

STRANGERS & SOJOURNERS AT PORT ROYAL



PLATE I



MONUMENT TO JAMES II AND VII IN THE COLLÈGE DES ÉCOSSAIS, WHERE HIS BRAIN WAS BESTOWED

Part of the inscription reads: "Haec domus quam pius princeps labantem sustinuit et patriè fovit cui etiam ingenii sui monumenta omnia scilicet sua manu scripta custodienda commisit eam corporis ipsius partem qua maxime animus viget religiose servandam suscepit."



STRANGERS & SOJOURNERS AT PORT ROYAL

Being an account of the connections between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland

by
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To

MRS FREDERICK G. ATKINSON

First Vice-President of the American Association of University Women, whose generous interest made the writing of this book possible, in very grateful appreciation of her help and encouragement







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Preface

F late years a number of books have dealt with Jansenism in countries other than France. Books on Jansenism in Italy have been particularly frequent, as for instance: E. Fabri, I Giansenisti nella conversione della famiglia Manzoni, 1914; A Parisi, I riflessi del giansenismo nella letteratura italiana, 1919; N. Rodolico, Gli amici e i tempi di Scipione dei Ricci, Saggio sul giansenismo, 1920; F. Landogna, Il giansenismo ligure alla fine del secolo XVIII, 1926; A. C. Jemolo, Il giansenismo in Italia prima della Revoluzione, 1928; F. Ruffini, I giansenisti piemontesi, 1929. Jansenism in Spain is treated by M. F. Miguelez in Jansenismo y regalismo en España, 1895, and Jansenism in Germany and Austria by W. Deinhardt in Der Jansenismus in deutschen Landen, 1929.1 Jansenism in Holland is almost inseparable from Jansenism in France. English readers were introduced to the subject a number of years ago by J. M. Neale's History of the so-called Jansenist Church in Holland, 1858, and, more recently, by the Rev. C. Beaufort Moss in a sketch, The Old Catholic Churches and Reunion,

But what of England and Jansenism? Does the question arise at all? "Do you find any material whatever?" the writer has been frequently asked. It is quite obvious that a book dealing with England and Jansenism will perforce be very different from a work dealing with Jansenism in a Catholic country, and this will account in part for the episodic character of the book.

The material found has resolved itself into three distinct types, though in practice it was, of course, not feasible to keep the results of investigations in three compartments. From French sources, chiefly, it was possible to write about certain individuals who, living abroad, came under the influence of Port Royal and the Jansenists. This will be found to be the most complete part of the book, as no important source, it is hoped,

1 See also Préclin, Les Jansénistes du 18e siècle et la constitution civile du clergé, 1929 pp. 432-4, Autriche; pp. 434-7, Italie.



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has been overlooked. It is also the part that first suggested itself to the writer a number of years ago when, preparing a biography of Anthony Hamilton, the author of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, she was struck, as she could not fail to be, by the charity which Port Royal extended to all those who took refuge in France.

English memoirs and letters, translations of Jansenist books, mostly by Protestants, made it possible to ascertain how well Port Royal and Jansenism were known to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English readers, and furnished sources for chapters on the attitude of English Protestantism toward Jansenism, an attitude practically always most favourable. The material to be examined was vast and the results often rather meagre. It will no doubt be possible to add to them, for no one person could investigate every source.

Finally a third class of material brings one to the question of Jansenism and the Roman Catholics of the three Kingdoms, and here this study is fragmentary when compared with some of those dealing with Jansenism in other countries. From the very circumstances of the Roman Catholics in England, a minority frequently harassed by penal laws and persecutions, a Church leading a precarious existence, it was impossible that Jansenism could assume the importance it had on the continent or that the clergy could always practise the watchfulness expected of them. In 1706, at the time of the Bull Vineam Domini, Bishop Giffard writes: "I have been for sixteen months tossed about by continued perturbations and perils, so as scarcely to find anywhere a place to rest in safety", and in 1714 he says he has been obliged to change his lodgings fourteen times in five months. Thrice he has been in prison and now daily expects a fourth prison in which to end his life. He has received the Constitution Unigenitus, but could signify it to a few only of the clergy.

When Dom Gerberon published his history of Jansenism in 1700 he gave it the title Histoire générale du Jansénisme contenant ce qui s'est passé en France, en Espagne, en Italie, dans les Pays Bas, au sujet du livre intitulé "Augustinus Cornelii Jansenii", but no mention was necessary of England. When the Cardinal de Bissy

1 Brady, Episcopal Succession, 11, pp. 151-3.



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brought together in 1718 his Témoignages de l'Église Universelle en faveur de la Bulle Unigenitus, he was able to print a number of attestations from Roman Catholic bishops in other countries, but all he could do in the case of England was to give short extracts from the informal letters of three of the vicars-apostolic whose names he cautiously omitted.

The printed sources are therefore not very numerous. Gillow's Biographical Dictionary is among the most important, and there are a few controversial books. The manuscript sources are yet to be explored more fully. The Roman transcripts at the Record Office have been utilized, and the records of Jansenism preserved at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham, but there is doubtless further material in the Italian libraries, the archives of the diocese of Westminster, and other places. It is hoped that an adequate general outline has been given here, but the inmost history of Jansenism and the English Roman Catholics can probably be unfolded still further. Generally speaking this story consists in the main of accusations of Jansenism brought against certain individuals and their defence, and relates a phase of the struggle between the regulars and seculars. Jansenism itself was not openly taught in England.

For Scotland the chief source is Sir David Hunter-Blair's enlarged translation of Bellesheim's History of the Catholic Church in Scotland; for Ireland, Cardinal Moran's Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket. Some additions have been made to this material, but here again there is probably more to be gleaned from private manuscript collections, such as the one at Blairs College. There is little trace of Jansenism in Ireland, but in Scotland there were some friends, men who came from the Scots College in Paris.

From the foregoing it will be seen that this study does not and cannot claim to be an exhaustive history of Jansenism and Great Britain, but it does hope to have accomplished some honest spadework which may help to lay the foundation for some larger treatise, undertaken, possibly, by a theologian. Certain little-known relations between France and England have perhaps been indicated, some fresh light thrown on the circumstances of



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those forced to live abroad, something observed of the widespread influence of those others who, whether rightly or wrongly, suffered for what they believed to be a righteous cause.

It is a privilege to record the kindness of all those who in various ways have contributed to the writing of this book.

To the Duke of Richmond and Gordon I owe the permission to reproduce the portrait of Ludovic Stuart d'Aubigny at Gordon Castle, Fochabers; to the Duke of Leeds and the Marquess of Ormonde the permission to use manuscript material; to the authorities of Sion College, London, the ready access to Mrs Schimmelpenninck's collection of Port Royal books. The Lady Abbess of St Mary's Abbey, Colwich, Staffs., graciously lent me a copy of the history of the community (privately printed), and Dame M. Margaret, O.S.B., was good enough to answer my questions. I gratefully acknowledge the liberality of the authorities of St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham, the Right Rev. Monsignor W. H. Brown, President of the College, the Rev. E. Bonney, Vice-President, and the Rev. B. Payne, Librarian, who allowed me to utilize the manuscript collection of the college, and with the utmost goodness did everything in their power to facilitate my researches. I recall with gratitude the exceedingly kind reception given me by various members of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, and I thank His Grace, the Archbishop of Utrecht, Monsignor Kenninck, for permission to consult the archives, and the Rev. President C. Wijker of the Oud-Katholiek Seminarie at Amersfoort, the Rev. E. Lagerwey of Utrecht, and Mr J. Bruggeman of the Rijksarchief at the Hague for all their help so generously given. For advice or information of various kinds I am further indebted to Mademoiselle Cécile Gazier, to Miss I. Thornley of University College, London, to Monsieur J. Laporte, Chargé de Cours à la Sorbonne, to Monsieur Morel-Payen, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Troyes, to David Hannay, Esq., to the Rev. C. Beaufort Moss, to Mr W. H. Reade, Librarian of Keble College, Oxford, to Mr A. C. Potter, Librarian of Harvard College Library, and, very specially, to the Rev. Dr H. F. Stewart of Trinity College, Cambridge, who read this book in proof and whose kindness was great to one who had no



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claims on his time. I am under great obligations to the various libraries in which I have worked—I should like to make at least some mention of the unfailing courtesy shown at the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères to the research worker.

For the plates I am indebted to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Lord Abbot of Douai, Woolhampton, the Secretary of the Royal Society, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, and to Monsieur Georges Roth for procuring the photographs of the Collège des Écossais.

My deepest thanks must go to Mrs Frederick G. Atkinson, First Vice-President of the American Association of University Women, whose generosity in establishing a research-fellowship at Wellesley College enabled me to carry on a study begun long ago. If anything has been achieved it is in a large measure due to her initiative and to her interest in the higher education of women.

RUTH CLARK

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Chronology

- [A very full Table Chronologique for 1601–1737 will be found on pp. xiii-lxii of Cerveau's Nécrologe, vol. 1, Dix-septième Siècle. Many dates are taken from this work.]
- 1602 Jacqueline Arnauld (la Mère Angélique) becomes Abbess of Port Royal at the age of eleven.
- 1609 Reform of Port Royal. The so-called Journée du Guichet. Father Pembroke becomes Director of Port Royal.
- 1610 Murder of Henri IV. Reign of Louis XIII.
- Richard Smith consecrated as Bishop of Chalcedon.
 Port Royal de Paris opened. The nuns move in from Port Royal des Champs.
- 1629 Richard Smith retires to France.
- 1632 Publication of Petrus Aurelius.
- Saint-Cyran becomes director of Port Royal (though known to Port Royal before this date).
- 1637 M. Le Maître withdraws from the world. The first Solitaries.
- 1638 Death of Jansenius.Saint-Cyran imprisoned.The Solitaries obliged to disperse.
- 1640 Publication of the Augustinus.
- 1641 Publication of Conry's Peregrinus Jerichuntinus.
- 1642 Urban VIII condemns the Augustinus in his Bull In eminenti (not published till the following year).
 Death of Richelieu.
- 1643 Saint-Cyran released from prison.

Death of Louis XIII.

Publication of Arnauld's Fréquente Communion.

Dr John Sinnich in Rome (till 1645) in defence of the Augustinus. Death of Saint-Cyran.

- 1645 Dr Bourgeois in Rome in defence of the Fréquente Communion.
- 1646 The Little Schools of Port Royal established.
- 1648 La Mère Angélique and some of the nuns return to Port Royal des Champs. The Solitaries withdraw to the adjoining farmhouse of Les Granges. Outbreak of the Fronde.
- 1649 Cornet formulates the five propositions.
- 1651 L'affaire des Hibernois.
 - Dr Callaghan attacked by Brisacier.



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1652 The Cardinal de Retz arrested.

1653 The Jansenists provide Charles II with funds, but are accused of intriguing with Cromwell. The five propositions condemned by Innocent X (Bull Cum occasione).

1654 Charles II leaves France. Sends thanks to Singlin and Bernières. The Cardinal de Retz becomes Archbishop of Paris. He escapes from prison.

1655 Arnauld's Lettre à une personne de condition and Lettre à un duc

First draft of the Formulary.

1656 Arnauld censured and excluded from the Sorbonne.

The Lettres Provinciales begin to appear.

The Little Schools closed.

The Solitaries dispersed (1655 according to Cerveau).

Miracle of la Sainte Épine.

A Bull of Alexander VII (Ad sanctam B. Petri sedem) confirms the Bull of Innocent X (1653).

1657 The Lettres Provinciales continue to appear.

The 1655 Formulary adopted by the Assembly of the Clergy (in a slightly modified form).

1658 The Little Schools begin to resume their activities. The Duke of Monmouth a pupil.

1660 The Little Schools suppressed. The Restoration.

1661 Death of Mazarin.

Expulsion of the Solitaries (1660 according to Cerveau). The novices and pensionnaires sent away from Port Royal. Death of la Mère Angélique.

The Formulary presented to the nuns of Port Royal.

1662 Retz resigns the archbishopric. M. de Marca, his successor, dies. M. de Péréfixe becomes Archbishop of Paris. Death of M. de Bernières.

Death of Pascal.

1663 Ludovic Stuart d'Aubigny not to become a cardinal.

1664 M. des Touches helps the English Benedictines to buy a house.
 Renewed persecutions. A number of nuns carried off captives from Port Royal de Paris.
 Francis Jenkins obliged to leave Port Royal de Paris.

1665 Bull of Alexander VII imposing Formulary (Regiminis apostolici).

The Bishops of Alet, Angers, Beauvais and Pamiers refuse to conform.



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Death of Ludovic Stuart d'Aubigny and news of his cardi-

- 1667 The Mons New Testament published.
- 1668 The so-called Paix de l'Église. Return of the Solitaries.
- 1669 Separation of Port Royal des Champs and Port Royal de Paris.
- 1670 Death of M. de Péréfixe. M. de Harlay becomes Archbishop

Publication of the Pensées.

- 1679 Death of Mme de Longueville.
 - Renewed persecution of Port Royal. Pensionnaires and novices sent away. Expulsion of the Solitaries.

Arnauld withdraws to Flanders.

- 1688 Flight of James II to France.
- 1689 Arnauld's book against William of Orange. The Canons of Beauvais accused of intriguing with England.
- 1694 Death of Arnauld.
- 1695 Death of Nicole.
 - Death of M. de Harlay. M. de Noailles becomes Archbishop of Paris.
- 1699 Mme de Gramont forbidden to go to Marly on account of her visits to Port Royal.
- 1701 Death of James II at Saint-Germain.
- 1702 The Cas de Conscience printed.
- 1703 Imprisonment of Quesnel at Brussels and his escape. Dr Betham, preceptor of the Chevalier de St George, at Saint-Germain, accused of Jansenism.
- 1704 Dr Hawarden of Douay accused of Jansenism.
- 1705 The Bull Vineam Domini.
 1707 English Roman Catholics accused of Jansenism.
- 1709 Final dispersion of the nuns of Port Royal. A papal brief addressed to the Roman Catholics of England, Scotland and Ireland.
- 1710 Beginning of the demolition of Port Royal.
- 1713 The Bull Unigenitus.
- 1715 Douay College cleared of the accusation of Jansenism. Death of Louis XIV. Ordination of Dutch Jansenists in Ireland.

1716 Further ordinations.

- 1717 Appeal of the Bishops of Senez, Montpellier, Boulogne, Mirepoix, from the Constitution Unigenitus. Appeal of the Cardinal de Noailles.
- 1718 Du Pin's Project of Union.



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1719 Death of Quesnel.

1720 Noailles retracts his appeal.

1723 Death of the Regent.

1727 Condemnation of Soanen, Bishop of Senez.

1729 Death of the Cardinal de Noailles.

The Jansenists Le Gros and Étemare visit England.

1732 The cemetery of St Médard closed on account of the convulsionaries.

1736 Scottish missionaries required to subscribe a formulary.

1737 Lercari's report on the Jansenism of the Scots College at Paris.

1739 Lord Edward Drummond (afterwards 6th Duke of Perth) imprisoned for being a convulsionary.

1755 Lady Elizabeth Drummond refused the sacraments.

The following résumés may be found useful:

Temps principaux dans l'histoire des persécutions de Port-Royal

1653 La situation, assez belle, se gâte par la condemnation à Rome des cinq propositions de Jansénius.

Persécution continue et croissante, surtout à partir de 1656.

1664 L'archevêque Péréfixe s'y prêtant, la persécution atteint aux extrêmes rigueurs.

1664-1668 Il y a véritablement captivité.

1668 La paix de l'Église.

1669-1679 Port-Royal jouit d'un vif et suprême éclat.

1679–1709 Dernière persécution, plus sourde, plus lente,...finit par l'entière ruine. D'après *Port-Royal*, 11, pp. 342–3.

Dispersions des Solitaires

1638 La première.

1656 La plus bénigne.

1661 La plus violente.

1679 La dernière.

D'après Port-Royal, III, p. 172.



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The Five Propositions

said to be contained in the Augustinus

- 1. Some of God's Commandments are impossible to the Just according to their present forces, though they have a will, and do endeavour to accomplish them: and they want the Grace, that rendreth them possible.
 - 2. In the state of nature corrupt, men never resist Interiour Grace.
- 3. To merit and demerit in the state of Nature corrupted, it is not necessary to have the liberty that excludes necessity; but it sufficeth to have that liberty which excludes Coaction, or Constraint.
- 4. The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of Interiour preventing Grace to every Action even to the beginning of Faith. But they were Heretiques in this that they would have that Grace to be such, as the will of man might resist it or obey it.
- 5. It is semipelagianisme to say that Jesus Christ died, or shed his blood, generally for all men.

From An Answer to the Provinciall Letters (1659), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

The Formulary of Alexander VII

The Pope's Bull for imposing the Formularies..."The best remedie to extirpate the restes of this contagious Maladie, is to cause all the World to sign one Formularie founded on our Autoritie. In pursuit whereof we command that all Ecclesiastiques etc. to subscribe the following Formularie: I, N. submit my self to the Apostolick Constitution of Innocent X dated May 31, 1653, and to the Constitution of Alexander 7th, dated Oct. 16, 1656, the chief Bishops: and I do with a sincere mind reject and condemn the V propositions, taken out of Cornelius Jansenius's Book, named Augustinus, and in the sense intended by the same Author, as the Apostolick seat has by the said Constitution condemned them. And thus I sware. God so help me, and these holy Evangels of God".

Given at Rome, Feb. 15, 1665.

From Gale, The true Idea of Jansenisme (1669), pp. 93-4.