of the followers of Loyola. A review of these two phases will help to explain the great effectiveness of the program of Jesuit action. A sketch of the beginning and progress of this activity has already been given.

A. The Educational Phase

Martin Luther had recognized the necessity of winning the schools for his doctrine if he wanted it to survive. It was difficult to win the established universities for his theology, yet he did accomplish this at Tübingen (1535), Leipzig (1539), and Heidelberg (1544). In addition, new universities at Marburg (1529) and Königsberg (1541) and many Schule were

were founded, dedicated to the defense and propagation of Luther's doctrine. The problem which faced the Catholics was not the introduction of a new system of theology in the universities, but supplying them with zealous Catholic professors, who would re-affirm the principles and faith of the Catholic church, and establishing new schools for the instruction of the youth in the traditional doctrines of Rome.¹

At first Loyola was interested only in the education of candidates for his order. For their special training he had Jesuit institutes in various cities in mind, but for their classical education^{they} were to attend lectures and classes at the nearest university. But Loyola quickly recognized the power and influence which the order could exert by supplying the universities and schools with professors and by founding educational institutions open to all. This activity of the Jesuits became one of their most effective weapons reclaiming Catholics inclined toward Lutheranism and building up a generation fanatically loyal to the pope and Rome and opposed to heresy. To this day the Jesuits are preponderately a teaching order.²

Those Jesuits who had taught at universities temporarily also recognized the great opportunity which this type of activity offered, and their opinion no doubt had something to do with

1. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 238.

2. H. Boehmer, The Jesuits, 4th rev. ed., p. 73.

the emphasis which Loyola soon placed on this work. For example, Le Jay wrote (1545) in regard to the universities at Ingolstadt and Augsburg:³

"Ich glaube, in diese Kollegien werden auch leicht einige aus unserer Gesellschaft Aufnahme finden können, was ich immer gewünscht habe, damit sie den andern ein gutes Beispiel geben. Diese arme Nation hat Frömmigkeit und Selbstverleugnung mehr notwendig als Wissenschaft; denn Wissenschaft ohne Frömmigkeit hat sie in dieser Elend gebracht. Um sie aber wieder zur Frömmigkeit zu bringen, wäre ein gutes Mittel, gelehrte und fromme Männer auf die Universitäten zu berufen."

Le Jay came to this conclusion because he found no one at the university interested in the study of theology. He attributed this disinterest to the bad reputation of the clergy, which was cause enough to discourage training for the ministry. Pious and learned Jesuit professors could remedy this situation, not only by attracting students to the study of theology by their brilliance and piety, but also by improving the reputation of the clergy. On this point Le Jay wrote:⁴

"Wo die Frömmigkeit gepflegt wird, wo das Licht der Weisheit leuchtet, wird das Herz der Menschen leicht gewonnen und zur Nachahmung angespornt. Wird die Wahrheit durch Wort und Beispiel bekräftigt, so reisst sie, selbst wider Willen, zur Bewunderung, Liebe und Hingabe fort."

So by the time the request of William IV of Bavaria for Jesuit professors came to Loyola in 1548,⁵ he had decided that the order should enter the educational field and was

3. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 240.

4. Ibidem, p. 241.

5. Cf. above, p. 8.

working on a constitution for combined classical school and seminary, later to be realized almost to perfection in the Roman Collegium, founded February 18, 1551. Such a school called for fixed classes, obligatory examinations, promotions, and the strict limitation of instruction in philosophy and theology to prescribed textbooks. St. Thomas Aquinas with his Summa was regarded the master in theology (especially after Trent), as was Aristotle in philosophy.⁶ The Jesuit historian, Bernard Duhr, explains in his Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, vol. 1, p. 249, "Es sollte dabei die goldene Mitte zwischen sklavischem Nachbeten und willkürlicher Abweichung eingehalten werden."

Although the whole course of the Jesuit schools and universities was founded upon Aquinas and Aristotle, the exposition of the Holy Scriptures and instruction in the catechism were not neglected. This was due to Luther's emphasis on Bible study and the popularity of his catechism. The Jesuit emphasis on Scripture didn't equal Luther's,⁷ but their catechism was just as popular.⁸ The study of Hebrew was introduced because the Lutherans taught it in their schools. When it became evident that this language was popular neither with the students nor the professors, the general of the order insisted that interest in the subject continue. "Brüsten sich doch gerade in jenen Gegenden die Häretiker so gewaltig mit ihrer

6. H. Boehmer, op. cit., p. 75.

7. Cf. above, p. 26.

8. Cf. below, p. 51.

Sprachenkenntnis und suchen der Religion damit zu schaden."⁹

The Jesuits realized too, that a school really achieves its purpose when it exerts its influence over the students not only during class hours, but also during their free hours. They succeeded in this through the agency of plays and religious societies. All kinds of religious drama were presented at Jesuit schools: Christmas plays, passion plays, Easter plays, plays about the sacraments. The plays were often called "Dialogues" although the number of players involved usually exceeded the number indicated by far. The great tragedies and comedies were given at the beginning of the school-year or on a religious or patriotic holiday. The plays not only served to keep the interest of the students with the school, but also did much to obtain the good will of the parents and also of the nobles. That the nobles would be pleased is clear from the following example: in 1582 the Collegium at Munich presented a "Dialogue" in which nine students participated, portraying the history of Bavaria and honoring her princes, heroes and saints. The Jesuits revived the custom of presenting comedies, for they recognized their value in teaching the students poise, in exercising their memory, and in strengthening their love of virtue and hatred of vice. This latter didactic character of the comedies can be illustrated by two "Dialogues" which were given by the students at Dillingen in 1572 and 1590. The first was entitled

9. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 256.

"Euripus" and began with a eulogy of drunkenness by one of the actors. His arguments were hopelessly and engagingly shattered by an opponent. Both were accompanied by large companies armed with spear and word, which added to the fun. The play ended with the two characters coming before the judge who pronounced sentence upon the alcoholic enthusiast. As one of the Jesuit instructors reported to the general: "Die ganze Darstellung war sehr witzig und erfreute Zuschauer und Hörer." The other comedy, "Stratokles," was the story of a student who wanted to leave school and become a soldier. He finds another student who is interested in the project also. They leave, and the first persons they meet are two soldiers. These men picture the life of a soldier in such a way that the boys decide to abandon their scheme and return to school. The comedies became so popular that often too much time was devoted to them. Where this was the case, the number and the length of the comedies which could be presented during the school year was limited.¹⁰

As the theatre was used as the agency outside the curriculum to interest and elevate the secular side of the students' life, so the congregations of Mary became the outside agency for the maintenance and upbuilding of the students' spiritual character. These were religious societies or clubs. One of the projects of the congregations was the presentation of the

10. Ibidem, p. 340.

religious dramas mentioned above. The particular purpose of the societies, as the name indicates, was the veneration of the Virgin. This was the defence of the Jesuits against the condemnation of Luther of the idolatrous worship of the saints. External piety was emphasized, as well as attendance at Mass, frequent confession, and reception of the Sacrament. The members became little missionaries who busied themselves relieving the oppressed, easing the suffering of the sick and the needs of the poor. They conducted forty hour prayer services imploring success for the Emperor's forces when the Turk threatened at the end of the century. Nor were they inactive during their vacation time. Just before leaving for the summer in 1590, the chapter at Ingolstadt was reminded how the members could do good toward their parents and neighbors while they were at home. They were encouraged to present good books to their parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, and friends. If there was any open sin in their home, as swearing or drunkenness, they were to raise their voices in objection. They were to see to it that the rules of the church were observed, especially attendance at Mass on holy days and abstinence from meat on fast days. They were to teach other boys and girls Catholic prayers and make them acquainted with the Catholic catechism. The use of the rosary was to be encouraged. Above all, the members were exhorted always to pray, especially the

11

Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary.

The educational program of the Jesuits described above was immediately successful. Very quickly it changed the life and conduct of the students who came under its influence. The set curriculum, strict rules, and wide extra-curricular activity confined the thought of the students within boundaries salutary to the welfare of the church of Rome and produced an ordered and distinguishable piety. While the principles and practices of Lutheranism had to be opposed - as was the case until 1580 in Bavaria¹² - this was a good thing for the Roman church. But later this stereotyped education and external piety produced, even among the Jesuits, intellectual bigotry and hypocritical righteousness. Yet it should be emphasized that the educational program of the Jesuits did succeed, in Bavaria as elsewhere, in reclaiming Catholics and reforming morals.

In connection with the educational activity of the Jesuits, their efforts in behalf of the ordered clergy must also be mentioned. Of all the clergy the group which caused the greatest scandal and offence in the church by immorality and wickedness were the monks. Conditions were so bad that a commission which had been appointed by Pope Paul III in 1538 to study the matter of reform, suggested that no novitiates should be accep-

11. Ibidem, p. 357 ff.

12. Cf. above, p. 24.

ted for a number of years, so that a new generation of monks could be brought up to live according to rules and regulations. And things were especially bad in Germany. In fact, they were so bad, says the Jesuit historian Duhr, that "die Hauptführer des Abfalls von der Mutterkirche gingen aus Klöstern hervor."¹³(!)

While it is not historically true that the leaders of the Reformation were products of or produced the immorality in the monasteries, they can be charged, rather credited with the fact that many monks in Germany left their orders and began preaching the "new freedom," and that many monasteries stood empty. Yet many monks remained true to the church and at least two orders distinguished themselves in opposing Lutheranism: the Franciscans and also to some extent the Augustinians. The latter order, to which Luther had been attached, was split into the followers of the Reformer and a zealous number who stayed with the church. But even these monks needed the benefit of a reformatory and instructive, educational program. The Jesuits supplied this.

On May 24, 1583, the papal legate Nunguarda sent a cyclical letter to the monasteries in Bavaria announcing the opening of an institute for monks at the Jesuit Collegium at Ingolstadt. Duke William strongly urged the ordered clerics to attend. An indication of the success of this Jesuit endeavor can be found in the report of the visitor of the Benedictines of Bavaria.

13. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 497.

He reported that he found no better monks than those who had attended the institute at Ingolstadt. Almost ten years before Ingolstadt began this kind of work, the Jesuit institution at Dillingen had started an institute for the regular clergy with an enrollment of thirty. In 1584 there were fifty-two monks studying at Dillingen and in 1595 eighty. Many of these monks were chosen to be the abbots of their monasteries.¹⁴

The training which the monks received at these institutes was simple enough, for it was exercise in the program of activity which normally should be followed in the monasteries. They had their own quarters, separated from the other students. They ate in their own dining hall, and they themselves took turns at serving. There was always some reading while they ate - a portion of Holy Scripture, the rules of an order, or a selection from other good books. Everyone had to preach before all the rest for practice and to receive helpful criticism. They assembled in a body for matins and vespers, but observed the offices of the other canonical hours privately. Most of them went to confession and communion weekly, and all at least once a month. On Saturdays there was an exposition on the Holy Gospel for the next day, usually offered in three parts. In order that they would remember the points, one of the group would repeat the exposition as best as he could from memory. Separate congregations of Mary for the monks were

14. Ibidem, p. 501.

organized with the usual aims. Nor were the "Spiritual Exercises" neglected as a means to improve spiritual life. The monks at the Collegia were instructed in this discipline, and they would return to their monasteries to lead their brothers in these holy exercises. So the Jesuits improved the spiritual tone of the monasteries.

15

B. The Pastoral Phase

Wherever the Jesuits came, they engaged in pastoral activity among the people. Their efforts met with great success because they individualized and popularized their activity.

To assist souls to reach their God-appointed goal of heaven, and to achieve it in all its fulness - this was the greater glory of God to which Loyola pledged himself and his society. For the attainment of this end, God appointed the sacraments of the church. Therefore in the Jesuit program, holiness of life, attendance at Church, reception of the sacrament, and frequent confession were emphasized. When the Jesuits first came to Germany, the majority of the people were accustomed to receive communion only at Easter. Luther had noticed this neglect and had urged more frequent attendance. The followers of Loyola did the same. In ten years the number of communicants at Ingolstadt more than doubled. They did everything to improve church attendance, improving their chancel

15. Ibidem, p. 504.

decorum, keeping the church clean and neat, and adapting the music and singing to the taste and understanding of the people. Indeed, the latter evolved to such a point that in 1595 the general of the order expressed his displeasure at the choral eucharists which featured "Tanzmadrigalen," double and triple¹⁶ choirs, organ, horns, violins, and professional soloists.

To combat the ignorance of the laity, the Jesuits employed the pulpit and the catechism. Next to reception of the Sacrament they maintained that nothing was more salutary for the soul than instruction in the Word of God. Jesuit preachers were trained to make good sermons and above all others had to be blameless in their life. The order was not blind to the fact that good sermonizing is not only a product of diligent study but also of a godly life. The Jesuits preached in the language of the people, despite the difficulty of learning a new language.¹⁷ The Jesuit visitor for Germany ruled that sermons should last no longer than an hour, a conservative length in those days. Only the appointed preachers could occupy a pulpit; others had to obtain permission from the bishop. This also applied to street-preaching. Unordained students of theology were sometimes allowed to preach, although their sermons were always censored. The people were given much opportunity to hear sermons. In Munich there was a sermon at high mass on every Sunday and feastday, two or three during the

16. Ibidem, p. 449.

17. Cf. Canisius's letter to his general, above, p. 14.

week in Adventtide and at least than many if not daily preaching during Lent. And the people responded. "In Innsbruck machte sich der Jesuit Leopold durch seine populären und sehr nützlichen Kanzelvorträge so beliebt und bekannt, dass auf mehrere Stunden weit um die Stadt herum alles ihm zulief, das Wort Gottes aus seinem Munde zu vernehmen."¹⁸

At first the Jesuits refrained from polemics and points of controversy in their sermons. In 1546 Loyola had ordered:¹⁹

"Bei den Predigten soll durchaus kein Punkt berührt werden, worin die Protestanten mit der katholischen Kirche nicht übereinstimmen. Einfachhin soll zu einem sittlichen Leben und den Andachtsübungen der Kirche aufgemuntert werden, indem man die Leute zu gründlicher Selbstkenntnis und zur grösseren Erkenntnis und Liebe ihres Herrn und Schöpfers bringt. . . Direkter Angriff erbittert und verhärtet, die Klarheit und Schönheit der Wahrheit gewinnt."

But the followers of Loyola found it difficult to abide by this rule, especially where they met with Protestant opposition.²⁰ The people were impressed and won by the evident restraint of the Jesuits to calumniate the Lutherans.

Next to preaching, catechetical instruction was emphasized by the Jesuits. Here we deal with a manual as popular and renowned as the enchiridion of Luther: the catechism of Peter Canisius.²¹ By 1588 it had been translated into high and low German, French, Dutch, Spanish, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Polish.

18. Bernard Duhr, *op. cit.*, p. 452. Cf. also the success which attended the preaching of Canisius, above, p. 14.

19. *Ibidem*. The sad result of Bobadilla's polemics may have

20. persuaded Loyola to this opinion, cf. above, p. 7.

21. Cf. above, p. 34.

21. Cf. above, p. 16.

It contained many pictures, which made it very popular. Later a "picture Catechism" was published for the children. There was a picture on every page with just one line of print. For example, above single sentence, "Du solt die gebottene Fast-täg auch das unterscheiden der Speiss halten," (sic) was the picture of a housewife buying fish in a fishmart on whose wall was a painting showing Christ refusing the temptation of the devil to change stone into bread. The Jesuits used every opportunity to instruct the people. If they could not get them to come to church, or if they were not to be found at home, the Jesuits did not hesitate to instruct them while they were at work. Needless to say the people were impressed with this concern of the Jesuits for each individual, and they were attracted to their teaching, for they did not scold or threaten. They proved the truth of the observation made of the German people: "Diese Leute sind mehr durch Bitten als durch Drängen zu gewinnen."²²

Of course, the "Spiritual Exercises" were also employed, for by this discipline an individual would be able to conquer himself and devote his life to an obedience of God's will and the church's ordinances. Every Jesuit completed the exercises periodically, which in no small way accounts for their complete submission to authority and fanaticism to save the souls of men, especially from heresy. An abridgment

22. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 462.

of the exercises was prepared for use by the laity, but none of the essentials of the discipline were omitted. The first stage through which the subject was led was an abstract comprehension of his final goal, namely the bliss and glory of heaven. In the second stage he was brought to an inner emotional consciousness of the terribleness of wandering away from the path leading to this goal. Heresy and immorality brought souls to hell, and the subject thought about this so much that he could see the writhing of the damned and smell their burning flesh. So he was brought to the third stage: a happy and spirited return to the road leading to the goal of heaven by a true following of Christ. This, of course, involved a passion to have others share in the same joy and glory and brought an extreme type of religiousness into the lives of the people, as it did to a much greater degree in the Jesuits themselves.²³

The Jesuits also conducted numerous Volksmissionen, which were nothing more than the application of the "Spiritual Exercises" to masses instead of to individuals. Also by preaching and administration of the Sacrament these missions, which might last a few days or several months, renewed the people in the distinctively Roman doctrines, customs, and conduct of life. Canisius wisely advised his general that these missions should not be too frequent, for there still a lack of good preachers. He also suggested that they be restricted to Catholic commun-

23. Ibidem, p. 465.

ities lest the Lutheran magistrates accuse the Jesuits of violating the principle of religious freedom. But in Bavaria the dukes would request the Jesuits to make these Volkmissionen, when once they had determined to establish religious conformity within their territory. So in 1564 Albert V asked the Jesuits to make such a mission in the territory around Ortenburg in which Lutheran doctrine and heresy had made great inroads.²⁴ The Jesuits John Couvillon, George Schorich, and Martin Stevordian were sent to carry out this assignment. They preached on such themes as the authority of the church, obedience to superiors, the sacrifice of the Mass, the sacraments, etc. They heard confession, administered the sacrament, and brought many to the use of the "Spiritual Exercises." After four months Stevordian reported the complete success of the mission to the provincial.²⁵

Congregations of Mary for lay people were also established. The first one was organized in 1581 with membership restricted to men. Together they went to confession and received the sacrament every month. The husbands persuaded their wives to follow their example. Societies for women were considered, but the leaders of the order were not favorably inclined toward the idea. The Jesuits paid more

24. Cf. above, p. 24.

25. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 471 ff.

attention to men than to women in their cure of souls, for, as the visitor Manare pointed out in 1585, "Von ihrem geistlichen Fortschritt mehr Nutzen für das Gemeinwohl erwächst als von dem der Frauen."²⁶

The Jesuits gained the good will of the people by remembering the sick, the poor, and those in prison in their pastoral activity. A course in bed-side technique was a part of the Jesuits' training. Under their guidance the congregations of Mary also engaged in this eleemosynary work. The followers of Loyola never deserted the sick, even in time of plague. Canisius refused to leave Augsburg, even when advised to do so by his general, when the plague was claiming fifty victims each week. And this Jesuit was just as zealous in his work among the poor. Often he would announce from his pulpit what was needed for the poor in the congregation and was not afraid to remind the rich that it was their duty and responsibility to take care of the less fortunate. The Jesuits themselves would go from door to door and beg for the poor and destitute, especially when the latter were forbidden to do so by civil authority. Nor were the prisoners forgotten. Canisius wrote from Ingolstadt in 1551 that he was sure a felon to whom he had preached had been converted and that he was now ruling²⁷ with Christ and praying for the church and the order! The remarkable success of the Jesuits in this phase of their past-

26. Ibidem, p. 494.

27. Ibidem, p. 516 ff.

toral activity as well as in every other phase may be attributed, in a large degree, to their practice of never beginning with a sinner by condemning him, but by seeking to win his love and confidence. They would speak of the suffering of Christ, the examples of the saints, the glories of heaven, and the pain of hell. So the sinner would be moved to confess his own guilt. Canisius pointed out that in following this method they were following the practice of the Saviour, who is described as dealing gently and lovingly with the bruised reed and the smoking flax.²⁸

Always a mighty aid to their pastoral activity was the Jesuits' godly conduct. Ignatius Loyola said that a pious life would do more to edify a man than much preaching.²⁹ The following was the opinion of the Council of Trent:³⁰

Durch nichts wird Frömmigkeit und Religion bei den Menschen mehr aufgebaut, als durch das Leben und das gute Beispiel der Diener des Heiligtums; denn wie auf einen Spiegel richten sich aller Augen auf sie, die aus der Welt emporgehoben sind und auf höherer Warte stehen.

In Bavaria, where there were few Lutherans to lead a movement away from the church, and improvement of the morals of the clergy removed a chief cause of the opposition. The Jesuits, by their own piety and reformatory efforts among the established clergy, removed this offence.³¹

28. Isaiah 42:3.

29. Bernard Duhr, op. cit., p. 489.

30. Ibidem, p. 490;

31. Ibidem.

All over Bavaria the Jesuits engaged in the pastoral activity described above and succeeded in reclaiming the people for Catholicism. They had been attracted to Lutheranism by its demand for reform and its concern for the individual soul and his welfare. The Jesuits adopted the same program. They carried it out in a grand and dramatic manner which appealed to the masses even more, but which also bred the fanatic loyalty to Rome and hatred of "heresy" which later found expression in the Thirty Years' War.

One more phase of the Jesuit pastoral program remains to be discussed in particular - their use of the confessional. Many references have already been made above to the emphasis which the Jesuits placed upon this sacrament. They brought to people back to its use, and so controlled their consciences, moulded their will, and gained their obedience.

During the Middle Ages the confessional was looked upon merely as a means of obtaining the necessary absolution of sins preparatory to the reception of communion or other sacraments. Lay people, and clergy too, therefore went to confession very infrequently, the rule usually being during the Easter season only. But Loyola and his disciples put an entirely new interpretation upon the sacrament of confession; they urged the penitent not only to acknowledge his mortal sins when making his confession, but to lay bare to the con-

fessor the whole condition of his soul. "Through this the priest . . . became the soul-guide (directeur de l'ame); and the preparation of ministrants for this office became, more and more, the most important task of the new theological seminaries . . . usually directed by Jesuits." ³² The Jesuit Polanco, commissioned by Loyola, issued instructions for the Jesuit confessors in his Directorium. They were instructed to observe the rule of letting no one leave the confessional without having been given some comfort. No wonder the Jesuits were held in high esteem by the people and regarded as true shepherds of souls. Luther had freed the people from dependence upon the clergy in their religion by attacking Roman sacerdotalism and sacramentalism; the confessional was the defense of the Jesuits for the church. Their revival of the confessional sacrament made the people more dependent and subject to the clergy than ever before. This particular pastoral activity was so great a Jesuit specialty, that the style of the confessional stalls in Roman churches to this day are often built in a so-called "Jesuit style." ³³

The Jesuits also became court confessors. In this field they have been subject to much criticism, and their activity after 1600 particularly warrants it. At first, however, the order considered the office of court confessor more of a

32. H. Boehmer, op. cit., p. 119.

33. Ibidem, p. 120.

burden than a privilege or favor. Loyola hesitated to permit his followers to accept this office. But the need of the courts for renewal of life persuaded him that this was necessary. J.M. Stone in his Studies from Court and Cloister, p. 133, justifies Loyola's decision, but in looking back over the its consequences, poses an interesting question: "It was not by turning his back on courts that he (i.e., Loyola) could hope to regenerate them; but it would be interesting could we discover whether by a contrary decision he would have averted some of the odium which the name Jesuit has accumulated in the course of ages." The general congregations seemed to sense the dangers of this office. The second one, meeting in 1565, forbade any Jesuit to reside permanently at the court of any prince, spiritual or secular, or to consent to follow the court on its travels, either in the capacity of preacher, theologian, or confessor. Furthermore, it limited such an appointment to a month, or at the most two months. Ten years later the general congregation ruled that only the general of the order could make exception to the above rule and that he should do so as rarely as possible. In 1593 the fifth general congregation forbade every member of the society to interfere in politics or any public affairs whatever. This legislation indicates that the Jesuit court confessors were politically

34. J.M. Stone, op. cit., p. 134-5.

active and that they were increasingly so, even though this activity was not sanctioned by the order officially. In 1608 Aquaviva issued instructions for the confessors of the princes which were incorporated into the "Institute," forbidding them to meddle in political questions. But by this time the political machinations of the Jesuit court confessors were so evident, that this action seems to have been taken more to provide an official vindication for the order when it would be charged with such activity, than actually to forbid it. This development of the political influence of the Jesuit court confessors can be seen in Bavaria.

Albert V, who ruled until 1579, did not have a Jesuit confessor, although he was certainly influenced by the order. His successor, William V, did - Dominicus Mengin and later ³⁵ Caspar Torentius. The extreme piety of William, however, and the fact that he abdicated in order to devote himself more fully to his works of charity, would seem to indicate that the Jesuit court confessors still had the spiritual welfare of their charges as their primary objective and were not yet strongly active in politics. But with Maximilian I, who began to rule in 1597, the Jesuit court confessor was unre-
served in his political activity. After Buslidius had guided ³⁶ the duke in his action against Donauwörth, the beginning had

35. Cf. above, p. 28-9.

36. Cf. above, p. 36 ff.

been made. Soon the Jesuit confessors were compelling the princes and rulers to submit their political plans to them, especially in regard to such matters as alliance with heretical powers and toleration of heretics. As this activity increased, the purpose of the Jesuits to exterminate Protestantism by force became more and more evident, which led directly to a conflict between the two parties in the Thirty
37
Years' War..

37. Cf. above, p. 38.

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