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978-1-107-03058-9 - The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences

Edited by Jeffrey D. Burson and Jonathan Wright

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*Introduction*  
*Towards a New History of the Eighteenth-Century*  
*Jesuit Suppression in Global Context*  
*Jonathan Wright and Jeffrey D. Burson*

The 1773 Suppression of the Society of Jesus by papal decree was among the most dramatic and disruptive events of the eighteenth century. Though triggered by a series of specific political events it had complex and transnational origins that were, in some respects, deeply rooted in the history of early modern Europe, and its consequences were truly global in nature. In recent decades, a variety of scholars around the world have, in manifold ways, directed attention to the causes, course, and consequences of the Suppression of the Jesuits. Accordingly, this edited volume, among the first of its kind in the English language, features the work of numerous scholars whose current research provides valuable insights into the implications of the Suppression for world history, the history of Enlightenment Catholicism, and the later history of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> While the editors of this volume have aimed for geographical and chronological breadth, the result is far from being the last word on the Jesuit Suppression. Rather, the editors and contributors hope that this volume will place the diverse scholarship on the eighteenth-century Suppression into context, ignite further debate, and locate the fate of the Jesuits in the narrative of a long eighteenth century characterised by revolutionary changes in cultural, political, religious, and intellectual history.

Over the course of the two decades prior to 1773, the Jesuits had endured regional attacks in many of the leading Catholic European states,

<sup>1</sup> Few works of scholarship focus specifically on the Jesuit suppressions as a transnational or global event. Notable exceptions include D. Van Kley, "Jansenism and the International Expulsion of the Jesuits," in S. Brown and T. Tackett (eds.), *Reawakening Revolution, 1660–1815*, vol. 8, *Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 302–28 and Christine Vogel, *Der Untergang des Gesellschaft Jesu als Europäisches Medienereignis (1758–1773)* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006).

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most notably in Portugal (culminating in 1759), France (culminating in 1762–5), Spain (culminating in 1767), and their respective dynastic inheritances and overseas possessions. These regional attacks had resulted in banishment, ostracism, and unprecedented dislocation, but there was worse to follow when, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV issued the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* suppressing the Jesuits throughout the Catholic world. Some scholars argue that the papal brief of global suppression was at least in part the end result of the turbulent processes that underscored earlier attacks on the Jesuits. Evidence for such longer-term origins clearly exists, not least the fact that the promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor* was eagerly sought (by some accounts, directly engineered) by increasingly well-integrated and activist anti-Jesuit partisans within the very nations that had launched earlier campaigns against the Society. To speak of the Suppression of the Jesuits as philosophically or politically inevitable would, however, be an exaggeration, for the Jesuits had many defenders throughout the period leading up to 1773. Nevertheless, it is increasingly apparent that the rhetoric and tactics of the Jesuits' enemies possessed a complex history of its own, rooted in the changing cultural and confessional politics of the eighteenth century: indeed, for numerous Jansenists, Gallicans, and Regalist Catholic reformers, on the one hand, and for more radical writers and *philosophes*, on the other, the destruction of the Jesuits came to be seen as a kind of panacea capable of purging what they perceived as the decadence still afflicting European metropolises and imperial peripheries. These anti-Jesuit critics regarded the events of 1773 as the culmination of their self-justifying logic.

In any event, the ramifications of Clement XIV's reluctant action in 1773 were momentous. Hundreds of schools closed or passed into the hands of secular clergy, other religious orders, or the state; far-flung mission fields were abandoned; libraries were dispersed; and thousands of men (both priests and brothers) found themselves in a new, discomfiting category: that of the ex-Jesuit. Notwithstanding these sudden changes, this climactic moment did not signal the annihilation of the Jesuit enterprise. There were places (Prussia, for a short while, and, by a twist of geopolitical fate, the Russian Empire throughout the Suppression era) where Jesuit corporate existence survived.<sup>2</sup> In other places, Jesuit life was rekindled

<sup>2</sup> On events in the Russian Empire see M. Inglot, *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'impero Russo (1772–1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia* (Rome: Gregorian University, 1997); S. Pavone, *Una strana alleanza: La Compagnia di Gesù in Russia dal 1772 al 1820* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2008).

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well ahead of the formal restoration of the Society in 1814: Parma, Naples, and the United States, for instance. For all that, the 1773 suppression was a watershed historical moment. Not for nothing did subsequent Jesuits ultimately speak of the “old” pre-1773 Society and the “new” post-1814 Society, and this despite their eagerness to stress continuities across 1773 concerning the resilience of the Ignatian spirit and the endurance, *mutatis mutandis*, of the order’s foundational goals.<sup>3</sup> This continuity beyond 1773 is underscored in various contributions to this volume. Paul Begheyn studies the neglected Dutch ex-Jesuit Adam Beckers who devoted himself to sustaining the Ignatian ideal and preparing the ground for restoration, while Daniel Schläpfl explores the leading role played by members and affiliates of the so-called “Russian” Society in reigniting the Jesuit presence elsewhere, including and especially the antebellum United States.

By any standard, however, the events of 1773 and their precursors during the 1750s and 1760s turned the Jesuits’ world upside down and profoundly shaped the contours of broader European and colonial culture, as well as the global reach of the Jesuit missionary enterprise. Maurice Whitehead’s chapter on the effects of Jesuit banishment in South America provides one poignant example of the colonial dimensions of the Jesuit Suppression on the life of the American Indian population of the Guaraní,<sup>4</sup> while the contribution of R. Po-chia Hsia addresses the effect of the suppressions on Jesuit missions in East Asia. In recent years, a wealth of new work on the impact of the Jesuit missions overseas has been published, yet notable lacunae remain when it comes to scholarly treatments of how the various state-driven suppressions, and ultimately the global suppression, impacted these Jesuit endeavours.<sup>5</sup> The contribution by Hsia does much to rectify

<sup>3</sup> T. Worcester, “A Restored Society or a New Society of Jesus?” in R. Maryks and J. Wright (eds.), *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History 1773–1900* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), pp. 13–33.

<sup>4</sup> For additional work on the colonial dimensions of the Jesuit Suppression see E. M. St. Clair Seguarado, *Expulsión y exilio de la Provincia jesuita mexicana (1767–1820)* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2005); and S. Lorenzo García, “La expulsión de los jesuitas filipinos: un ejemplo de disputa por el poder político,” in E. Giménez López (ed.), *Expulsión y exilio de los jesuitas españoles* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1997), pp. 161–80.

<sup>5</sup> F. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); L. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Cambridge University Press, 2007); G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 1–13, 145–57; D. Harvey, *The French Enlightenment and Its Others: The Mandarin, the Savage, and the Invention of the Human Sciences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 41–69; D. Mungello, *Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD, New York, Boulder, CO, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999), pp. 84–5; D. Porter, “China and the Critique of Religious Fanaticism in

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this gap in that it provides a detailed account of life in the Jesuits' Chinese mission in the decades ahead of 1773 and the process through which news of Suppression arrived and was implemented.

One increasingly lively forum of debate is the issue of whether or not the confluence of so many regional attacks on the Jesuits preceding *Dominus ac Redemptor* is best explained as an accident – the fruits of fundamentally separate attacks on the Jesuits – or is more appropriately seen as the confluence of organised efforts by anti-Jesuit factions throughout Europe whose opposition to the Jesuits had long-term theological and political causes stretching back to the late sixteenth century. Many scholars continue to stress the role of unusually bad historical luck in bringing about the Suppression.<sup>6</sup> Others, most notably Dale K. Van Kley, have stressed the agency of an increasingly international network of diverse Jansenists and Gallicans active in various nodes of Catholic Europe, chiefly in France, the Italian States, the Austrian Netherlands, and even the Low Countries who, in very different political and cultural milieus, took a leading role in driving, first, the dynastic empires of Portugal, France, and Spain, and, second, partisans even in Rome towards the pursuit of suppression. This debate concerning the short-term versus long-term factors governing the march towards suppression is one that this volume does not purport to resolve. Rather, the issue continues to warrant further consideration.

Some of the contributions to this volume such as Gillian Thompson's on the fate of the Jesuits in France, and that of Emanuele Colombo and Niccolò Guasti on the Jesuits of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, stress the distinctive variables governing the causes and consequences of the attacks on the Jesuits that preceded the global suppression. In Portugal, the first assault on the Society during the late 1750s might not have unfolded (at least in its specific form) without a devastating Lisbon

Eighteenth-Century France," in F. Lotterie and D. McMahon (eds.), *Les Lumières européennes dans leurs relations avec les autres grandes cultures et religions* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), pp. 61–80; D. Porter, *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); J. Burson, "Chinese Novices, Jesuit Missionaries, and the Accidental Construction of Sinophobia in Enlightenment France," *French History* 27.2 (March 2013), pp. 1–24; J. Burson, "Unlikely Tales of Fo and Ignatius: Rethinking the Radical Enlightenment through French Appropriation of Chinese Buddhism," *French Historical Studies* 38.3 (August 2015), pp. 391–420; D. Mungello, "European Philosophical Responses to Non-European Culture: China," in D. Garber and M. Ayers (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2003), pp. 87–103; N. Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning in China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission* (c. 1650–c. 1750) (Leuven, Belgium: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., J. Wright, "The Suppression and Restoration," in T. Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 263–77.

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earthquake, developments in the overseas colonies, and the ascendancy of the decidedly anti-Jesuit future marquis of Pombal. In France, as Gillian Thompson, Dale Van Kley, and Jeffrey D. Burson all note, factors as diverse as a relentless and determined Jansenist opposition (sometimes exaggerated, sometimes quite blatant) to Jesuit hegemony over education and the court of Versailles, and the misguided business dealings of a Jesuit in the Caribbean proved to be the most immediate triggers. In Spain, almost a decade after the Portuguese affair, the ecclesiastical policies of Carlos III and a brutal series of riots were most immediately to blame.

In addition, a case can be made for interpreting the attacks on the Jesuits as emerging from broader political trends. In Spain, there seems little doubt that the Jesuits were portrayed by some as an obstacle to the assertion of more centralised regal authority over church, state, and (in the case of Spain and Portugal) their Atlantic empires.<sup>7</sup> In Portugal, Pombal detested the Society primarily because he regarded it, along with certain sectors of the nobility, as a hurdle to his political vision. Thus, in their chapter on Spain and Portugal, Niccolò Guasti and Emanuele Colombo put major emphasis on the nakedly political aspects of anti-Jesuitism.<sup>8</sup> This theme also emerges clearly from Christopher Storrs's analysis of the Suppression in the Savoyard state – a locale that, as he avers, has suffered from neglect in the Anglophone literature.

The sheer diversity and apparently idiosyncratic nature of these various eighteenth-century affairs, coupled with particular historiographical

<sup>7</sup> M. Marzal and L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica, 1549–1773* (México: Universidad Católica, IFEA, Universidad del Pacífico, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> On events in Spain and Portugal, and on the consequences of banishment, see also N. Guasti, *Lotta politica e riforme all'inizio del regno di Carlo III: Campomanes e l'espulsione dei gesuiti dalla monarchia spagnola (1759–1768)* (Firenze: Alinea, 2006); G. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); K. Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University, 1995); C. Vogel, "Les Lumières face à l'Inquisition portugaise: Le procès du jésuite Gabriele Malagrida et l'opinion publique en Europe (1759–1761)," in L. F. Barreto (ed.), *Inquisição Portuguesa: tempo, razão e circunstância* (Lisbon: Prefácio, 2007), pp. 375–90; K. Maxwell, "The Spark: Pombal, the Amazon, and the Jesuits," *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2001), pp. 168–83; B. V. Diaz, "La expulsión de los jesuitas de Portugal en la 'era pombalina,'" *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento, y Cultura* 190 (2014), pp. 1–13; E. Brazão, "Pombal e os jesuitas," in L. R. Torgal and I. N. Vargues(eds.), *O Marquês de Pombal e o seu Tempo* (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1982–3), pp. 329–65; I. F. Arrillaga, *El destierro de los jesuitas castellanos (1767–1815)* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2004); T. Egido, "La expulsión de los jesuitas de España," in R. G. Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, vol. 4 of *Historia de la Iglesia en España* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1979), pp. 745–92; U. Baldini and G. Brizzi (eds.), *La presenza in Italia dei Gesuiti iberici espulsi: Aspetti religiosi, politici, e culturali* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010); M. G. Russo and A. J. Limpo Trigueiros, S.J., *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana esiliati in Italia (1759–1831)* (Padova: CLUEB, 2013).

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traditions that privilege the discrete national contexts of the pre-1773<sup>9</sup> suppressions, have inclined some scholars to see the Jesuit suppression as a historical event that, like the British civil wars,<sup>10</sup> the French Revolution,<sup>11</sup> or even World War I,<sup>12</sup> turned on the unlikely and chance confluence of many discrete political, cultural, and ideological factors. Contrariwise, mounting archival evidence, some of which is featured in Dale K. Van Kley's article in this volume, forces us to seriously reconsider the possibility that none of these mishaps would have counted for quite so much without the existence of broader historical currents, such as the persistent and increasingly high-voltage rhetoric of determined Jansenist, Regalist, and Gallican Catholic reformers carried through networks of publication, correspondence, and the political activism of anti-Jesuit jurists, clergy, and laypeople. Dale Van Kley has uncovered tantalising and direct connections between Jansenist and philo-Jansenists in France and the Italian states, seeing in the often collaborative efforts of such critics of the Jesuits the outlines of a kind of transnational conspiracy. This highly original interpretation affirms and expands upon a theme common to many of the chapters in this volume: namely, that the assault on the Society was, from the 1750s onwards, driven by the circulation and translation

<sup>9</sup> E.g., E. Sales Sousa, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Portugal," in U. Lenher and M. O'Neil Printy (eds.), *A Companion to Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010), pp. 359–98; J. Caeiro, *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal* (Lisbon: Verbo, 1995); P. Bianchini (ed.), *Morte e Resurrezione di un Ordine Religioso: Le Strategie Culturali ed Educative della Compagnia di Gesù durante la Soppressione (1759–1814)* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2009); the literature on the causes and impact of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Iberian-Atlantic World is increasingly well developed: see, e.g., J. A. Ferrer Benimeli, *Expulsión y extinción de los jesuitas. 1759–1773* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2013); T. Egidio and I. Pinedo Iparraguirre, *Las causas "gravísimas" y secretas de la expulsión de los jesuitas por Carlos III* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1994); E. Giménez López (ed.), *Expulsión y exilio de los jesuitas españoles* (Alicante: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 1997); M. Tietz (ed.), *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos: Su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: IberoAmericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2001); on France, see D. Van Kley, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1975); and the Austrian Habsburg Hereditary lands, see D. Beales, "Maria Theresa, Joseph II and the Suppression of the Jesuits," in his *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 207–26.

<sup>10</sup> T. Cogswell, R. Cust, and P. Lake, "Revisionism and Its Legacies: The Work of Conrad Russell," in idem, *Politics, Religion, and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 1–17; C. Russell, *Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> See recent, e.g., in S. Desan, L. Hunt, and W. Nelson (eds.), *The French Revolution in Global Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012); D. Van Kley and T. Kaiser (eds.), *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Jack Beatty, *The Lost History of 1914: Reconsidering the Year the Great War Began* (New York: Walker and Co., 2012).



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of anti-Jesuit tracts, quite a number of which were forged in a distinctively Francophone controversy from as early as the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, for those in search of an all-encompassing explanation, the case of France proves to be distinctive, and the contributions by Burson, Van Kley, and Thompson all bear this out in different ways.<sup>14</sup>

The quest for the long-term origins of the Jesuit Suppression has also taken scholars beyond the contingencies of local, regional, and dynastic politics, and beyond internecine conflicts within the eighteenth-century church, into a more thickly contested and complex debate – one that concerns the course of the Enlightenment and the extent to which the Jesuits and other clergy either rejected or participated in its development. While many scholars remain wedded to unearthing the genealogy of the so-called modern definition of the Enlightenment,<sup>15</sup> others continue to debate the content and contours of an Enlightenment defined as a univocal reformist movement.<sup>16</sup> A highly controversial yet doggedly persistent recent interpretation concedes that the Enlightenment existed in numerous forms, while insisting that the triumphal entry of modernity was heralded by a “Radical Enlightenment” supposedly defined as materialist, monistic, atheistic, and as such, intrinsically egalitarian and revolutionary.<sup>17</sup> Still more

<sup>13</sup> For other insightful studies of anti-Jesuit discourse see also S. Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits, Myth and Reality* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005); also P.-A. Fabre and C. Maire (eds.), *Les Antijesuites: discours, figures et lieux de l'antijesuitisme à l'époque moderne* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2010); I. Greene, “The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes,” in J. Bossy and S. Ditchfield (eds.), *Christianity and Community in the West* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> See additional scholarship on these matters in D. G. Thompson, “General Ricci and the Suppression of the Jesuit Order in France, 1760–64,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37.3 (1986), pp. 426–41; D. G. Thompson, “The Persecution of French Jesuits by the Parlement of Paris 1761–71,” *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 289–301; also D. G. Thompson, “The French Jesuit Leaders and the Destruction of the Jesuit Order in France, 1756–62,” *French History* 2.3 (September 1988), pp. 237–63.

<sup>15</sup> D. Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., P. Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. 1: *The Rise of Modern Paganism*; 2: *The Science of Freedom* (New York: Lexington, 1966–9); E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Enlightenment*, Fritz C. A. Koellen and James P. Pettegrove (trans.) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951); J. Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2005), pp. 1–14, 43–4; S. Manning and F. Cogliano (eds.), *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1–35; most recently A. Pagden, *The Enlightenment and Why It Still Matters* (New York: Random House, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> J. Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); J. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); more recently J. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), and the parallel and dubious extrapolations from his earlier arguments on the Radical

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scholars remain convinced of the fundamental plurality of Enlightenment movements that seem to vary endlessly between states and regions, and even among confessions.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, a revival of focus on something called Enlightenment Catholicism has recently been underway among many European historians and church historians alike.<sup>19</sup> Given the complexity of interpretations of the Enlightenment, it seems neither possible nor prudent to consider the Jesuits as uniformly opposed to the Enlightenment. Can there be some connection, then, between the cultural politics of the eighteenth century and the Suppression of the Jesuits? Might there even perhaps be a long-range intellectual context for the Jesuit Suppression? As Jeffrey D. Burson's chapter demonstrates, the Society of Jesus had much in common with, and made important contributions to, the intellectual currents associated with the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. This relationship was certainly not straightforward: in fact, Burson suggests that it was the earlier success of the Jesuits as scholars and ironic participants in the Enlightenment juxtaposed with the exercise of their cultural hegemony at court and in the schools that further provoked the antipathy of writers and pro-Jansenist critics. Therefore, and quite paradoxically, the Jesuits were haunted later in the century by their earlier success, especially in France. As has long been the case, scholars cannot principally attribute to the *philosophes* and radical writers primary initiative in the Suppression of the Jesuits. Instead, it is possible to see in the attacks on the Jesuits from within the church a species of struggle among various partisans of often radically different visions of Enlightenment Catholicism.

Although the Society of Jesus was no stranger to local suppressions and banishments that had littered its history from the beginning, the Jesuit crises of the middle third of the eighteenth century culminated in an event of far more extensive and enduring global impact. Clearly, the regional assaults on the Society added up to something greater than the

Enlightenment origins of the French Revolution in Jonathan I. Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from The Rights of Man to Robespierre* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014)

<sup>18</sup> For classic statements of the Enlightenment as pluralistic, see R. Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1981); J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); D. Van Kley, "Robert R. Palmer's *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*: A Long Overdue Tribute," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 37.3 (Winter 2011), pp. 18–37.

<sup>19</sup> U. Lehner and M. Printy (eds.), *Companion to Catholic Enlightenment* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010); most recently J. Burson and U. Lehner, *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe: A Transnational History* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014); Mario Rosa, *Settecento religioso: politica della ragione e religione del cuore* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1999).



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obvious sum of their parts and, by the late 1760s, there was a keen sense in Jesuit circles that universal suppression was becoming a distinct possibility. The way in which certain Jesuits were able to see the writing on the wall becomes most evident in Thomas McCoog's chapter. McCoog's contribution provides scholars with extensive extracts from letters written by John Thorpe, an English Jesuit residing in Rome, who witnessed and commented upon the gathering storm. McCoog's chapter is, in essence, a documentary collection but it brings to our attention nuggets from Thorpe's crucial eyewitness testimony and, when read alongside other contributions to the volume, clearly depicts the sense of panic and confusion experienced by some Jesuits even before the landmark events of 1773. Even so, it remains useful to recall that even those who lived through the Suppression were frequently puzzled by what had happened and by what might happen next. Historians, at two hundred years' distance, can hardly be expected to avoid a similar sense of bewilderment.

Dramatic as the events of 1773 and the preceding two decades were, it is important to recognise that the Suppression era was not defined exclusively by gloom or hardship (though there was no shortage of both), and this volume affords us the opportunity to investigate the long-term fate, and truly transnational importance, of many Jesuits after the chaotic period between 1759 and 1773. Gillian Thompson's painstakingly detailed, analytically rich chapter on the fate of Jesuits of the French province goes far in the direction of offering a comprehensive study of the trajectories of French Jesuits from the early 1760s through to the revolutionary era and beyond. Paul Shore's extended narration provides readers with a kind of prosopography detailing the variegated and often highly significant contributions of various ex-Jesuits in the eastern Habsburg lands who managed to carve out fascinating careers as clerics, librarians, historians, natural philosophers, and men of letters. While not diminishing the catastrophic impact of the Suppression, Louis Caruana studies ex-Jesuits who managed to pursue and expand their scholarly labours after 1773 and, in so doing, contributed to the development of natural science.<sup>20</sup> Another telling insight into the competing opportunities

<sup>20</sup> The contributions by Paul Shore and Louis Caruana dovetail with the recent reawakening of mainstream interest in Jesuit natural science. See, e.g., M. Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); M. Hellyar, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); J. O'Malley, G. Bailey, S. Harris, and T. Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1999); J. O'Malley, G. Bailey, S. Harris, and T. Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Science, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002); A. Udias, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer,

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and dilemmas flowing from the Suppression is provided by Niccolò Guasti's chapter on Spanish ex-Jesuit exiles in Italy. There was indeed hardship and rivalry, but there were also bold attempts to engage with local intellectual life and enlist aspects of Jesuit training, pedagogy, and devotion in novel directions.

This volume follows a seemingly prosaic organisational scheme that groups contributions into a narrative of causes, events, and consequences. The editors have done so unapologetically because so much still remains to be learned about the basic factors governing the Jesuit Suppression era. When attempting to account for what John Henry Newman described as one of the most mysterious matters in the history of the church it is perhaps wise to concede that long-standing trends, cultural patterns, and utterly random events all played their part. Nothing can be taken for granted and, as Thomas Worcester's chapter reminds us, even those who sought to protect the Society of Jesus, even those who have most often been assumed by scholars to have been the most stalwart allies of the Society, like the archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, could in fact be liabilities. Why did it all happen? How does it matter to subsequent history? It should come as no surprise that the Jesuit Suppression is an event woven from a tapestry comprising the *métissage* of personal and institutional rivalries; the cultural politics of the eighteenth-century, deep-seated theological tensions latent within the post-Tridentine order of the Catholic church; conflicting strains of Enlightenment Catholicism; and the construction of absolutist states faced with crises of empire after the 1750s. This volume does not provide definitive answers, but its chapters should encourage us to keep asking important questions about one of the most fascinating series of events in eighteenth-century history.

2003); B. Barther, *Science, histoire et thématiques esotériques chez les Jésuites en France (1680–1764)* (Bordeaux: Press Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2012); I. Rowland, *The Ecstatic Journey: Athanasius Kircher in Baroque Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); C. Jami, *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority during the Kangxi Reign (1662–1722)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). For the intersection of Spanish American missions and Jesuit science, see A. I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America 1570–1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011); also L. Millones Figueroa and D. Ledesma (eds.), *El Saber de los Jesuitas, Historias Naturales y el Nuevo Mundo* (Frankfurt, Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2005). A satisfying overview of recent work on Jesuit science is S. Rabin, "Early-Modern Jesuit Science: A Historiographical Essay," in *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1.1 (2015), pp. 88–104.