

extremely burdened with debts which had been incurred partly to defray the expenses of war, and partly by the magnificence and prodigality with which every undertaking, whether useful or superfluous, is in this kingdom attended. The royal treasury, however, contained a considerable sum in ready money, and the annual revenue amounted to forty-seven millions of dollars de velho. The king set apart an annual sum for the redemption of the public debt.

The income of the eight archbishops and forty-eight bishops was returned by themselves at one million three hundred thousand ducats: the cathedral chapters are not less opulent; more than three thousand monasteries are also supported; and the less rigid institutions of the New World are possessed of extensive estates, capitals, and tithes. The simplicity of pious individuals who purchase dispensations is one principal source of the ecclesiastical revenues.

The military department was organized under the reign of Philip V. The king himself presided in the council of war. In the beginning of the American war, there were five commanders, fifty-five lieutenant-generals, and an equal number of *maréchaux-de-camp*; more than a hundred brigadiers, six inspectors-general, forty war-commissaries, and fifteen auditors. The king had his own regiment of guards, together with a brigade of carabineers, thirty-six regiments of foot, fourteen of horse, and eight of dragoons; a corps of engineers; the artillery, and some companies of cadets; there were five foundries of ordnance, a manufactory of arms at Toledo, and another for firearms at Guipuscoa. The invalids were divided into forty-six companies; there were forty-two regiments of country militia, and one hundred and twenty-six companies of city militia; some of which were usually kept encamped near Gibraltar, Oran, Ceuta, and Marsalquivir, and in the smaller presidencies. The foreign troops in the pay of Spain consisted of the Walloon guards, four regiments of Walloons, four of Swiss, and twelve of Italians. But scarcely any of their corps had their full complement; and one hundred and forty regiments contained in reality scarcely one hundred thousand men. The tactical system had been changed in some unimportant details. The military station was not honoured; as the ranks were debased by the custom of introducing among them smugglers, thieves, and murderers. Desertion was punished by the martial law with death; but the officers preferred suffering the offender to lie in prison for a year, allowed his name to remain on the rolls, and by this means continued to receive his pay. The principal foundry for the artillery was in the most wretched condition; because the inspectors were induced by avarice to employ materials and workmen of the worst description.

The naval system is divided into the three departments of Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthage. Ferdinand VI. left, at his decease, forty-eight ships of the line. Don Carlos augmented their number; but this was rather an apparent than a real increase of their strength, for all the reports were exaggerated and the commands ill executed. Hence arose the misfortunes of the war of 1762, the miserable result of the siege of Algiers, and the failure of the attack on Gibraltar. The deficiency consisted not in money, or in regiments, or in ships; but in that spirit which the Spaniards had so nobly displayed before the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of the inquisition.

#### NAPLES.

The kings of Sicily and Naples contrived for a long time to protect their subjects from the last-mentioned curse; and the inquisitors never ventured to display the full effect of their fury in those dominions. The barons of Sicily and the people of Naples maintained some of their rights: despotism never dared utterly to oppress this lively nation, whose stormy passions frequently threatened the destruction of its oppressors, and obliged the court on various occasions to obey the voice of the *piazza del popolo*, while their territory was peculiarly exposed to the hazard of foreign invasion. The government stood frequently in need of subsidies; the taxes were distributed by

the *piazza*; and every *arendamento* was carried to the chamber by those persons to whom the levying of this impost had been intrusted. The military power of this state was supposed to be equal to that of Sardinia; but the soldiers were better paid and the troops superior in appearance. The population is estimated at four millions.

#### SWITZERLAND.

After the states under the sway of the house of Bourbon, the Swiss confederates, who are the most ancient allies of that family, deserve to be next mentioned. The internal administration of the cantons was distinguished by intelligence, probity, and vigilance; and their population and opulence increased without interruption. As they were equally destitute of a supreme head and of a permanent representation, they found it easy to avoid being entangled in the affairs of more powerful states. They dwelt without apprehension in the midst of jealous and powerful rivals; they had no idea of aggrandizement; and their wishes were confined to the object of remaining in their present condition. Accordingly, they enjoyed a more undisturbed course of prosperity than their brethren the Venetians and Hollanders had been able to obtain by their wars and negotiations; and preserved more successfully their primitive equality and the simplicity of their manners, which became refined as the national character developed itself.

The renewal of the general alliance between the cantons and France convinced all Europe that the latter kingdom was disposed to continue to support the confederates in the great political discussions of the continent; and that her frontier would henceforth be protected on the side of Switzerland. The Swiss, besides, furnished the king with men; the only article which they possessed in superfluity: and the monarch supported the needy cantons by subsidies. The stipulations relative to the regiments were separated from the articles of alliance, and treated as a private affair.

The population of Switzerland amounts to about a million and a half; five hundred and eighty thousand of which belong to Zurich and Bern: about thirty-eight thousand persons serve in the foreign regiments, most of whom are enlisted for a term of four years; and it may safely be assumed, that twenty-five thousand of that number consist of native Swiss.

The natural instruments of despotism, a standing army, and the multiplication of taxes, were unknown in the cantons; the government of which owed its whole power to the sentiment of public prosperity, and to the esteem and affection of the people. After the destruction indeed of public morality, the common opinion of their accumulated wealth, their well-known military spirit, and the situation of their country at the passes into more fertile provinces, might give even the cantons reasonable ground of apprehension for the continuance of their peaceful existence.

#### LETTER IX.

*The Court of Rome and the Jesuits—Intrigues of the latter in various Countries, and their final Expulsion from Europe. A. D. 1759—1773.*

A RELIGIOUS order, says Mons. Voltaire, ought not to make any part of a history. No historian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the establishments of the priests of either Cybele or Juno. It is one of the misfortunes of our European policy, that the monks, destined to ignorance by their institution, have made as much noise in the world as princes, either by their immense riches, or the troubles they have excited from the first of their institution. Your attention, my dear son, has already been directed to this subject, the conduct of the jesuits: (1) but that the narrative may not be left in an unfinished state, we shall now resume it and carry it to its termination. In

(1) See Part II. Letter XXXV., &c.



of the order to be scrutinized according to the laws, as they were termed, and to the liberties of the Gallican church; and it was not difficult to prove, by these tests, that it was worthy of reprobation: the jesuits were therefore forbidden to admit scholars or novices, and were required to furnish a catalogue of their persons and effects. The prelates who had been appointed to investigate their cause were divided in their judgments; but the minister gave authority to that of the severer party: the habit of the order was forbidden to be worn, 1762, all their colleges dispersed, and not more than five of their number allowed to reside together; their connexion with the general of the order was dissolved, their property confiscated, the members provided with scanty pensions; and, finally, the order totally and permanently abolished in France. A. D. 1767.

The fiscal of Castile, Don Ruy de Campomanes, appeared against the jesuits in Spain, as Don Sebra da Sylva had done in Portugal, and Montclar and Chalotais in France. Even their apparent humility, their applications on behalf of sick persons and prisoners, and their charitable gifts, were decried as the arts of factious demagogues. They were especially accused of having excited the insurrection against the marquis of Squillace, who was disliked on account of some of his regulations, which were contrary to Spanish customs. Campomanes affirmed, that Don Bernardo Ibannez, during his last illness, had communicated to him some most important disclosures relating to the institutions and designs of the jesuits in Paraguay. The remembrance of John Palafox was revived; a bishop who had been persecuted by them in the preceding century, and whom it was now proposed to place among the saints, by the intercession of the Catholic courts. King Charles III. was informed that they had intended to represent him as an illegitimate son of cardinal Alberoni, to deprive his family of the throne under that pretext, and to elevate Don Lewis, his brother, in his stead. All the jesuits of Spain were now also transported into the territories of the church: the decision of the council of Castile was concealed from them for two months; and in the night of the 6th of March, 1767, their colleges were surrounded with troops, every cell guarded by a sentinel, their papers and other articles taken from them, and they were all conveyed towards the ports where they were to embark at break of day. The dominion which they were supposed to have founded in Paraguay was overturned with equal facility: this was properly an institution for education, and a system of legislation, the authority of which depended entirely on the will and opinion of the public.

Pope Rezzonico had in vain confirmed the order, and endeavoured to influence the different courts in their favour: the people obeyed their rulers; and a system had already come into operation in most of the courts, the consequences of which extended far beyond the calculations of the most sagacious statesmen. Two thousand three hundred Spanish jesuits were landed at once at Civita Vecchia; upon which occasion, the court of Rome pointed out how unreasonable it was to require that such a sovereign as the pope should be called upon, at the caprice of the royal courts, to maintain in his own dominions the members of those religious orders, which had in all ages been cherished by the Catholic world. Another body of one thousand five hundred came to him from Naples, and a great multitude out of Sicily: many of them were old and infirm; and the greater part had been accustomed to a sedentary life, and were incapable of severe labour.

During the pontificate of Rezzonico, 1768, several regulations were also established by Ferdinand of Bourbon, duke of Parma, against the acquisitions of the clergy; their property was subjected to the ordinary taxes, all appeals to the pope were forbidden, and the *exequatur* declared necessary to the validity of his commands. The pope, in the utmost indignation at seeing that so insignificant a prince, the sovereign of a state which was originally a fief of the church, dared to proceed in this manner, and forgetting that Ferdinand was a Bourbon, and that all the temporal powers of Europe considered his cause as their own, published the interdict against him, "That his holiness might not be liable to the reproach of having neglected to pro-

tect the cause of God himself, in an affair relating to the liberties of the church." The jesuits were upon this expelled also from the territory of Parma; and the subjects of the duke were commanded not to regard the letter dated from Rome as a production of the pope. France, Spain, and the princes of Italy endeavoured to arrange the affair of the duke by mediation; but Clement replied, "I have done my duty: I know how small my power is; but if I were more powerful, I would still not seek assistance in troops; but, on the contrary, would much rather end my life in misery, in imitation of the first successor of St. Peter, than dishonour my gray hairs, on the brink of the grave, by betraying my duty."

The court of Naples at this juncture renewed the claims of the family of Farnese on Castro and Ronciglione; and those of the duke of Modena to the territory of Ferrara. At Naples the pope was openly treated as merely the first Christian bishop, and the authority of the councils preferred to his. The duke of Modena laid taxes on the property of the church; even the grand-master of Malta expelled the jesuits; and Venice, the native country of pope Rezzonico, investigated the amount of the ecclesiastical revenues. This state, the population of which amounted to only two millions six hundred thousand, contained forty-seven thousand ecclesiastics; and the capital, from which their income was derived, amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine millions. The subjects of the king of Naples and Sicily amounted to four millions one hundred and seventeen thousand; while the number of the clergy within its dominions was one hundred and seven thousand, and two-thirds of the produce of the land were in their possession. It was calculated that the thirty-fifth part of the population of the Catholic world consisted of ecclesiastics. The jesuits of Corsica arrived in Italy in the most wretched condition.

Clement now wrote to Maria Theresa to obtain her mediation on his behalf; "Prayers and tears are my weapons," said he; "I honour the potentates whom God is pleased to employ for the castigation of his church." But the dispositions of the Catholic world had undergone such an alteration, that the bull *in cœna domini* was rejected even at Vienna. This bull contains a kind of epitome of the privileges usurped by the papal chair: pope Pius V. had reduced it to its most modern form, and Urban VIII. had enlarged it by a few additions: but a great part of its two-and-seventy curses is older than the thirteenth century. This instrument used to be pronounced on Holy Thursday, before the college of cardinals and the whole people; but of latter time it has been recited in a lower tone, and even entirely omitted.

There was now an extraordinary degree of commotion, as though some new danger threatened the power of princes from ecclesiastical pretensions: the temporal power every where investigated the occasions on which the convents were founded, and the bonds of obedience to generals of orders and to the pope were dissolved. Every proof of a dislike to the interference of temporal power, of extravagance, of burdensome poverty and avarice, of despotism and cruelty, was publicly displayed, and more or less magnified. Among all the proposals for reformation, none was so acceptable to the courts as the confiscation of the ecclesiastical estates; but when it was perceived that the barracks increased in proportion as the convents diminished, the friends of liberty and peace contemplated with dissatisfaction the unhappy direction given to reform. The power of the bishops, who, with ill-calculated ambition, endeavoured in many countries to raise themselves upon the ruins of the papal authority, menaced the inferior ranks of the clergy with the inconveniences of a nearer and therefore still more rigid despotism.

The death of Rezzonico, or pope Clement XIII., happened 1769, amid these commotions. When the great bell of the Capitol announced the death of this unfortunate prince, every individual in Rome manifested sorrow: he had acquired their esteem by his perseverance and the exemplary firmness with which he adhered to the supposed maxims of duty.

The college of cardinals were at first disposed to favour the party in the interests of the jesuits; until the court of France, in which Choiseul was still



the prime agent, gave them to understand that an election, which should be displeasing to the temporal powers, would probably render the pope a simple bishop of Rome. The Spanish faction elected cardinal Ganganelli; a man of low origin, but of extraordinary learning, great simplicity of manners, and the purest intentions.

Clement XIV. endeavoured to save the jesuits: he alleged that the council of Trent had confirmed their institution; and that the authority of the councils was superior to that of the pope. He represented the reigning pontiff as merely the administrator of the ecclesiastical dominions; and that (in allusion to Avignon and Benevento, which had been taken from his predecessor) he had not the right to alienate any of the possessions of the holy see.

While he was calmly awaiting the result of these representations, he pursued his duties as a sovereign with the most scrupulous attention. The debt of the state had arisen to the sum of seventy-four millions of scudi: he introduced a system of rigid economy, and endeavoured to reanimate the neglected arts of agriculture and commerce.

At length, Maria Theresa also desired the suppression of the jesuits; and Clement having maturely considered the signs of the times, perceived that the period fixed by destiny to the hitherto existing order of things, had now arrived; and without even consulting the cardinals, issued the bull for the dissolution of the order, 1773. Benevento and Avignon were restored, and the pope's enlightened understanding was the subject of great praise. But he had in reality only yielded to the power of irresistible circumstances—for on no other ground is it easy to believe that he would have sacrificed the tried and principal support of his dominion.

#### LETTER X.

*A View of Holland, or the Dutch Republic—its Constitution and Government—with a View of the Germanic Circles. A. D. 1763—1781.*

At the mouths of the Rhine, which takes its rise among the mountains of Switzerland, lies Holland; a country in which the Protestant interest for a century past had determined the public resolutions in favour of the policy of England; but where a powerful party now began to return to the ancient policy of the state, which was more favourable to the interests of France. This change of system was greatly promoted by commercial jealousy, by the haughtiness of the British government, and by the hatred generally entertained against the family of the stadtholder: and Joseph rendered it an almost indispensable measure by the destruction of the frontier fortifications which had formerly protected Holland.

The constitution of the greater part of the cities of Holland had for a long time been tending towards aristocracy. The council of Amsterdam was formerly chosen by the community of citizens, who afterward allowed the members of that body to usurp their elective privileges: a permanent college was thus established, which perpetuated a system of political maxims, and preserved freedom, peace, and order, by the temperate employment of its powers. The council of Amsterdam consisted of twenty-six members, with twelve burgomasters at their head; four were continually in office, three of whom were annually changed, while the fourth remained two years in his post, in order to assist his colleagues, in cases of sudden emergency, by his experience in the current business of the state. The burgomasters had the supreme direction of the financial department, and the disposal of certain offices: and the manner in which they discharged their offices qualified them in a greater or less degree for the higher dignities of the state. Next to them sat the nine syndics, seven of whom were chosen from among a number of fourteen annually proposed by the senate. This election belonged, at different periods of the republic, sometimes to the stadtholder, and sometimes to the burgomasters. The syndics exercised the office of judges; and, in

civil affairs, an appeal lay from their decisions to the court of Holland, and from thence to the land-council. The court of Holland, which had formerly been the tribunal of the counts of that province, and which now consisted of eight deputies from Holland and three from Zealand, took cognizance of feudal causes, the law processes of the nobility, and appeals: and the great land-council of both these provinces had succeeded to the post of the supreme tribunal, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, had held its sittings at Mecklen. In this country, as in the towns of Switzerland, appeals related only to petty disputes concerning property, and not to cases affecting the life of an accused person, which could only be forfeited under circumstances of great importance, and upon the clearest evidence. The states of Holland and West Friesland consisted of about ten deputies of the nobility; and of the representatives of eighteen towns, twelve of whom received their seats and votes from the first William of Orange, who wished to attach those bodies by their interests to his cause, and to that of the revolution. The prevalent disposition among the nobility was an attachment to the house of Orange; but they possessed conjointly only one vote: they were the least wealthy class; and hence the administration of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and other offices, were to them objects of desire. These states elected a pensionary counsellor, who exercised the functions of president, and could prevent the execution of their resolutions by his veto. In the intervals of the annual assemblies of the states, a commission held two sessions; and in extraordinary contingencies its sittings were permanent. This body was divided into two chambers: that of South Holland consisted of a deputy of the nobility, whose office was triennial, of eight triennial representatives of the great cities, and of one annual representative of the smaller towns: that of North Holland, of seven deputies from the cities. All matters were so arranged, that every district of the whole country was provided with a representative well instructed in its own interest.

In Zealand the whole body of the nobility was represented by the prince of Orange: six of the cities sent deputies to the states-general; and in two of these places the magistracy was nominated by the prince.

Guelders, which was a small federal republic forming a single member of the great union, contained the towns of Arnheim, Zutphen, and Nimuegen; the deputies of which held an assembly of the states twice in the year. This province contained a numerous and powerful nobility.

In the states of Utrecht, the nobility consisted of temporal and those denominated spiritual lords; but the latter were in reality laymen, although they represented the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter. Five cities sent deputies to the assembly of these states; and those of Utrecht, which was the most considerable town of the province, had the power of opposing the resolutions of all the rest.

Friesland consisted of three districts, which were subdivided into thirty bailiwicks: the land proprietors of the confederate villages assembled in all parts of the country, and elected one nobleman, and one opulent and respectable free commoner; and the eleven cities, which together constitute the fourth district of the province, made a similar appointment. The plenipotentiaries thus elected, disposed of all the offices of the state: they appointed three persons out of each district as the members of a court of justice, which had the absolute decision of all criminal causes, and decided the appeals from the courts of the bailiffs in civil causes.

A similar constitution existed in Groningen, which was also a part of ancient Friesland.

In Overijssel, the states consisted of the deputies of the three cities, and of the possessors of all such noble estates as were worth not less than twenty-five thousand florins.

All the seven provinces formed the assembly of the states-general and the council of state. The states-general possessed the dignity of representation and the duty of superintendence; although, as it could deliberate, but could not resolve, it possessed, properly so called, no power; and the supreme



doing that, however, it will be necessary briefly to recapitulate some facts which have already been touched upon.

The order of the jesuits is a political association of spiritual and ambitious men, bound together by one strong and common interest. Implicit obedience to their head is the basis of their actions; all their views, designs, and operations tend to the same end, and proceed from the same principle; no personal interest, no division exists among them. This order is the image of a perfect republic, and consequently is contrary to all other governments. A jesuit is a citizen only of his own order, is a natural enemy of every society, and, according to the principles of good policy, is not admissible into any well-ordered state. It is astonishing that such a body of men should have been received under any government; nevertheless, it has insinuated itself under the cloak of religion into many. The arts, the sciences, and the education of youth, were the means by which it acquired all distinctions. Many states, however, not dazzled by their real and useful qualifications, adopted a more enlarged way of thinking than those who received them. These austere and learned philosophers, who consecrated themselves to the office of enlightening nations, occupied themselves also in politics, in commerce, and in war; more skilful even in intrigue than in science, and always contriving to manage the leading interests of mankind, they were suspected of employing the most Machiavelian and criminal means to obtain their objects: they have been accused of lighting up funeral piles, preparing poisons, sharpening poniards, and arming fanaticism! Several sovereigns at length opened their eyes, and discovered their ambition. The parliaments in France, the senate of Venice, the suspicious apprehensions of Carvalho, the revolt of Madrid, have driven them successively from France, Venice, Portugal, and Spain. In a political view, every country is justified in having employed the most violent means to extirpate this society; but, morally speaking, they have been treated with great injustice, particularly in Spain and Portugal.

An affair of the greatest importance had almost entirely ruined them with these two courts; and by depriving them of the character of confessors to the kings and their ministers, destroyed the basis of their power. The marquis of Carvajal, favourite of Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, who without the title of minister directed the government of that country, had been gained over by the queen Barbara, who was an infanta of Portugal. The known state of the king, her husband's constitution, and her own attachment to Farinelli, the famous Italian singer, leaving her without hopes of children, she had directed all her tenderness, her wishes, her cares, and her intrigues towards her country. Mr. Keene, the English ambassador, who enjoyed all her confidence, had traced out to her, conjointly with the Portuguese minister, the duke of Alba, and some others, the plan of a treaty very advantageous to Portugal, and still more so to England. The marquis of Carvajal, joined with the queen in advancing its success, intoxicated by his affinity to the house of Bragança, of which the court of Lisbon made a great parade.

The object of this treaty was an exchange of the colony of St. Sacrament upon the river La Plata, for the settlements on the river San Pedro and some others, which, by surrounding Brazil, would bring together the Portuguese frontiers, would extend them along the great Cordilleras, and the rivers which flow from them, and multiply in a great degree the means of securing a smuggling intercourse which the richest provinces of Spain. Nevertheless, the pretext for making this exchange, was to abolish the contraband trade of the colony of St. Sacrament. The opposition of the marquis de l'Ensenada, minister for foreign affairs, of the marine, and the Indies, was attributed to his partisans, the jesuits, and suspended for two years the exchanging the ratifications of this treaty. That minister absolutely refused his signature. He was accordingly stripped of his employments, and exiled to Grenada; while those monks which were most violent against the jesuits were appointed confessors to the king, the queen, and the royal family. It was at this time that the narrative of their kingdom in Paraguay began to gain credit:—the following is the outline.

Paraguay is an immense portion of South America, which extends from the capitania of St. Vincent in Brazil, to the left bank of Rio de la Plata, runs up behind Chili and Peru to the unknown country of the Amazons, and has no fixed limits. This vast country is watered by noble rivers, whose banks were peopled by various savage nations, till the division of South America was made by Spain and Portugal, who alone have any settlements in it. The two courts of Madrid and Lisbon, after a long succession of disputes relative to the limits, not being able to come to any positive determination respecting this country, which no one hitherto had penetrated, and being alarmed with mutual fears respecting mutual encroachments (the Spaniards fearing for Peru, and the Portuguese for Brazil), they united in manifesting their confidence in these good fathers, whose indefatigable zeal in propagating the Gospel appeared to merit such a recompense. They mutually agreed, therefore, to concede this immense country to the society of jesuits, with an exact demarcation only of its breadth, as its length has never been discovered.

The jesuits, superior to the rest of mankind in the art of persuasion, and labouring for themselves, made an incredible progress in their designs. At the end of fifty years, and to the disgrace of the other colonies, the country of the missionaries was filled with villages, the Catholic faith was triumphant, and the savages civilized, happy, and subject to the wisest of governments. No people on earth were more contented; labour and property was all in common. There were neither rich nor poor, nor dignities, nor great, nor little; there was no inequality whatever, and consequently neither avarice, ambition, nor jealousy; every one contributed equally his portion of labour, and received an equal retribution from it. Every village was one numerous family, of which the jesuit was the father; and the society itself was the mother of this happy republic.

The power of these reverend fathers, by a system of politics very different from the greater part of human governments, was founded upon a perfect union of public utility with individual happiness.

This wonderful republic existed in peace. The jesuits, from their moderate spirit, and to avoid all appearance of ostentation, payed the kings of Spain and Portugal a certain small tribute, without murmuring at the unjustifiable power which required it of a free people, who, united in a society of their own establishment, could not be reasonably considered either as subjects to the Spaniards or Portuguese. It was not long, however, before the two courts, jealous of the progress of such a population, agreed to divide between them the fruits of the labours of the jesuits. The latter represented in vain that their rights were legitimated by the concession of the country, as well as the injustice of doing violence to a free people; who, on embracing the Catholic religion, and adopting European manners, did not propose to give themselves masters. These remonstrances were treated as criminal and treasonable by the Spaniards and Portuguese, who entered with arms in their hands into these colonies. The Indians exerted themselves to the utmost in their defence; but, overcome by the superior discipline of European soldiers, a small number of them received the yoke, while the rest established themselves farther up the country, taking the fathers with them to console them in their distress, and protesting against the tyranny and injustice of the barbarians of Europe.

The jesuits now found themselves in a very perplexed situation; threatened, in Europe, with persecution and exile; prohibited from continuing their missions: while they must have been highly unjust to their proselytes, if they had advised them to give up their liberty; their sagacity was often disconcerted. At length, however, an accidental discovery was made of their Machiavelian system, and at once exposed their conduct.

A captain of Spanish dragoons, who was a native of France, the chevalier de Bonneval, found in a village of the mission of Parana, where he commanded after the conquest, the instructions of the order, addressed to the principal jesuit of the district. They consisted of the three following arti-



cles. 1st, "If the bishop of Buenos Ayres, or any other ecclesiastical officer, should come to make a pastoral visit, and to interfere in the affairs of the mission, he should be diverted from his purpose by presents, and particularly of the herb of Paraguay. But if it should not be possible to dissuade him from his errand, by such an application to his interest, any and every means must be employed to frustrate the object of it. 2d, If the commissary of finances, or any person employed by the king, should come into the country to impose taxes upon it, one-half of the people must be sent into the mountains or forests, that he may not know the real population of the village. 3d, If the governor of Buenos Ayres, or any general or commanding officer, should come to visit the villages of the mission, he should be loaded with presents, in order to turn him aside from his design; and if such means should not succeed, force itself must be employed to resist his pretensions."

These instructions were sent into Europe, and exposed to imminent danger the life of the captain, whom the intrigues of the jesuits retained in prison, at Ceuta, for two years, to prevent his appearing against them; they formed a principal instrument in the process which was instituted against the order in Spain.

To complete this state of mortification, the jesuits, dispirited in America, and humiliated at Lisbon and Madrid, suffered in silence. In both these courts they conducted themselves with moderation and prudence, supporting their disgrace with apparent resignation, boldly disavowing all that had passed in Paraguay; declaring their submission, and brooding over their vengeance.

The assassination of the king of Portugal by penitents of the jesuits, following hard upon the business of Paraguay, they were suspected of having resolved, by this crime, to revenge the injustice which they had suffered in America. The fathers Malagrida, Matos, and Alexander were arrested, put to the torture, and involved in the catastrophe of this conspiracy. All the possessions of the jesuits were confiscated, and their resistance in Paraguay seemed to justify the confiscation. At length, they were all banished; and, in defiance of the pope, the ecclesiastical states were overrun by four thousand persons, who, being dismissed from their stations, were become altogether useless. The nuncio, by the haughty manner in which he attempted to protect the power of the papal militia, rendered their situation still worse; while to hopeless banishment, and general confiscation, was added the sale of all their property.

The nuncio, however, extremely irritated, quitted Portugal; and the court of Rome, considering the process instituted against the jesuits to be a wicked attempt, put the kingdom under an interdict. The minister being thus driven to an extremity, attacked the holy see itself. This first act of hostility was a book prepared under his inspection (and as some have supposed, written by himself), to prove that the popes ought not to have approved the institution of the jesuits; and when they had done it, that they ought to have retracted their approbation, which might have been done without exposing their authority, because they are not infallible; and that even in the councils, there are examples of a similar recantation. This book having made the danger of a rigorous conduct evident to the court of Rome, it endeavoured to employ mediators to terminate the dispute in a friendly manner. But the minister was inflexible; and so far from seeking the favour of the holy see, he subsequently made another and still more forcible attack upon it, in bringing forward the father Ferreira, a celebrated theologian, to support a thesis, whose object was to prove the non-infallibility of the pope. This thesis, sustained by the authority of the synods of France, and the canonical books of the French clergy, is full of strong argument, and written in a style of great animation. The effect of these hostilities against the court of Rome exasperated both parties; and it might have happened that the court of Portugal, after having adopted the liberty of the Gallican church, would not have stopped there, if the patriarch of Lisbon had been a man of talents, and the count de Oeyras ten years younger.

Such is the account given us of this matter by Dumouriez, in his "Account of Portugal:" the few remarks which I shall now subjoin may be regarded as supplemental, and finishing the picture.

In the latter years of the long pontificate of Lambertini, or Benedict XIV. the destruction of the order of jesuits, that grand pillar of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, began to take place in Portugal.

Benedict XIV. was one of the most universally beloved of all the popes: he had obtained the respect of the world by his extraordinary acquirements, his moderation, prudence, and mildness. During his pontificate, many abuses, such as the privileges of the asylum, were either abolished, or at least circumscribed and undermined by reasonable stipulations, or with the pope's connivance. During this period also, complaints were preferred from many places of the secret conspiracies of the Romish congregation of the order of jesuits; and even at that time many scandalous principles were discovered in their confessional precepts, and in many of their books of morality, by which that society had thought proper to tranquillize the terrified consciences of sinners, in the practice of vicious pleasures. The holy father either dared not, or did not choose to forbid the former; and disallowed the latter with that indifference which is usual to men of the world. It was, moreover, a principle with Benedict XIV. to avoid all contests, because he knew that the spirit of the age afforded no prospect of a successful result to the pontificate from such discussions.

Rezzonico, who became pope Clement XIII., was a pious man, devoid of fear, and equally ignorant of moderation and of the spirit of the age. Under his pontificate, the difference which already existed between the Portuguese minister of state and the jesuits came to an open rupture.

The accusations brought against the order were, that it had endeavoured to establish an independent empire in America, and had actually undermined the authority of the European sovereigns in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil; that no fear of consequences was capable of limiting the extent of its plan, because the society was perpetually renewed, and had never been known to abandon any design which it had once adopted; and that the general of the order had defended moral irregularities on his own responsibility. The governor of Marannon, who was a creature of Pombal, gave information to the king of such plans. From that time every thing mischievous was attributed to the jesuits. Pombal had introduced a monopoly of port wine for his own benefit, which irritated the proprietors of the vineyards of that district to such a degree, that they laid waste his own estates; and this outrage was imputed to the order. The earthquake of 1755, by which three-fourths of Lisbon was destroyed, gave occasion, as it usually happens under such circumstances, to admonitory discourses, in which the sins of mortals are represented as causes of the displeasure of the Divinity: these declamations were represented as attacks on the sacred person of the king, because Don Joseph had exposed himself to such reproaches. The order was accused at Rome; and the pope proclaimed a visitation, during which no jesuit was permitted to preach or to exercise the office of a confessor.

The attempt to assassinate the king of Portugal has already been related, and therefore need not here be repeated. I may, however, remark, that it happened, soon after this occurrence, that a commercial house in Paris which managed the American funds of the order, refused to honour the bills drawn by their procurator-general, father de la Valette, because the specie and goods for the value of which they were negotiated, were partly lost by shipwreck, and partly captured by the English. The court, however, declared that commercial pursuits were inconsistent with the intention of the order, but that their houses must notwithstanding answer for each other. The duke de Choiseul, now minister of state, was mimical to the jesuits: he knew that they disliked his administration; he was in all respects unfavourable to their principles; and was the first who patronised that school of philosophy which undermined the foundations of the Catholic system, and afterward those of all arbitrary authority. This minister caused the constitution

