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978-1-107-41854-7 - Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal: Being an Account of the Connections Between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland

Ruth Clark

Excerpt

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## CHAPTER I

## Early Days

IF anyone were found willing to wrestle with that huge folio, the fateful *Augustinus*, from which sprang such years of strife, after a thousand or more closely printed pages he would reach an appendix with a separate title-page and pagination, not by Jansenius, but by an Irishman, the Franciscan Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam. If, undertaking a much easier task, he wished to read the little volume of Jansen's letters to Saint-Cyran, he would have to use a key to the strange names that dot these pages and make these obscure letters even more obscure, and he would learn from the *Dechifrement des Lettres de M. Jansenius* that while "Sulpice", "Boëce", "Quinquarbre", "Cudaro" meant Jansenius, and "Celsius", "Solion", "Durillon", "Rongeari" meant Saint-Cyran, "Solsti", "Philippas", "Gemer", "L'Illustrissime", "Notre Voisin", all stood for Conry. If he were to take up Dom Clémencet's *Histoire littéraire de Port-Royal* he would first come upon Jansenius, and next upon Conry with the Louvain theologians, or, if he were to glance through the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, his eye might presently alight on a mention of Conry's *Peregrinus Jerichuntinus*, and he would be told by this hostile dictionary that having taught almost the same doctrine as Jansenius, Conry had been condemned with him.<sup>1</sup>

A brief account of Conry will not therefore be out of place here, even though he died before the *Augustinus* appeared, and before the word "Jansenism" had been coined. It may seem as if our narrative were going rather far afield, but Louvain was in a

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, III, p. 233. But condemnation by this book need embarrass no one. Even Mme de Sévigné's letters are included (II, pp. 527–34). "Bei den Jansenisten standen die Schriften Conry's in hohem Ansehen; eine ausdrückliche Verwerfung derselben durch den heiligen Stuhl ist jedoch nicht erfolgt." Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland*, II, p. 327.

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way the home of Jansenism, and so it is perhaps natural enough that our story should begin at Louvain.

Conry was born in 1561 in Ireland and had been consecrated to his see in 1609, but he spent most of his life abroad in Spain and in the Low Countries, and was never able to visit his province. At Louvain, where a college for the Irish had been founded at Conry's solicitation, Jansenius knew him and realized that he also was deeply interested in St Augustine, for Conry devoted sixteen years of study to St Augustine, reading him more than ten times.<sup>1</sup> But perhaps just because Conry was writing on Grace and Predestination Jansenius was on his guard with him and somewhat uneasy on the subject of this fellow-enthusiast.<sup>2</sup>

The book in which Conry hoped to set forth his ideas concerning man's fall from grace and his redemption was the *Peregrinus Jerichuntinus*, a work which never appeared during his lifetime. In 1621 Jansenius observes that Conry has given up all idea of obtaining an approbation from Rome, yet he hopes that perhaps Saint-Cyran will be able to do something for him in Paris.<sup>3</sup> Another request went from Conry to Saint-Cyran through Jansenius about this time, and that was that Saint-Cyran might help the General of Conry's order in Paris and the Guardian of the Irish Franciscan College in Louvain, Father Hugh MacCagwell, to obtain permission from Louis XIII to establish a residence for the Irish friars in Paris.<sup>4</sup> This was, of course, long before the days of open controversy, but it is curious to reflect in retrospect on the possibility of an Irish college founded under the auspices of Jansenius and Saint-Cyran.

Conry's *Peregrinus* was not to see the light for many years, but another book by him is foreshadowed in the letters of Jansenius. "Gemer brûle de désir de mettre en lumière un certain ouvrage *De Pœna Parvulorum post hanc vitam*", interesting to Jansenius because it touches the *affaire de Pilmot*, and the *affaire de Pilmot*, shrouded mysteriously in the disguise of this invented name, is

1 Arnauld, *Œuvres*, x, p. lxxxvii; xvi, p. 263.

2 Jansenius, *Lettres*, pp. 36, 41-2, 43, 49, 126, 129.

3 *Ib.* pp. 35-6, 38, 45, 46.

4 *Ib.* pp. 47-8 (1622).

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to Jansenius the great affair of his life, the treatise he will write some day on the doctrine of St Augustine.<sup>1</sup> A strange grim book was this of Conry's—he undertook, so Gerberon explains,<sup>2</sup> to combat with the aid of St Augustine the error of those who from a wrong sense of compassion, more Pelagian than Christian, exempted little unbaptized children from the pains of hell, and thereby undermined the doctrine of original sin.

The students of Conry's college at Louvain, St Anthony of Padua, were so eager to hear what he had to say that, at their desire, the manuscript was read to them in the refectory during the dinner-hour, and they listened with rapt attention to the harsh doctrine of their master.<sup>3</sup> Jansenius, however, foresaw that the book would bring much opposition to its author and he tried to dissuade Conry from publishing it; but Conry persevered in his design, though he seems to have modified some of his positions.<sup>4</sup>

The book appeared in 1624,<sup>5</sup> and was reprinted several times; it was reprinted in 1640 as an appendix to the *Augustinus*. “Conclusion fâcheuse,” remarks Sainte-Beuve, “perspective tout au moins inopportune et révoltante.”<sup>6</sup> Both Conry and Jansenius had passed away by this time, Conry in 1629 and Jansenius in 1638.

We are told that Conry left his *Peregrinus Jerichuntinus* to Jansenius, and that Saint-Cyran, greatly impressed by this treatise, caused it to be published with the approbation of several doctors in 1641, shortly after the *Augustinus* had appeared. It will be remembered that Saint-Cyran was imprisoned from 1638 to 1642, and we are therefore not surprised to hear

1 *Ib.* pp. 72, 75, 90.

2 In the notes to these letters. The name of the editor appears as François du Vivier, but this stands for Gerberon (Arnauld, *Œuvres*, x, p. lxxxvii).

3 *Ib.* pp. 90, 96, 114.

4 *Ib.* pp. 117, 126, 129, 131. “Quoique cet ouvrage n'eût pas été condamné à Rome comme le sieur Preville en sa naissance du Jansenisme. . . l'assure très-faussement et très-imprudemment, les censures, c'est à dire, les jugements particuliers des Theologiens de Rome à qui on le communiqua ne lui furent pas avantageux.” (Note by Gerberon, p. 131.)

5 *Tractatus de statu parvulorum sine baptismo decedentium ex hac vita juxta sensum B. Augustini compositus a F. Florentio Conrio* . . . , Lovani, 1624.

6 *Port-Royal*, I, p. 298.

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that he entrusted Conry's book to the care of Arnauld,<sup>1</sup> who not only saw the Latin text through the press, but provided a French translation which appeared in 1645<sup>2</sup> and was also issued in this year by Saint-Cyran's nephew, de Barcos, in a *Recueil de divers Ouvrages touchant la Grâce*.

The Irish residing abroad do not seem to have doubted the orthodoxy of Conry's book, however dubious they felt about Jansenius. One of them writes in 1642 to the famous Luke Wadding, Guardian of St Isidore's Convent at Rome, "Your Paternity will by this time have received the *Peregrinus* of our Tuamensis which circulates here to the immense relief of those who are zealous in the defence of the truth of St Augustine's doctrine", and with this book Hugh Bourke, Commissary of the Irish Friars Minor in Germany and Belgium, sends Wadding other matter "set in order with much care in exculpation of this country for not receiving the prohibition of the work of Jansenius". "I see a cloud threatening our country with grave confusions", he remarks, "if this doctrine receive not judicious consideration; for it is admirably suited to pass as that of St Augustine, victor of Pelagianism. . . . Jansen's affair needs to be handled with the utmost circumspection, for his doctrine has been passionately embraced by not a few in France and Flanders."<sup>3</sup>

The *Peregrinus* is fully analysed in Clémencet's *Histoire littéraire de Port-Royal*<sup>4</sup> where there is also a list of Conry's other works. It is interesting to note that Pascal made use of the *Peregrinus* in his *Écrits sur la Grâce*, and that, speaking of the number of learned and illustrious defenders of the doctrine of St Augustine with which, as he says, God was pleased to honour the century, he

<sup>1</sup> Arnauld, *Œuvres*, x, pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii; Gerberon, *Hist. générale du Jansénisme*, I, p. 36; Racine (abbé), *Hist. ecclés.* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Florentii Conrii Peregrinus Jerichuntinus, hoc est, de Natura humana feliciter instituta, infeliciter lapsa, miserabiliter vulnerata, misericorditer restaurata* [Edidit Thadaeus Macnamara vel potius A. Arnould], Parisiis, 1641. *Abrégé de la doctrine de S. Augustin touchant la grâce par Florent Conrius . . . traduit de son livre intitulé Peregrinus Jerichuntinus*, Paris, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm., Franciscan MSS. at Dublin*, pp. 117, 119, 124. Bourke also thinks that Dr Edmond Dwyer, Resident on the part of the Bishops of Ireland at the Roman Curia, did well "to eschew the agency of Iprensis book", the party opposing the *Augustinus* being powerful in Rome. *Ib.* p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I (the only one printed), pp. 85–96.

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draws attention to the number of forerunners, foremost among whom he places Conry.<sup>1</sup>

The other Louvain theologian long remembered by the Jansenists as one of their doughty fighters is the Irishman John Sinnich,<sup>2</sup> at one time Rector of the University of Louvain. He has his place in the Port Royal *Nécrologes*,<sup>3</sup> he is prominent in the Jansenist histories,<sup>4</sup> his name appears in the *Calendrier des Amis de la Vérité*—an honour accorded only to one other Irishman, an Englishman and two Scotsmen,<sup>5</sup>—and the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes* condemns him without indulgence, “Hibernois et Janseniste outré”, “il étoit un des chefs du parti”, “il publia sous des titres extraordinaires et ridicules differens Ouvrages qui sont tous infectés des erreurs Janséniennes”.<sup>6</sup>

Sinnich was born in the county of Cork,<sup>7</sup> educated at the University of Louvain, became president of the greater theological college at Louvain in 1641, a charge which he held for

1 Pascal, *Œuvres*, xi, pp. 104, 143. An account of Conry written by an opponent of Jansenism may be read in Rapin's *Hist. du Jansénisme*, pp. 113–19, 133–4. For more modern estimates of Conry see Renehan, *Collections*, i, pp. 395–401; Bellesheim, *op. cit.* pp. 326–7; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*; and A. Meyer, *Les premières controverses jansénistes en France*, pp. 12, 13, 114, 115, 139, 214.

2 He is called John “Shinnick” in an article in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 1886, pp. 732–42.

3 [Le Febvre de Saint-Marc] *Supplément au Nécrologe de l'Abbaie de Notre Dame de Port-Royal des Champs*, pp. 608–13. [Cerveau] *Nécrologe des plus célèbres Défenseurs et Confesseurs de la Vérité*, i, pp. 99–100; iv (Supplément au Nécrologe), pp. 293–4.

4 Gerberon, *op. cit.* i, pp. 26, 78–105, 116–40, 164–7; Clémencet, *Hist. litt. de Port-Royal*, i, pp. 164–93; Saint-Amour, *Journal*, p. 357, Appendix, p. 270; Arnould, *Œuvres*, xxii, p. 139; Racine (abbé), *Hist. ecclés.* xi, pp. 24, 34–47; *Hist. du Cas de Conscience*, iii, pp. 231–5. On the other side see Rapin, *Hist. du Jansénisme*, pp. 412 (where he is erroneously called Smith), 488, 509–10, and *Mémoires*, i, pp. 14–15, 68–70, 144–6, 297; ii, p. 182; iii, p. 101. For modern works see A. Meyer, *Les premières controverses jansénistes, passim*, especially pp. 134–5, 137; also Vacant et Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, article “Jansénisme”.

5 Printed at the beginning of vol. iv of Cerveau's *Nécrologe*. The other names in question are: “Milord Perth, Seigneur Anglois”, “M. Innèse, Prêtre Ecossois”, “M. Callaghan, Curé de Cour Cheverny” and “M. Jankins, Solitaire de Port Royal”.

6 *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, i, p. 504; ii, pp. 166, 241; iii, pp. 133, 234; iv, pp. 1, 8, 14, 174.

7 About 1603 according to Port Royal sources, in 1593 according to Vacant et Mangenot, *op. cit.* (article “Jansénisme”), which would seem an error. According to his Epitaph, printed in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, 3rd ser., vol. 7, p. 742, he was sixty-three in 1666.

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twenty-five years, and in 1643 was elected Rector of the University. At Louvain he certainly knew Jansenius, and according to Gerberon he was one of the first to side with the Jansenists in the controversies that arose upon the publication of Jansen's posthumous book. As early as 1641—the *Augustinus* had appeared in 1640—he published anonymously his *Homologia Augustini Hipponensis et Augustini Yprensis de Deo omnes salvari volente*, establishing a parallel between the doctrine of St Augustine and that of Jansenius, and in December of that year he was one of those who furnished an approbation of the *Augustinus*.<sup>1</sup>

In 1642 the Pope, Urban VIII, issued his Bull *In eminenti* which condemned the *Augustinus* as renewing certain errors of Baius condemned by Pius V and Gregory XIII. The Bull, which also prohibited among other books Sinnich's above-mentioned *Homologia*,<sup>2</sup> was not made public till June of the following year.<sup>3</sup> When it was sent to Louvain, Sinnich, as Rector of the University, made difficulties about receiving it, referred the matter to the council of Brabant, and was ultimately sent to Rome with another doctor, Cornelius de Paepe, to explain why the University found it hard to accept a Bull which seemed to proscribe the doctrine of St Augustine under the name of Jansenius, a Bull which, moreover, by its defects inclined the doctors to believe that it was not a genuine one—the various copies of the Bull showing discrepancies.

Sinnich and his companion left Louvain in September 1643. Jansenist historians relate that the partisans of the Bull sent portraits of Sinnich to various places through which he was to pass, and Sinnich, fearing for his liberty, entered Paris in a closed carriage, partook only of food prepared by his servant or under his servant's supervision, remained incognito in Paris, spending three days and three nights in consultation with M. de Saint-Cyran—then drawing near the end of his earthly career, with his nephew M. de Barcos and with Arnould, and finally he left

<sup>1</sup> Gerberon, *op. cit.* I, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima Collectio, Tomus Sextus, Pars Secunda, Romae*, 1760, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Gerberon, *op. cit.* I, p. 67.

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again prudently in a *carrosse fermé*. On October 11th Saint-Cyran departed this life.

The deputies arrived in Rome on November 8th. It would be wearisome to give a full account of all their movements, their stay of many months, their visits, their conferences, their audiences, their delays and disappointments, their ponderous dissertations presented to popes and cardinals. One may read of them at great length in Gerberon's history.<sup>1</sup>

One or two incidents may perhaps be mentioned. In an audience which the deputies had with Cardinal Barberini the cardinal asked Sinnich from which country he was. Sinnich answered that he was Irish, and the cardinal remarked that the Irish were as a rule greatly attached to the Holy See, and that far from opposing its decisions they were wont to uphold them. "We do not oppose the Holy See nor its decisions," was Sinnich's reply, "we oppose those that circumvent the Holy See, and we do not look upon this Bull as emanating from the Holy See, but as the work of those who gave rise to it through their impostures."<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest visits of the deputies was to Father Luke Wadding, who received them very kindly.<sup>3</sup> In 1645 M. Bourgeois, a doctor of the Sorbonne, appeared in Rome in defence of Arnauld's book *De la Fréquente Communion*, and he betook himself at once to Dr Sinnich and consulted him in all his deliberations, as long as Sinnich remained in Rome. Presumably Sinnich did not understand French, for they conversed only in Latin.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile Sinnich's companion had died in

1 An excellent summary is given in a few lines by Sainte-Beuve. "Les Jansénistes selon l'usage où nous les verrons de toujours savoir les intentions des Papes mieux qu'eux-mêmes soutenaient qu'elle [the Bull] avait été, en partie, surprise à ce pontife. Urbain VIII, selon eux, avait pensé que, pour étouffer les disputes, il suffisait de renouveler et de confirmer les Bulles de Pie V et de Grégoire XIII, et il aurait ordonné qu'on dressât une Constitution en ce sens, en défendant d'y nommer Jansénius, mais l'assesseur du Saint Office, Albizzi, d'accord avec le cardinal Patron (on était sous le népotisme des Barberins) aurait dressé la Bulle à l'intention des Jésuites, y nommant à plusieurs reprises Jansénius, et signalant en général dans son livre plusieurs Propositions précédemment condamnées chez Baïus." *Port-Royal*, III, pp. 8–9.

2 *Supplément au Nécrologe de l'Abbaïe de Notre Dame de Port-Royal des Champs*, p. 609.

3 Gerberon, *op. cit.* I, p. 94.

4 Bourgeois, *Relation... contenant ce qui s'est passé à Rome en 1645 et 1646*, pp. 9–10, 31.



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September 1644, and in the following year Sinnich, finding that nothing was to be achieved and that the new Pope Innocent X was no more likely to be favourable than his predecessor, asked the university to recall him and returned to Louvain toward the close of 1645.

The years subsequent were filled with much laborious writing and more battling against the Bull.<sup>1</sup> At one time the Internuncio suggested that it might be easy to get rid of Sinnich, not a subject of the King of Spain, but an Irishman,<sup>2</sup> and another time, in 1653, he reported to Cardinal Pamfili that Sinnich and his friends had said they would rather let themselves be torn asunder than abandon their doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

The Jansenist M. de Pontchâteau, who visited Sinnich on a journey to Holland, has left a curiously flat picture of one whom his adversaries have represented as an effervescing busybody: “Un bon homme qui n’avoit rien d’élévé dans l’esprit, qui étoit sans cérémonie, assez simple, laborieux au dernier point et employant tout son temps à l’étude pendant laquelle il ne vouloit point être détourné”.<sup>4</sup>

A long account of his writings is given in Clémencet’s *Histoire littéraire de Port-Royal*.<sup>5</sup> One may note a treatise *Utrum damnandus sit Jansenius* which begins with the words *Nulla Jure* and ends with the conclusion *Non potest damnari Jansenius, nisi ridente Pelagio, plorante Augustino*; further a book which by its title recalls Conry’s *Peregrinus Jerichuntinus*, namely *Peregrinus Jerosolymitanus*, which made the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes* remark that the Pilgrim to Jerusalem was no more orthodox than the Pilgrim to Jericho;<sup>6</sup> a tome of 740 pages that was extensively used by Pascal in the preparation of his *Écrits sur la*

1 Gerberon, *op. cit.* I, pp. 202, 207, 224.

2 Rapin, *Mémoires*, I, pp. 144–6.

3 *Ib.* II, p. 182.

4 *Supplément au Nérologe*, p. 612.

5 Pp. 166–93. See also Gerberon, I, pp. 233, 354–6, 419, 539–40, 548; II, p. 90. M. Maire in his *Bibliographie des Œuvres de Pascal*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 61, gives Sinnich’s *Molinomachia* as a work directed against Jansenism, but a résumé of his work in Clémencet, *Hist. litt. de Port-Royal*, I, p. 191, shows that the book is in defence of Jansenius. See also Maire, p. 131, and the index, where Sinnich appears as a Jesuit!

6 *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, III, p. 234.



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*Grâce*<sup>1</sup>—*Sanctorum Patrum de Gratia Christi et Libero Arbitrio dimicantium Trias*, and a work in two folio volumes, *Saul Exrex*, much esteemed by Nicole who referred to it readers of his Wendrock notes on the *Provinciales*, desirous of further arms against the Casuists.<sup>2</sup> Arnauld accounted Sinnich as one of the most learned theologians of Europe in the matter of grace.<sup>3</sup>

Sinnich died in 1666 at the age of sixty-three. The Jesuit Father Rapin speaks of his attachment to the Jansenists as late as 1660,<sup>4</sup> but when, shortly after the Restoration, the Irish Franciscan Peter Walsh presented the *Loyal Remonstrance* (in which a number of Irish Catholics protested their fidelity in terms which now and again recalled James I's Oath of Allegiance, a formulary in which some of the Irish clergy saw a kind of Jansenist opposition to ultramontane authority) the Louvain Theological Faculty was among those who censured it, greatly to the displeasure of Walsh. Foremost among them was "John Synnick, an Irishman, . . . a Doctor of Divinity and famous and leading in the University of Louvain (forasmuch as he had been their agent at Rome . . . for the booke or five propositions fathered on Iansenius)". Whether he was so eager about the censure "partly or only wholly to recover himself at Rome by this means" Walsh leaves others to judge,<sup>5</sup> but it certainly marks, on the part of Sinnich, an attitude to the Holy See very different from that of his younger days. His last will shows him in complete submission.<sup>6</sup>

1 Pascal, *Œuvres* (éd. Gr. Écrivains), xi, pp. 104, 108–258 *passim*. "Cet ouvrage est de Sinnich, théologien de Louvain. Une note manuscrite d'Adrien Le Paige ajoute que les titres ont été composés par Arnauld."

2 *Litterae provinciales*. . . *A Willelmo Wendrockio*. . . *E Gallica in Latinam linguam translatae et Theologicis notis illustratae*. . . *Editio quinta*. . . *Coloniae*, 1679, pp. 638–48 (*De tribus Casuistarum flagellis*. . . *De libro Sinnichii Doctoris Lovanensis*).

3 Arnauld, *Œuvres*, xix, p. 58.

4 Rapin, *Mémoires*, iii, p. 101.

5 *History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary or The Irish Remonstrance*, p. 101. Father Redmond Caron, at one time Professor of Theology at Louvain, was one of the upholders of the Remonstrance. Gerberon shows him present in 1644 at a conference favourable to Jansenism (*op. cit.* i, pp. 144–131—erroneous paging). For the Irish Friars Minor at Louvain and their sentiments "tout conformes à ceux de l'Augustin d'Ipres", see Gerberon, *op. cit.* i, pp. 23, 276, and Clémencet, *Hist. litt. de Port-Royal*, i, p. 115.

6 *Irish Eccl. Record*, 3rd ser., vol. 7, 1886, p. 741.

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Let us leave the Irish Louvain theologians for the present, and turn to an Englishman whose name is linked up with the early years of Jansenism and occurs more frequently than any other English name in Jansenist writings, though he himself was not a Jansenist and had no connexions with Port Royal. This was Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon and vicar-apostolic in England and Scotland. In Cerveau's *Nécrologe*<sup>1</sup> he is preceded by la Mère Eugénie Arnauld and M. Fromond, one of the approbators of the *Augustinus*, and followed by M. Bignon, whose sons were among the first pupils of the Little Schools, and by M. Dugué de Bagnols, solitary of Port Royal.

The full title of Cerveau's work explains in part why the Bishop of Chalcedon is admitted to this company—*Nécrologe des plus célèbres Défenseurs et Confesseurs de la Vérité du dix-septième siècle, contenant les principales circonstances de la vie et de la mort des Personnes. . . qui ont été recommandables par . . . leur attachement à la vérité et surtout par les persécutions qu'elles ont essayées au sujet du formulaire et de la part des Jésuites.*<sup>2</sup> He suffered, says the Jansenist Cerveau, a persecution without precedent in the annals of the Church before the rise of the Jesuits. A brief account of what happened will explain more fully the Jansenist interest in the affair, for not only did the Jansenists speak of Smith as of one who had suffered like themselves,<sup>3</sup> but they were wont to say that Saint-Cyran's quarrel with the Jesuits arose in England.<sup>4</sup> Saint-Cyran himself was, indeed, never in England, though if Richelieu had had his own way, Saint-Cyran would have gone there in 1626 as confessor and almoner-in-chief of the young bride of Charles I,<sup>5</sup> and thus perhaps would never have been director of Port Royal; but he declined the honour which would have removed him from his sphere of work.

Bishop Smith was consecrated in 1625 and soon became in-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> One finds also, rather unexpectedly in this *Nécrologe* (pp. 4–5), William Barclay (1546–1605) who is included as one of the defenders of the liberties of the Gallican Church in virtue of his book *De Potestate Papae*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Hist. du Cas de Conscience*, v, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Racine, *Port-Royal*, pp. 25–7.

<sup>5</sup> Rapin, *Hist. du Jansenisme*, pp. 171–4; Clémencet, *Hist. générale de Port-Royal*, II, p. 99.