



## Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of their Expulsions (1590–1990)

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The Society of Jesus constitutes a remarkable example of permanence and universality; therefore it is an ideal laboratory for studying the troubled relations national institutions entertained with such a supranational congregation. In the first part of the paper the conflicting interests of both parties are analysed; it is then noticed that historically the expulsions form four successive waves and the question of contagion of anti-Jesuits policies is discussed. Furthermore it is shown (as far as permitted by available sources) that in each individual country the methods used in order to set up and to enforce the expulsions show a high degree of continuity over the course of three centuries.

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### Introduction

Expulsions of religious congregations can be considered from (at least) three different points of view:

(1) From an *economic* viewpoint they are accompanied by the confiscation of estates and other property. In some cases, such estates represented quite a sizable proportion of total land area; for instance, in 1789 France, they represented as much as 15% (Lecarpentier, 1908).

(2) From a *sociological* viewpoint, it may be of interest to compare expulsion of congregations to those of Jews, Protestants, Catholics or of other minorities.

(3) From a *historical* viewpoint these expulsions are a clear indication that national resentment against the Holy See reached a critical level.

In this paper, we shall mainly consider the last issue; moreover, we shall confine our attention to the congregation of Loyola. The Society of Jesus constitutes a remarkable example of permanence and universality.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the world, for more than four centuries Jesuits have followed the rules set by the founder of their order in 1540. In contrast to other major religious orders (such as Benedictines, Franciscans or Dominicans), Jesuits by the very objectives of their order raised strong resentment and provoked sharp reactions. Because they had to pledge total obedience to their General in Rome, Jesuits became the target of nationalistic agitation. Because they managed to win the favor of kings and princes, they were subject to the jealousy of the nobility and of the high clergy. Because their colleges were so successful, they were seen as unfair competitors by the universities. In other words, whether we consider the state, the Parliament, the Church or the universities their reaction toward the Jesuits are quite revealing of their respective goals and ambitions.

It is therefore of interest to investigate the interaction between the Society of Jesus and the state institutions in the different nations in which it was established. About 35 occurrences of Jesuit expulsions took place in the period 1590 to 1990. Seen from a distance, all expulsions look almost identical; the enumeration given in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (edition of 1967) for the 19th and 20th century provides an example of such a view.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand when looking at these events through the magnifying glass of detailed accounts each of them becomes an historical episode in its own with its special background and all its particulars. In other words each episode becomes unique to the point of making any comparative analysis difficult. Determining the proper height from which we should look at these events is one of the major

problems we shall face. These considerations could apply to any series of recurrent historical events. Expulsions of Jesuits, however, share a number of features which make their study particularly appealing for comparative purposes. First, as we already mentioned, the Society of Jesus remained practically unchanged until nowadays. Secondly, it can be studied in different national settings; thus we are in a good position to distinguish between local circumstances and general causes. Finally, and most important to the historian, the expulsions of Jesuits are particularly well documented. True, most of these studies have been written by Jesuits; the best of them may be used quite effectively, however, in so far as they quote many original sources (Parliament and royal decrees for instance); as an example about one half of the material in the five volumes by Fouquieray (1913) is devoted to quoting of original records.

The purpose of this comparative experiment is to explore the validity and usefulness of two theoretical guides. In sociology the concept of reinforcement has been applied to account for the evolution in the response of organizations to repetitive situations and stimuli (see for instance Hamblin *et al.*, 1973). In history it has been argued that, due to the social cost of innovation, recurrent events should be ruled by a parsimony principle; for that reason recurrent events have been termed paronymic (Roehner, 1994). This is a recurrent theme throughout this paper; the roots of each expulsion will be seen to reach deep into the history and cultural traditions of the corresponding country. An expulsion in 1901 France resembles more one in 1764 France than one in 1910 Portugal. In geography and in sociology diffusion models usually refer to the spread of inventions, rumors (Rogers, 1971) or of an epidemic (Cliff *et al.*, 1981); here we shall apply the concept of diffusion to a series of similar events occurring in different areas; in this case it is probably more suggestive to speak of *waves* of events. Although the mechanisms accounting for the formation of such waves remain largely unknown, it is hardly possible to object to their existence. The recent events of the period 1990–1992 in East Europa provide a convincing illustration. The epidemic of financial scandals that broke out in many industrial countries during the last two years is still another example of this contagion effect.

As a first introduction to our investigation let us present and discuss Figure 1(a) (b) and Table 1.<sup>3</sup> Figure 1(a) shows the evolution in the number of Jesuits and of Dominicans. In spite of the fact that, as a religious order, Dominicans are very different from Jesuits (see below for more detail), there is a striking parallelism in their increase or decrease phases. We see that regarding overall trend there have been three distinct periods:

(a) 1550–1730: expansion; (b) 1730–1840: contraction; (c) 1840–1960: expansion

It should particularly be emphasized that growth was beginning to level off by 1740, that is about 20 years before the major wave of expulsions which swept the period 1758–1773.

From Figure 1(b) it is apparent that the first expansion period was of larger extent and momentum than the second. In relative terms (i.e. in percentage of the number of inhabitants) the second maximum is of a magnitude at least three times smaller than the first.<sup>4</sup> Seen in such a long-term perspective, the expulsions lose much of their dramatic short-term connotations. In a sense, they bear the same relationship to the general trend as panics on the New York stock market have with respect to the secular variations in the Dow-Jones average.

Table 1 gives a chronological list of expulsions. It is not really intended to be exhaustive since we did not include those expulsions for which only scarce evidence was available.<sup>5</sup> Immediate causes are listed merely as a matter of illustration. From the above considerations it has probably already become clear that immediate causes have no more but an

TABLE 1  
*Expulsions of Jesuits*

Date	Country	Number of Jesuits	Chief protagonist	Immediate cause (or comment)	End of banishment
Dec 1594	France	—	Parliament of Paris	Murder attempts at Henry IV	1603
Nov 1605	England	—	—	Gunpowder plot	—
May 1606	Venice	—	—	The Pope put Venice under interdict	1656
1615	Japan	—	—	—	—
1639	Malta	—	—	—	1640
June 1705	Holland	74	—	Revocation of the Edit de Nantes	—
Sept 1758	Portugal	861	Pombal	Plot to assassinate the king	1839
Nov 1764	France	3350	Parliament of Paris	La Valette bankruptcy	1850
Apr 1767	Spain	2943	Aranda	Sombrero riot, Father Ricci's letter	1815
Nov 1767	Two Sicilies	100	Tanucci	Plot to assassinate the king's fiancée	—
Feb 1768	Parma	170	Guillaume du Tillot	—	—
Apr 1768	Malta	—	—	—	—
Jul 1773	World	13000	Clement XIV	Suppression of the Order	1815
1818	Netherlands	—	William I	—	—
1820	Russia	358	—	—	—
June 1828	France	—	Montlosier	Interdiction to teach	1850
Mar 1834	Portugal	—	—	Suppression of all religious orders	—
July 1835	Spain	—	The Cortez	—	1848
Nov 1847	Switzerland	—	—	Sonderbund civil war	—
May 1848	Austria	1500	Joseph II	Revolution	1848
1850	Colombia	—	—	Revolution	—
July 1872	Germany	775	Bismarck, Falk	Declaration of papal infallibility	1917
1873	Italy	—	Parliament	Dispute with Pie IX	—
1874	Austria	—	Von Beust	Declaration of papal infallibility	—
May 1880	France	—	Jules Ferry	Interdiction to teach	1940
1889	Brazil	—	—	Revolution: emperor Don Pedro deposed	—
Oct 1901	France	—	Waldeck-Rousseau	Dreyfus affair	1940
Oct 1910	Portugal	—	—	Revolution	—
Dec 1931	Spain	—	—	New Constitution	1939

Four main waves may be distinguished: (1) 1594 (France), 1605 (England), 1606 (Venice). (2) 1758 (Portugal), 1764 (France), 1767 (Spain), 1767 (Two Sicilies), 1768 (Parma), 1768 (Malta). (3) 1834 (Portugal), 1835 (Spain), 1847 (Switzerland), 1848 (Austria), 1850 (Columbia). (4) 1872 (Germany), 1873 (Italy), 1874 (Austria), 1901 (France).

anecdotal interest, at least as far as waves of expulsions are concerned. Obviously, the events in Table 1 can be divided into three successive classes depending on the strength of the connection between the state and the Church. The first stage corresponds to

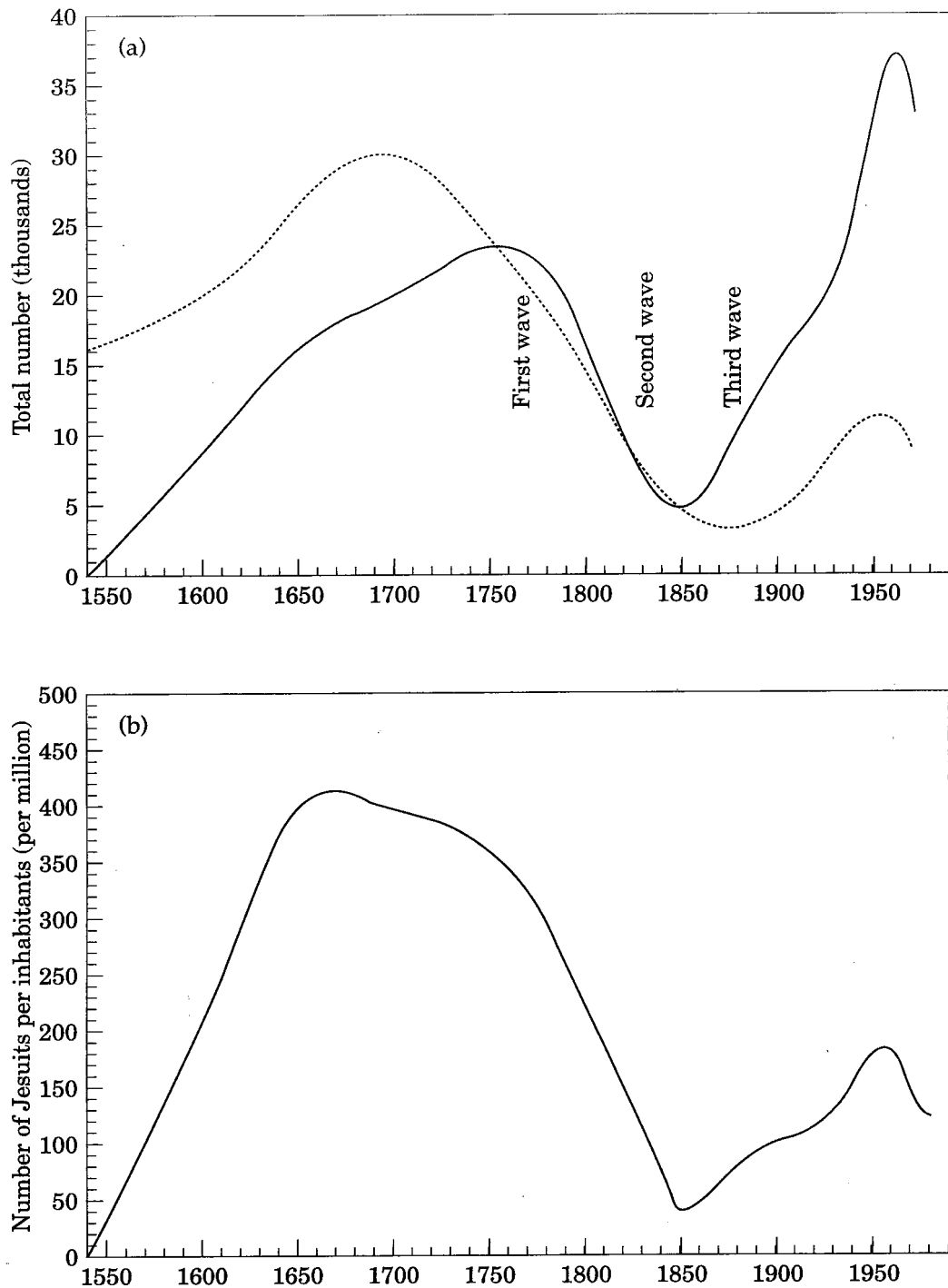


Figure 1. (a) Numbers of Jesuits and Dominicans. As a result of the French Revolution the Dominican Order was suppressed in a number of countries particularly in France and in Germany; this probably did only accelerate a decline which was already under way: from 1700 to 1780, the order lost one third of its members. By 1984 Dominicans numbered 7112; in 1990 ~~suppression of~~ Jesuits numbered 25 000. Sources: *Hostie (1972)*, *Lacouture (1992)*, *Hinnebusch (1990)*. —, Jesuits; . . . . ., Dominicans. (b) Number of Jesuits relative to the total population of major catholic countries. In relative terms the levels reached during the 19th century expansion were about three to four times lower than those of the 18th century. Populations taken into account: France, Germany, Italy, Spain. Sources: *Jesuits*, see Figure 1(a); *populations*, *Mitchell (1978)*

TABLE 2

*Cases against Jesuits that came up before the Court of the Parliament of Paris*

Dispute	Number of instances	Dates
Opposition to the introduction or reintroduction of the Society	5	Feb 1553; Aug 1554, 1555, 1560; Dec 1603
Legal Action taken against Jesuits' colleges	15	Oct 1564, 1565, 1573, 1594; Apr 1599; Dec 1611; Feb 1624; Sep 1625; June 1623; Aug 1626, 1630, 1634; Oct 1632; Jun 1638; Mar 1643, 1715
Edicts issued by the Parliament in order to enforce the expulsion of 1595	3	Aug 1597; Oct 1597; Jan 1603
Condemnation of books written by Jesuits	6	Nov 1610; Oct 1611; Jun 1614; Oct 1625; Sep 1626; Mar 1626

Crétineau-Joly's account is less complete than that by Fouquieray. Sources: 1540 to 1643: *Fouquieray (1913)*; 1644 to 1770: *Crétineau-Joly (1859)*.

monarchies: with kings basically drawing their authority from God the Church certainly could pretend to an essential role. The second stage corresponds to the transition period from autocratic rulership to democratic governments. The third stage corresponds to progressive separation between Church and state in particular in the field of education.

Still another perspective has to be mentioned. From the point of view of public finance the expulsion of Jesuits can be seen as a special instance of confiscation by the state of part of Church property. Indeed, almost systematically their banishment was accompanied by the confiscation of their colleges, residences, libraries, etc. The 16th century wave of monasteries dissolutions seemed to start in Central Germany in 1527 when prince Philip von Hesse-Cassel seized the estates of monasteries (Wolff, 1913); soon afterward Henry VIII did the same in England (the seizure was carried out by steps: see for instance Moreau *et al.*, 1950; Knowles, 1959; Youings, 1971). By 1540 a similar operation took place in Saxony (Hilpert, 1911; Kuhn, 1966). Another wave of confiscations started with the French Revolution (Lecarpentier, 1908) which, this time, was not limited to monasteries.

In this paper we shall not only be concerned with expulsions but also with 'failed expulsions'. Let us briefly explain the meaning we give to this term. An expulsion can be seen as the conjunction of permanent and of circumstantial factors (see below Figure 3); one of the latter is to have a determined monarch (or prime minister) confronted with a strong-minded Pope (or Jesuit General). With the Pope being either too weak or too clever, the conflict is likely to result in a compromise. This happened in particular during the reign of Louis XIV when he forbade the Jesuits to obey the directives of the Holy See (see below); in spite of this obvious break of the sacred rule of obedience, a complete rupture was avoided. In such cases, the Pope and the Jesuits General put aside their well-known motto: 'Sint ut sunt, aut non sint' (Let them be as they are or not at all). More generally many of the numerous conflicts between the Parliament of Paris and the Jesuits (see Table 2) could have led to an open confrontation without the protection extended to them by the monarch.

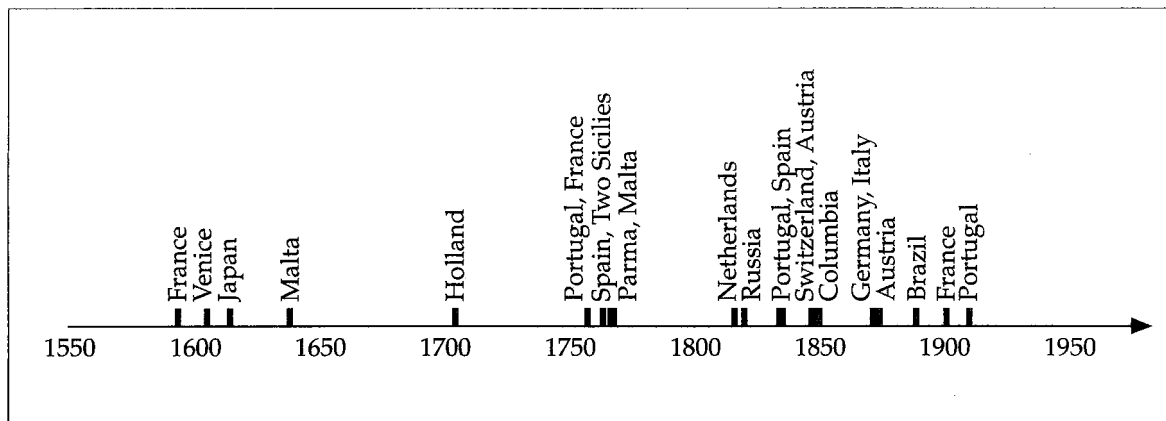


Figure 2. Expulsions of Jesuits. With the exception of a few outliers, the dates form four distinct clusters: 1590–1610, 1755–1775; 1834–1848; 1872–1910.

This paper proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we describe some of the salient features of Jesuit's organization; next we sketch the objectives of the other actors, namely the government, the Parliament, the Universities and the Church. In Section 3 we analyse the expulsions; firstly, by studying a typical case, we identify a number of favoring circumstances and we describe the various stages in the scenario; secondly, we describe the specific characteristics of successive expulsion waves. In the concluding section we examine how the approach used in this paper may possibly be extended to other similar bifurcation phenomena.

Before we settle down to this task, let us mention some of the results that will emerge.

(1) The parsimony hypothesis is largely confirmed by available evidence. For short this can be summarized in the statement that there is greater similarity between the expulsions from France respectively in 1594 and 1764 than between the latter and the expulsions that occurred six years earlier in Portugal.

(2) The contagion hypothesis gets some confirmation from the clustering of events within rather narrow intervals as shown in Figure 2.

(3) It is somewhat more difficult to test reinforcement effects. Indeed, when expulsions occur in close succession (as for instance in Portugal between 1830 and 1910) the time interval between consecutive expulsions was too short to allow all Fathers to return and previous structures to be reconstructed; hence, initial conditions are changed and successive reinforcement episodes can hardly be compared.

As to the investigation of causes, we show that they are organized into superposed layers (see Table 2 and Figure 3); the first few layers correspond to structural causes which form the background of almost all expulsions. The upper layers on the contrary correspond to momentary circumstances which helped trigger off the debate about expulsion. They should be seen as the last straw that breaks the camel's back!

## 2. The Protagonists

One major difficulty in comparative studies is the fact that one can hardly do full justice to national particulars; in this paper, we shall take the French case as the basis of our explanations and shall only briefly indicate (mainly by the way of tables) in which respect other countries differed. There are two reasons to this choice. Firstly, the history of French Jesuits has been particularly well documented; secondly, as far as Portuguese or Spanish sources are concerned, we have only access to those which have been translated in English, in French or in German.

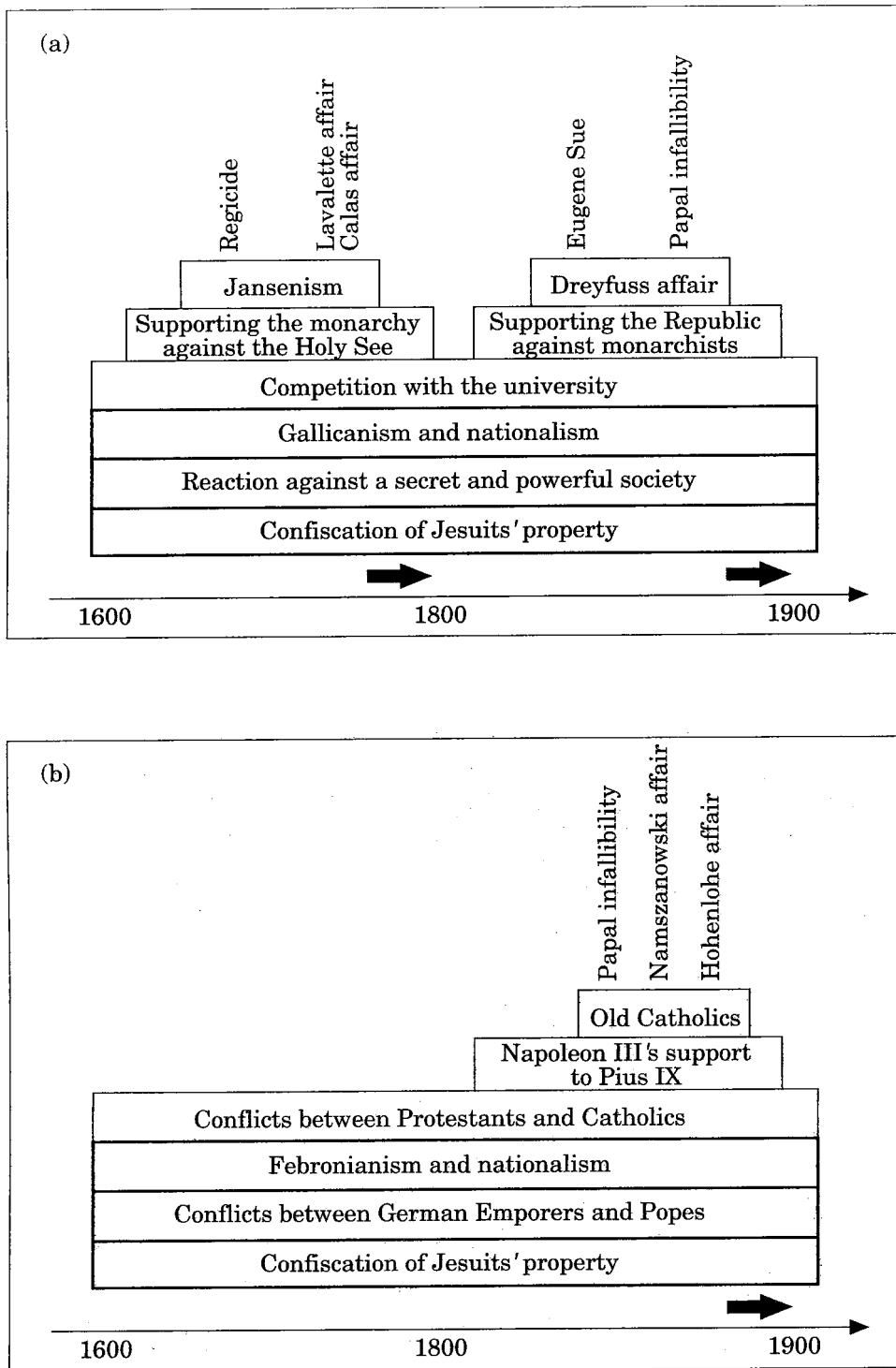


Figure 3. (a) Temporary versus more permanent causes of Jesuits expulsions from France: 1764, 1901. (b) Temporary versus more permanent causes of Jesuits expulsions from Germany: 1872.

### 2.1. The Jesuits

The Society of Jesus has a special position among religious orders. Their members live in communities but unlike monks they do not wear any special outfit, neither do they have to comply with stringent rules. In fact, their status seemed to have been designed to facilitate their insertion in lay society. Since its creation in 1540, the Society has been

granted a number of special privileges especially by Pope Gregory XIV (1591). The Society could present its members for ordination without any ecclesiastical title and without having made solemn vows. Almost absolute authority was extended to the General; in particular, he was given the right to dismiss anyone from the order without previous citation, and without any judicial procedure. Jesuits also had doctrinal privileges. As noted in the Brief 'Dominus acs Redemptor' (which suppressed the order in 1773) 'the Apostolic Constitution of the Jesuits is in conflict with the decisions of the Council of Trent [1545–1563] both with regard to the absolute power arrogated by the General as on different points of doctrine' (Campbell, 1921). Jesuits had the permission to read heretical books prohibited and condemned by the Holy See. Moreover, Pope Gregory XIV absolutely forbade under pain of excommunication any direct or indirect attack on the Society of Jesus.

Soon the Jesuits gained very influential positions. Let us illustrate this process by two examples taken from French history.

(1) After its abjuration of Protestantism and its accession to the throne (1594), Henry IV was still subject to a papal interdict. In a country where about eighty per cent of the people were catholic, this was not a comfortable position. By the virtue of their direct connection with Rome, Jesuits were able to act as intermediaries in the negotiations between the Pope and Henry IV. Their role appears all the more surprising owing to the fact that their order was at that time banished from France. After the successful completion of the negotiations, Henry IV appointed a Jesuit (namely Father Cotton) as his confessor. Subsequently this was to become a tradition in the French monarchy. This of course does not imply that the king's decisions always had his confessor's approval.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless in decisions of limited political momentum, for instance for the nominations to high ecclesiastical positions (a matter which was largely under the control of the state) there can be little doubt that the confessor's arguments could influence the king's decisions.

(2) The Jesuits also drew much of their influence from their teaching activities. Located in the Quartier Latin (the historical center of Paris), the college of Clermont was one of the first they established. Renamed 'Lycée Louis le Grand' after the reign of Louis XIV, it remained a prestigious secondary school even after its secularization; today a sizeable proportion of senior executives are still educated at Louis le Grand. In short, by their position next to the king the Jesuits aroused the resentment of the Parliament; as successful competitors in the education business they had to face the opposition of the universities; by the control they exerted upon ecclesiastical nominations they excited the jealousy of bishops and other Church dignitaries. In the next paragraph we discuss in some detail the attitude of these institutions towards the Jesuits.

## 2.2 *The parliament*

In France the role of the parliaments was restricted to the registration of laws (and possibly the introduction of slight amendments). In spite of their poor prerogatives (or may be in reaction to them) parliaments usually put up fierce procedural fights. Sure, the king could try to gain support of some influential members of parliament by granting pensions or nobility titles, but sooner or later the fight was bound to start up again (see for instance Harouel, 1989). The king or the members of the private council usually could not be attacked directly; the Jesuits provided a more suitable target. Most often, these disputes (see Table 2) did not have the dramatic outcome we are studying in this paper. For this to occur a broad coalition of opponents had to form, which was rare.



### *2.3. The universities*

The University of Paris has been most famous for its Faculty of Theology. Very soon it has been granted special privileges by the king; in return, it sided the king in his disputes with Rome by challenging the theses of Roman theologians. The long conflict between Philippe IV (1285–1314) and the Pope Boniface VIII (and his successors: Benedict XI and Clement V) is well known; backed by his 'legists' the king was able to get the better of the papacy. No wonder therefore that the University of Paris so strongly opposed the founding of theological chairs by religious orders ruled from Rome; already in the early 14th century there was a major clash with the Franciscans (Douarche, 1888). While most of the time a loyal supporter of the king's interests, the University on some occasions happened to be on the side of his enemies. This was for instance the case during the wars of the Ligue when Paris was besieged by Henry IV; subsequently, the banishment of the Jesuits by the University and the Parliament was also an attempt to regain the king's favor.

### *2.4. Ecclesiastical institutions*

More or less violent opposition between major congregations or even within congregations (see for instance the Franciscans) was not rare. There has been a theological debate between Jesuits and Dominicans about Molina's book 'De Auxiliis' (see Crétineau-Joly, 1859, p. 16); there has been a permanent conflict between the Spanish Inquisition and the Jesuits. In France the Jesuits were the principal opponents to the Jansenists; this conflict in which Blaise Pascal stood up for the Jansenists lasted over more than a century. Under attack by the Pope, by the king, and even sometimes by the Parliament, the Jansenists were defeated. But subsequently the promoters of national control over the clergy (gallicanism) took the obliteration of the Jansenists as a pretext for heating up the opposition against Rome and against the Jesuits.

### *2.5. The people*

It is fairly clear from the above discussions that disputes with Jesuits were confined to parliamentary and intellectual circles. The situation changed after the French Revolution. The connection between the monarchies and the Church has been so close for such a long time that it took almost the whole 19th century to break up. Accordingly, an anti-Jesuit cry accompanied almost all nineteenth century popular riots. Some of the most dramatic episodes are listed in Table 3. Eugene Sue's novel 'Le juif errant' (The wandering Jew) which was published in 1844–1845 in the 'Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires' is typical of this state of mind.

Even in as tolerant a country as the United States, political leaders did not have a very good opinion of Jesuits. In a letter to Jefferson, John Adams wrote in 1816 (Mitchell, 1980, p. 223): 'If ever any congregation of men could merit eternal perdition on earth and in hell, it is the Company of Loyola. Our system, however, of religious liberty must afford them an asylum. But if they do not put the purity of our elections to a severe trial it will be a wonder'. Jefferson replied: 'Like you I disapprove of the restoration (. . .) for it makes a retrograde step from light towards darkness'.

## *3. Expulsions*

### *3.1. Schematic description of an expulsion episode*

The purpose of this paragraph is to emphasize some salient and recurrent features in expulsion episodes. As a matter of fact, we do not intend to give to those features the

TABLE 3  
*Anti-Jesuits riots during the 19th century*

Date	Location	Description
Nov 17, 1822	Madrid	25 Jesuits killed by a mob
March 9, 1823	Freiburg (Germany)	Attack on the Jesuit college
July 29, 1830	St Acheuls' abbey (Amiens, France)	A mob of 500 men unite in the cry 'Down with the priests, death to the Jesuits'
July 17, 1834	Madrid	14 Jesuits killed by a mob
March 1833	Lisbon	Jesuit's residence sacked
1860	Rome	1500 Jesuits expelled from their houses
1873	Olinda, Pernambuco (Brazil)	Jesuits under attack after the deposition of emperor Don Pedro
1910	Lisbon	The colleges of Campolide and San Fiel are invaded and Jesuits driven out

Sources: *Campbell (1923), Heimbacher (1908).*

significance of a 'model'; they are merely empirical regularities and our sole purpose in describing them in general terms is to point out that they may be some permanent patterns behind the intricacies of crude facts.

An important public debt, a weak king, a determined Pope along with a weak papacy, an outbreak of nationalistic feelings, these are some of the conditions which could favor Jesuits' expulsions. Let us examine them more closely. We restrict our analysis to monarchies since the great majority of the expulsions listed in Table 1 occurred in that framework.

The prospect of an important booty certainly was a major motivation in government decisions. In France the value of the property seized in 1761 is estimated by Créteineau-Joly (1859) to be about 58 millions 'livres'. This represents a sizeable proportion of the public debt burden; the latter (i.e., the interest of the public debt) amounted to 235 millions according to Necker's report in 1789 (Marion, 1923, p. 58). In Belgium, about half a million florins were seized by the 'Comity for Jesuits' affair' between 1773 and 1780; according to the comity a substantial part of Jesuits' wealth evaded registration and seizure (Bonenfant, 1923).

In catholic states the king was traditionally the protector of the Church. Under a weak king the Jesuits were therefore more exposed to attacks by the Parliament or by a hostile prime minister.

As we already mentioned, a conciliating Pope would try to reach an agreement rather than to bring the matter to the edge of rupture. On the other hand a strong papacy would be able to make governments draw back or hesitate. A well known example is the showdown between the German emperor Henry IV and Gregory VII and its Canossa outcome.<sup>7</sup> By the end of the 18th century the situation was completely different, however; the papacy had to abandon all pretensions to a control over the settlement of political issues even in Italy itself; for instance, the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt (1713-1715) which closed the war of the Spanish Succession completely ignored the traditional rights of the Holy See over the kingdom of Naples and over Sardinia. After the peace of Cambrai the duchy of Parma and Plaisance was disposed of without any consideration for the suzerainty of the Pope Innocent XIII.<sup>8</sup>

By 1750 nationalistic feelings had every reason to be particularly strong in Portugal since the kingdom had virtually been under Spanish suzerainty for more than a century.

When an energetic man such as Sebastiao Jose of Carvalho (later to become the Marquis of Pombal) was appointed prime minister, time seemed ripe for a drastic change.

The charts in Figure 3(a) and (b) are an attempt to summarize the factors (immediate ones as well as latent ones) to which the expulsions of 1764, 1872 and 1901 may be traced. Next, we comment on Figure 3 going from top to bottom. Although often referred to as the causes of the expulsions, the episodes mentioned in vertical printing should in our opinion rather be considered as 'triggering-events'. Let us briefly explain what they are about.

Father Lavalette was involved in import-export operations between France and the French West Indies. By 1760, however, an epidemic among sugar workers threw the company into bankruptcy; it left a debt of about 2 million livres. The case came before the Parliament of Paris and was the pretext of an explosion of resentment against Jesuits.

Jean Calas, master trader at Toulouse was Calvinist; his eldest son happened to commit suicide. Trying to spare his family the shame of what was considered to be an infamous death, he denied the suicide. Soon afterwards he was accused of having killed his son to prevent him from converting to Catholicism. Declared guilty by the parlement of Toulouse, he was executed in 1762. Three years later, Voltaire obtained his rehabilitation; since then Jean Calas has been considered a martyr of religious intolerance.

The question of papal infallibility was not explicitly mentioned in the convocation of the first Vatican Council (June, 1868); but six months later it was emphatically brought about by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the journal of the Jesuits in Rome. Finally, it was proclaimed on 18 July, 1870.

As head of the chaplaincy of the German army, bishop Namszanowski dismissed one of the 'old catholic' (i.e., those catholics who did not recognize papal infallibility) chaplains without referring for that matter to the minister of war Roon. Even after having been asked to countermand his decree, he answered that he would not do so without the Pope's approval. Disobedience within the army was probably the last thing which would be tolerated in Germany; Namszanowski was dismissed and soon afterward the Catholic chaplaincy was suppressed (March, 1872).

The Hohenlohe affair is named after cardinal Gustav von Hohenlohe and his brother Clovis von Hohenlohe. The latter took a direct and essential part in preparing the expulsion decree. On 26 April 1872, Gustav von Hohenlohe was appointed ambassador to the Holy See. The Pope, however, did not accept his nomination probably on ground of the cardinal's liberal ideas. The German public opinion felt deeply insulted; it is on that occasion that Bismarck proclaimed 'We shall not go to Canossa, neither in heart nor in spirit'. The Jesuits' expulsion was voted about two months later. That this episode should not be considered as a determinant cause by itself is clear from the fact that the Pope's decision was a clear indication of an already prevailing climate of tension.

Among the other entries in Figure 3(a) and (b), there are probably only two which require further explanations, namely the conflict between Protestants and Catholics and those between German Emperors and the Papacy. It could seem surprising that three centuries after the religious wars the hostility between Catholics and Protestants was still alive to the point of making it one of the causes in the 1870 war (this in spite of the fact that Bavaria was in majority Catholic). Yet, it cannot be denied that this is the way most contemporaries were thinking of it. For instance, in 1870, the prefect of the district of Strasbourg wired the Empress that: 'the Protestants are siding with the Prussians'. Another source (*Figaro*, 29 August 1870) claimed that in the Languedoc, Protestants

were raising funds in favor of the Prussians. True or not, such statements were revealing. Goyau (1911) provides a number of similar examples. That the conflicts between the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy was still in people's minds could seem even more far-fetched. Yet, numerous indices point this way. We already mentioned Bismarck's exclamation about Canossa. In chapter 2 of a book<sup>9</sup> written just after the 1870 war, Menzel (1873) writes 'Every German emperor who tried to escape the Papal yoke was excommunicated and assailed by treacherous German princes stirred up against him by the Pope'. Finally, in his reply after the expulsion of the Jesuits, Pius IX speaks of 'the little stone that might soon crash the feet of the giant'. It seems fairly clear (in spite of subsequent diplomatic denials) that it was the image of David defeating the German Empire which was in his mind.

Basically the sequence of events unfolded in the following way.

(1) Among the alleged charges brought against Jesuits there was usually a plot to assassinate the king; here are some examples.

1594, France. The murder attempts by Barrière and Chastel who were said to have been encouraged by Jesuits.

1758, Portugal. The Jesuits were accused of having encouraged the plot of the marquis of Tavora (one of the leading members of the Portuguese nobility) in order to assassinate the king Joseph I.

1757, France. The murder attempt of Damiens against Louis XV provided an adequate background for subsequent charges against Jesuits.

1878, Germany. This is rather a counter example. There were two murder attempts against the emperor Wilhelm I (May 11 and June 2, 1878) at the time of the Kulturkampf; but these attempts were posterior to the expulsion of the Jesuits (July, 1872); in fact, they were attributed to socialists.

How should these accusations be interpreted? The question of whether an evil monarch may be deposed by the Pope gave rise to a debate that lasted over centuries. During the French 'Etats Généraux' of 1614 it gave rise to a major controversy.<sup>10</sup> As champions of Roman primacy, the Jesuits quite naturally developed this line of argument; from deposition to regicide there was but a small step. It does in fact not really matter whether or not regicide was supported by some adventurous Jesuit theologians; the important point was that people believed that it was. From a sociological point of view the charge of regicide had the same symbolical significance as the accusation of ritual murder in anti-Jewish riots. They triggered the outburst.

(2) In some cases banishment was edicted in one stroke, in others there were several prosecutions which eventually ended up in the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property. In France, in Belgium and in Parma a pension was usually granted to Jesuits of highest rank (the professed) who would be willing to leave the Society.

(3) After their expulsion from France it is relatively easy for the Fathers to find hospitality in neighboring countries; in 1595 a number of them went to Lorraine (Metz and Pont-à-Mousson); in 1764<sup>11</sup> many went to Belgium; in 1901, Jersey, Belgium and England were the main refuges. The matter was handled in a tougher way in Portugal and Spain; the Jesuits were transported by ships to papal states: Civita Vecchia, Bologna, Ferrara.

(4) It would be extremely interesting to know how Jesuits' property has been disposed of. Unfortunately most of the writers do not go into details about the actual methods used. One exception is the study by Bonenfant (1923) of the dissolution of the Society in Belgium in 1771. In that case only a small fraction of the property was sold (mainly

to cover maintenance charges); the rest of it was devoted by the state to the purpose of establishing schools and colleges.

### *3.2. The different waves*

It has been argued that the expulsions which took place in Portugal, France, Spain, Naples and Parma were in fact a Bourbon plot. It is true that the kings in these countries were related to the Bourbon dynasty. This view, therefore, could seem to provide an easy explanation. However, it is not consistent with historical evidence as we shall show presently. First, family links between kings certainly do not imply that their policies should be decided in common. For instance, the fact that the kings of England and France were closely related did not prevent numerous wars to break out between the two countries in the 15th century. Furthermore, there are many examples of civil wars between princes belonging to the same royal family (see the French religion wars of the 16th century or the wars of the Fronde in the 17th century). Secondly, in none of the four countries was the anti-Jesuit policy initiated by the king. In Portugal it was Pombal who set up the whole campaign; in France the main protagonist was the Parliament;<sup>12</sup> in Spain it was count Aranda who started the movement (Charles III took over only after 1770); the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was ruled by the regent Bernardo Tanucci during the minority of Ferdinand IV. Finally, there was clearly a strong opposition against Jesuits in Rome itself. Campbell (1921) mentions the testimony of an English traveller who was struck by the number of anti-Jesuit pamphlets on sale on the streets in the days before the suppression of the Order by Clement XIV. The Brief of suppression<sup>13</sup> recalled at length previous troubles raised by Jesuit activities; in particular it emphasized the fact that Paul V (1605–1621) already ‘forbade the Society under the most rigorous penalties to concern itself in any way with public affairs’. As a last element one should remember that after the suppression of the Society the Jesuits were driven out of Rome while their General, Father Ricci, was put under arrest until his trial almost two years later.

Let us make a few comments about the suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV (July 21, 1773). Strictly speaking, this episode is outside the scope of our study; however, it was the prelude of a subsidiary wave of expulsions especially in Austria, in Belgium (Austrian Netherlands, see Bonenfant, 1923) and in South Germany. The suppression of religious orders by the Pope is by no means an uncommon event. Usually, however, these suppressions concerned either orders that had been created in violation of canonical rules,<sup>14</sup> or orders which had lost most of their substance as a result of a long period of decline. Only rarely did suppressions concern major Orders which were still active. A well known precedent was the suppression of the Knights Templars by Clement V. In that case the Pope ordered a judicial examination at the council of Vienne (France, 1311). Yet the examination was abruptly interrupted by the publication of the papal Bull ‘Vox Clamantis’ (April 3, 1312) which suppressed the order without formally condemning it. All in all, the procedure followed by Clement XIV was very similar: suppression without examination and without condemnation; even the judicial examination which took place *after* the dissolution did not yield any clear results.

There is convincing evidence that the expulsions of 1595 and of 1764 did not receive much support from the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Table 4 shows that in 1595 some Parliaments did not vote the proscription and that in 1764, proscription was voted only by a small majority in a number of Parliaments. Furthermore, contemporary accounts do not mention demonstrations of hostility against departing Jesuits. As we already noted,

TABLE 4

*Execution and registration of the edict of the Parliament of Paris respectively in 1595 (first expulsion) and in 1762 (second expulsion)*

Parliament of Paris	Dec 29 1594	Parliament of Paris	Aug 6 1762
		King's decree	Nov 18 1764
Execution in Bourges	Jan 25 1595		
Execution in Lyon	Feb 1 1595		
Registration in Béziers	Mar 1595		
Registration in Dijon	Jun 13 1595		
Registration in Toulouse	no registration	Toulouse	majority of 2
Registration in Bordeaux	no registration	Bordeaux	majority of 5
		Rennes	majority of 3
		Perpignan	majority of 1

There was no registration neither in Toulouse nor in Bordeaux, but for two opposite reasons. In Toulouse the Parliament opposed the expulsion, while in Bordeaux the Jesuits had already been expelled from the city by a previous decision of the local Parliament. Source: *Campbell (1923), Fouquieray (1913)*.

popular feelings changed drastically in the 19th century. Some popular demonstrations are mentioned in Table 3.

There is another marked difference. During the 19th century, expulsions usually did not only concern the Society of Jesus but other orders as well: in 1834, the Portuguese government suppressed all religious orders and confiscated their estates; in Germany, by the so-called 'Jesuitengesetz' of July 4, 1872 all orders related to the Society of Jesus were banished along with the Society itself; in France the law of 1901 concerned quite a number of congregations besides the Jesuits, in particular the Dominicans. Before 1800 on the contrary, the attacks were specifically directed against the Jesuits. This has a clear interpretation in so far as the Jesuits of the 18th century, because of their influential position, really constituted a political threat. In the 19th century, having lost most of their power, they rather became an easy target in the broader fight between state and Church.

The Kulturkampf in Germany (1870–1882) can be considered as the initiator of the last wave of expulsions; the emphasis, then, was on educational problems and on a clear separation between Church and state. Most of the conflicts of the second half of the 19th century may be attributed to the uncompromising attitude of Pie IX (1846–1878). However, was this attitude not simply an expression of the lack of flexibility of the Church itself?

### 3.3 'Failed' expulsions

In some cases, while all objective conditions for a confrontation seemed to be realized, expulsion was avoided because one of the parties (usually the Pope) gave way. The factors which turn a long-lasting controversy into a major confrontation were often of anecdotal importance. This is why it may be illuminating to study virtual expulsions (in spite of the fact that the definition and selection of those cases may be a matter of discussion) as well as real ones. For the purpose of illustration let us give three examples.

Both Philip II of Spain (in the period 1590–1593) and Louis XIV of France tried to sever the connections between their national Jesuits and Rome. While the attempt failed

flatly in the first case, it was least temporarily successful in the second. In 1681 Louis XIV was involved in a fierce dispute with the papacy. Summoned before the Parliament of Paris, the Jesuits agreed not to sign the 'Déclaration des Cinq articles' in violation of the orders given by the papacy. In 1688, Louis XIV forbade any communication between the Jesuits and Rome. It is only two years later that a compromise was eventually reached.

Another period of strained relations between the French government and the papacy occurred during the reign of Louis XIII. Though himself a cardinal, Richelieu favored alliance with protestant countries. Mainly directed against the Habsburg monarchy, his policy rose profound displeasure in Rome. At one time (December, 1637) the tension built to the point that Richelieu had to demand the dismissal to the king's confessor, Father Causson. Both Louis XIII and the Jesuit's General gave in. Father Causson was not only dismissed but openly blamed and punished by his superior (Fouquieray, 1913).

### **Conclusion**

From a mathematical point of view the conflicts investigated in this paper belong to the general class of what may be called bifurcation phenomena; they are characterized by a progressive and steady build-up of tension ending either in a violent clash or in the retreat of one of the parties. In the introduction we mentioned several reasons which motivated the selection of this particular field of investigation: stability of the Society of Jesus in the course of time, abundance of sources, large number of occurrences; there is still another reason we did not refer to. Except in the second half of the 19th century, the controversies about Jesuits did not extend beyond the limits of privileged classes (members of Parliament, intellectual circles); as a result the phenomenon appears to be comparatively simpler than other historical bifurcation processes; revolutions (i.e., successful revolts) for instance concern many different social classes.

In spite of such favorable conditions we were not able to carry our study beyond the limits of qualitative comparison. In particular the objective of probabilistic postdiction<sup>15</sup> still seems out of reach. A possible agenda for future research may include the following approaches.

(1) One question is of crucial importance with regard to a possible quantitative model: how could the respective strength of the various causes listed in Figure 3 be assessed? One possible method would be to estimate the number of books published on any of these questions in a given time interval; this may provide a reliable picture of the positions and feelings in intellectual classes.

(2) A second possible line of research consists in establishing comparisons with conflicts of a similar kind, for instance involving other religious orders.<sup>16</sup> The processes which lead to the confiscation of ecclesiastical property may be another theme of research in comparative history.

As far as qualitative analysis is concerned, two conclusions emerged.

(1) Within each country, there is a remarkable degree of 'invariance' in the *manner* Jesuits' expulsions are handled within each country with a typical pattern of griefs and of actions tending to repeat itself.

(2) On the contrary, as far as the *occurrence* of expulsions is concerned, the observation of bursts of expulsions points to the existence of strong, inter-country 'contagion effects'.

**Notes**

- 1 By 1979, the repartition of Jesuits around the world was the following. Europe: 10 310 (France: 1330, Germany: 1890, Italy: 1340, Spain: 3100); United States: 6000; South America: 3600; Asia: 2000; Africa: 1100.
- 2 'In 1818, the Dutch rulers of Belgium expelled the society; in 1820 it was excluded from Russia; in 1829 the colleges in France were closed. The Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits were expelled in 1834 and 1835 respectively. In 1847, after the Sonderbund War, the Swiss Jesuits were exiled. In 1848 the society was proscribed in Austria and parts of Italy. The Jesuits were expelled from Colombia in 1850 and from Ecuador two years later. Spain excluded them again in 1868 and Germany during the Kulturkampf in 1872. In 1873 many houses of Italy were confiscated, while France proscribed again the order in 1880 and 1901. It was expelled in 1910 from Portugal and from Spain during 1932-1935'.
- 3 This paper contains quite a number of charts and tables. This is not only a matter of taste; while quantitative data can be conveniently condensed in the form of time-series, a method for encapsulating qualitative data still has to be found. Charts, diagrams and tables may be seen as an attempt in this direction.
- 4 This is certainly a conservative figure for the percentages in Figure 1(b) have been computed with respect to the total population of France, Germany, Italy and Spain, which until the late 19th century were the major catholic countries (along with Austria). Estimating the number of Jesuits in reference to total catholic population (including in particular South America) would divide the level of the second maximum by a factor of two or three.
- 5 For instance, Daniel-Rops (1958a) mentions that in the mid 17th century Jesuits were banished from Poland (partly as a result of the publication of the 'Monita Secreto'); there are no further precisions unfortunately.
- 6 Even in 1761 at the time of their second banishment from France, the confessor of Louis XV was a Jesuit.
- 7 In the middle of the Kulturkampf Bismarck proclaimed: 'We shall not go to Canossa'; subsequently his words were engraved on a memorial.
- 8 These episodes of course are nothing but specific steps in a secular trend.
- 9 This chapter is entitled: 'The Jesuits in the service of the French politic'.
- 10 Just to show that this was still a hot issue even in the 18th century let us give the following micro-historical example. In 1729 Benedict XIII canonized Gregory VII the Pope who challenged the German emperor Henry IV. Despite a well established tradition the Parliament of Paris forbade any celebration in honor of the new saint. Needless to say, similar measures were taken in Austria and in the catholic kingdoms of Germany (Daniel-Rops, 1958a, p. 287).
- 11 The decree of expulsion from the territory of France was issued only in 1767 that is to say three years after the dissolution of the Society.
- 12 Louis XV wrote to Choiseul: 'Pour la paix de mon royaume, si je les renvoie contre mon gré, du moins ne veux-je pas qu'on croix que j'ai adhéré à tout ce que les Parlements ont fait et dit contre eux'. Even if I am bound to expel them, I do not want my people to think that I supported the parliaments' opinions in that matter.
- 13 Being somewhat less formal than a Bull, a Brief could also be revoked more easily.
- 14 The council of Lyon (1271-1276) suppressed 26 Orders which had been set up without the Pope's assent.
- 15 A term coined by Rashevsky (1968) to designate theoretical predictions concerning the past rather than the future.
- 16 One controversial example in contemporary history may be the Opus Dei (founded in 1923). The Knights of Malta are another peculiar example. Founded in 1099, it represents a most singular case among religious orders: as a survival from the period when its authority extended over the Island of Malta, the order still has the status of a sovereign state and is recognized by 46 countries. It has about 7000 members around the world.

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