The Mind and Mission of St. Francis Xavier

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THE MIND AND MISSION

OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

by

WARREN ANDREW

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Graduate School of Butler University and Christian Theological Seminary

April 1974
Francis Xavier is of historical importance in two respects: (1) he was one of the small band of men who, led by Ignatius of Loyola, founded the Society of Jesus; and (2) he was the first Christian missionary to Japan. In addition to these major points of importance, his life and work are in close relation to the historical events, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the first half of the sixteenth century. A more complete biographical study of Xavier must bring in the names and offices of numerous leaders of church and state in many countries. It must also, at least to some extent, sketch the outlines of the condition of religion, of international rivalries, and of colonial expansion in his time.

Our goal in the present study is a more modest one than such a biography. It concerns especially the mind of Francis Xavier in relation to his mission. Nevertheless, some attention to these broader aspects of the state of the world in Xavier's times have been found necessary as we have proceeded with our subject. Francis Xavier left Europe on his 35th birthday, April 7, 1541, never to return. When he left this life on December 3, 1552, he had been for over eleven years in what we would call the field of foreign missions. The materials available
for a study of the mind of Xavier are different, therefore, from those of men, such as Luther, Calvin, or Loyola, who were observed in Europe by their friends, acquaintances, and even enemies, and about whom much was put down by their contemporaries. Much of the information on Francis Xavier has to be sought in his letters or in fragmentary descriptions from far distant lands, whether by natives or by European travellers. This fact is stated not as an apology, but perhaps as a partial explanation of those deficiencies which may be found in the present study.

It is a very real pleasure to express my thanks to my adviser, Dr. Lester G. McAllister, Professor of Church History, for his helpful counsel, kind encouragement and constant stimulation; to the directors and members of the staffs of the libraries of Butler University and of the Christian Theological Seminary; to those libraries at Harvard, Cornell and Berkeley which have assisted with interlibrary loans; the library of Sofia University in Tokyo and to Miss Caryl Callahan, Lecturer on Japanese Literature at Sofia; to my wife, Nancy Valérie Andrew, for typing of the entire manuscript and for several helpful suggestions; and to my daughter, Linda Nancy Andrew, who obtained the material for the first two pages of illustrations while visiting Kagoshima, the first home of Francis Xavier in Japan.
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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

To fathom the mind of a man who lived and worked over four centuries ago, who was born into a civilization far different from ours in its material resources and in many ways in its spiritual values, is a formidable task. When such a man found his mission not in his own land but in distant countries of the East, among strange peoples with languages, customs and religions alien to the Europeans of his day, the task becomes even more difficult. But when we learn that this man was on fire with faith, that he was a soldier in the Company of Jesus, we may well pause before embarking on a study of his intellect and his learning. Yet such an individual was Francis Xavier. Difficult as the task before us may seem, the challenge and attraction of such a study should help us on our way.

Francis Xavier was an Iberian, a native of that great peninsula which comprises Spain, Portugal and the country of the Basques. While he was born in Navarre, much of his education was under Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Spanish influence. The college which he attended at the University of Paris was under the patronage of the King of Portugal. His mission to the East was undertaken in the service of that King as well as of the Pope.

The arid and rugged terrain of the Peninsula for centuries had been a land where Christian and Moslem, Cross and
Crescent, had confronted one another. Although the Jews and Moors on the Iberian peninsula had not tended to mingle widely with the Christians there, they did leave, over the centuries, an indelible mark on the character of the populace. Goethein goes so far as to say: "The whole development of Spanish culture in the Middle Ages, its originality, its influence on other nations, is based upon this inter-relationship between East and West."

Traits of intense intellectual power, of military and personal pride, of sacred fervor and mystic, semi-Oriental passion mark the greatest of the Iberian religious characters, predecessors of Francis Xavier. Such men were Saint Dominic (1170-1221) and Raymond Lull (1235-1315), who lived and worked some two centuries before Xavier. Like Francis, Saint Dominic showed a combination of tenderness and intense sensitiveness of character with an ardor for the faith so strong that each of them at times could tolerate, while not participating directly in, cruelty against heretics and pagans. Like Xavier, Dominic was a man of intellectual power and of considerable learning.

The order of the Dominicans grew out of the small group of volunteers who assisted Dominic in his difficult mission among the Albigenses. When that mission was ended, and when fire and sword largely had replaced the methods of peaceful persuasion, that group formed the nucleus of the new order of Dominicans which

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1 E. Goethein, Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation (Halle: Germany, 1895) p. 23.
soon found papal approval and great success in Italy, France and Spain. Saint Dominic died at his monastery in Bologna in 1221. It is reported that shortly before his death he was planning a journey for missionary work among the Kuman Tatars along the Dnieper and Volga rivers. Thus his eyes were on the great harvest of souls in the distant East.

There are important points of resemblance also between St. Francis Xavier and Raymond Lull (1235-1315), who has been described as representing the "apotheosis of the half-Eastern Spanish genius of the Middle Ages." His early career as a carefree official at the Court of Aragon would have given no hint of what he was to become. With Lull, as with Ignatius of Loyola—and with Francis Xavier—conversion was expressed by a truly colossal strengthening of the power of his will. Deficient in his earlier education, his resolve to convert the Moslems led him, after the age of thirty, to a course of nine or ten years of study at the University of Palma and to a mastery of the Arabic language. His endeavors, like those of Francis Xavier, were among peoples who had known little or nothing of Christianity. For him, mind and spirit were closely tied together. Among his writings,

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we find these words: "Elevate thy knowledge and thy love will
be elevated. Heaven is not so lofty as the love of a holy man.
The more thou wilt labor to rise upward, the more thou wilt
rise upward." ³

Francis Xavier lived in an age which in some ways
was very different from that of Saint Dominic and Raymond Lull.
In their times the mohammedan moors held large portions of the
Iberian peninsula and their armies often seemed invincible. Xavier
was born after the stirring days of the Reconquest, when Ferdinand
and Isabella had overcome the stubborn resistance at Grana and
when Christian arms even had engaged the Infidels in North Africa.
By his time also the great voyages of exploration, to both east
and west, had made the Portuguese and Spanish aware of vast countries
unknown in earlier times, and to which the cross never had been
carried. Yet in many of those countries, in the Past, the Christian
saw outlined against the sky the minarets of Islam and heard again
the muezzins' call to prayer, for the ancient rivals of Christianity
had preceded the Christian missionaries to the coasts of Africa,
to India and even to the far Indies. Francis Xavier, heir to the
heroic religious and military traditions of the Iberian peoples—the
Spanish, Portuguese and Basques—knew and felt the intensity of the
struggles of the past and was aware of the confrontations which

³Berber, W. T. A., Raymond Lull The Illuminated Doctor:
would take place again between Christian and Moslem in these new lands. He could know little or nothing, when setting out on his mission, of the strange and often powerful religions which he would encounter beyond the furthest extent of European influence; nor could he know at that time of the decadent influence on "Christian" Europeans which the splendors of colonial power had wrought.
CHAPTER I

THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF FRANCIS XAVIER
1. Family and Early Life (1506-1525)

The chief events in the life of St. Francis Xavier have been told in many accounts, ranging from short sketches to lengthy biographies. He was born on April 7, 1506, in the ancestral castle at Yaxier in Navarre, then an independent kingdom. Christened as Francisco de Yaxu y Yaxier, he was the youngest son of Juan de Yaxu and Maria Amarez de Sada, Yaxier y Azpilcueta. We shall tell more of his parents in the main text of our essay. Juan de Yaxu was an official of high standing at the court of Navarre.

The early years of Francis found the kingdom of Navarre in great distress. As has happened so frequently with smaller nations, she found herself the victim of a struggle between two great powers, France to the north and Spain to the south. Spain was victorious. The family of Yaxier, which had supported the cause of the French, suffered grievously for its choice. Juan de Yaxu, the father, died in 1515, broken by sorrow at the loss of independence of his country. Miguel and Juan, the brothers of Francis, were now considered as traitors, for they had fought on the side of the French. Maria, a prudent mother, saved what she could of the fortunes of the family. Francis' education, begun at Yaxier, was continued in the capital of Navarre, the city of Pamplona.
2. Francis Xavier at the University of Paris (1525-1536)

In 1525, at the age of 19 years, Francis set off to enter the University of Paris. His intention was to study the subjects of philosophy and theology and perhaps to emulate his uncle, Martin de Azpilcueta (1493-1586) who already was gaining fame by his work in canon law and moral theology. The Collège de Ste. Barbe, which he chose as his residence, was a favorite of Spanish and Portuguese students and was under the patronage of the King of Portugal. Xavier soon gained a friend, Peter Favre, from Savoy. It was in 1530 that these two friends, both destined later to be among the founding members of the Society of Jesus, completed their studies in philosophy and began to turn to theology. Two years earlier Ignatius of Loyola had arrived at the University of Paris. Favre and Xavier came under the spell of his influence and zeal. Xavier was less rapidly and, at first at least, less deeply influenced than was Favre. By 1533, however, Xavier seems to have committed his life to the things for which Ignatius stood. On August 11, 1534, he was one of the six companions who vowed to give their lives to the service of Jesus the Christ. The

1Ignatius had dedicated his life to Mary in the hills above Barcelone at the monastery of Montserrat. In the cave of Manresa he had begun the composition of the Spiritual Exercises. He had left Spain on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Returning, he studied at the Universities of Salamanca and of Alcalá. Under suspicion by the Inquisition, he again had left Spain and, in 1528, entered the University of Paris. His summers were spent in England, where he collected alms to support his studies during the academic year in Paris.
union then formed was to become, in 1540, the Company of Jesus which would for centuries be active in many parts of the world in the vanguard of the faithful. Xavier was one of those who went through the rigorous Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius, completing them by the end of 1526.
3. Francis Xavier in Italy (1537-1540)

The companions, travelling from different starting points, met in Venice in January, 1537, intending to go together to the Holy Land. International complications frustrated their plans. Thus in the spring of that year they went to Rome where Paul III blessed their plans and approved ordination of those not yet priests. Xavier himself was ordained at Venice on June 24, 1537. The long period of waiting in Italy did not pass in idleness. The companions led a life of missionary endeavor and self-denial. Xavier labored in the cities of northern Italy: Bologna, Vicenza, and Monselice near to Padua. Ignatius himself did not abandon hope for the pilgrimage until the close of 1538. Then, however, he did call the group again to Rome. Here they conferred on their future course. In the conferences Xavier played an active rôle, at the same time taking part in other work in Rome for the strengthening of the Catholic Church. When the organization of the Society of Jesus was approved in September, 1540, Xavier already had departed from the city. He had served, however, as Secretary of the Company almost until that time.

The reason for his departure from Rome was, indeed, his call to missionary endeavor in the distant East. King John III
of Portugal was concerned about the spiritual welfare, not only of the "natives" in his vast colonial empire, but also of the colonists themselves. This concern he had communicated to the rector of the College of Ste. Barbe, who, familiar with the dedication of the Companions, had advised the king to ask Pope Paul to assign several of them to the task. The pope had named two: the Portuguese, Simon Rodriguez and the Spaniard, Nicholas Bobadilla. Whether by chance or by the will of Heaven, Bobadilla became ill before their departure for Portugal. Francis Xavier was named to go in his place.

At Lisbon, both Xavier and Rodriguez displayed so well their zeal and ability that the king and queen would have liked to have them remain in the motherland, hoping to send some more easily expendable persons to their eastern possessions. Rodriguez was persuaded that he could do much for the faith in Portugal itself. Francis, however, was not to be turned from his purpose and the monarchs reluctantly permitted him to embark. It was on his 35th birthday, April 7, 1541, that Francis Xavier set sail from Lisbon for the port of Goa, capital of the great colonial empire of Portugal in India.
4. The Mission to India and the Indies

The long sea voyage was interrupted by a winter's stay in the Portuguese African colony of Mozambique. Here Xavier saw for the first time examples of man's inhumanity to man among non-European peoples, for the blacks ruled their slaves, from other tribes, with a cruel and oppressive hand. Fever gripped Xavier, along with many others from the ship, and he hovered long between life and death. By the time of departure, however, he had recovered.

The arrival in the port of Goa occurred on May 6, 1542. Xavier arrived in India as an official of prominence and authority for he came as Papal Legate. He presented his credentials to bishop Juan de Alburquerque. The Bishop, a Franciscan, received him most cordially. Already at work in India were Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans.

The details of the methods of teaching and conversion by Francis Xavier may be delayed for a later discussion. It may be said, however, that for about six months he devoted his efforts almost entirely to the Portuguese colonists and their servants and slaves. In the autumn of 1542, however, he travelled to the southern part of the Indian peninsula. Here, along the coast, lived the Paravas, a people who worked as pearl fishers. Many of them had been baptized, and they
accepted protection by the Portuguese against the Moslems. Xavier spent two years among the Paravas. Assisted by a few native catechists, interpreters and European priests, he set up churches and chapels, gave religious instruction and helped to solve village disputes. It is estimated that he himself baptised some thirty thousand persons in southern India.  

After these two years of work, Xavier made visits to San Thomé near Madras to see the shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle, the first "missionary" to India; to Cochin, and to the island of Ceylon. He then sailed to Malacca, on the Malay peninsula, another center of Portuguese colonial power and influence. He carried out here a mission of renewal and strengthening of the faith of the colonists as he had done at Goa. On the first day of 1546, he sailed to the Moluccas or Spice Islands for a stay of over a year, visiting and working at Amboina, Ternate, Halmahera and other places. The natives of these places were not as receptive to the teachings of Christianity as he had hoped and there were many disappointments. In May of 1547 he again reached Malacca.

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5. The Mission to Japan

It was in Malacca that Xavier was introduced to a strange individual from a distant and very little known country—Japan! The young man was known variously as Anjiro, Angero, Yajiro, or Hachiro. Francis was impressed deeply both by this man and by what he learned from him of his country. Here there seemed to be a civilized land with people eager for knowledge, apparently quick to learn and willing to consider new ideas, traits which he had found lacking all too often in his earlier work in the Asian field. We shall consider later why these differences existed. It was sufficient for Francis to see here a rich field for work and a great harvest of souls. With high hopes, he began to prepare for a mission to Japan. He sent Hachiro and two Japanese companions from Malacca to Goa to receive there baptism and instruction, for these three had been converted by him and were eager to learn. Xavier also returned separately to India, there to set his affairs in order and to prepare for the great new task.

In 1549 Francis Xavier, accompanied by two other European Jesuits and the three Japanese set sail in a small junk from Malacca for the islands of Japan.3 It was on August 15 of that year, after many weeks of difficulties on the sea voyage,
that the ship anchored at Kagoshima, the southernmost city of Japan, on the island of Kyushu. It was in this region that some seven years earlier a Portuguese ship had been driven ashore and thus the Portuguese had "discovered" Japan.

Xavier was hospitably received in the home of Hachiro which became his own, a quiet place where he could make preparations for serious work. These preparations involved a study of the Japanese language and, with the aid of his Japanese travel companions, a translation of some of the fundamental documents of the Christian faith into that language.

By the beginning of September of 1550, after varying successes and failures in his efforts at conversion in Kagoshima, Francis had decided to travel further in Japan, perhaps with the thought of the possibility of converting the Shogun or the Emperor himself, an accomplishment which would be certain to bring great results in the country as a whole. He set out first for Hirando, accompanied by three companions.

With great pleasure, Xavier saw there a Portuguese ship in the harbor. Its master introduced him to the prince of the region. Now with full permission to preach, Francis made within a few days as many conversions at Hirando as he had made in a full year at Kagoshima!
Leaving one of his European companions, Cosmo de Torres, at Firando, he now set out with Joam Fernandez, a Portuguese, and two Japanese converts. This next journey, partly by sea and partly by land, was a dangerous and difficult one. Worse still, when the destination, Amanguchi, was reached, the Christians met a cold reception. A doctrine of a special type had been adopted there, and its seventy-three articles seemed as a wall shutting out the introduction of Christian teaching, although, curiously, some of the precepts taught would have been acceptable, as such, to the Christians. There were demonstrations in the streets, malicious diatribes, and even rock-throwing at the missionaries.

In the early part of December, 1550, Xavier and his companions departed for the great city of Meaco (Miyako, present-day Kyoto). It was a hard journey of two months over rough roads, with toll to be paid in money or service at passes, fords, and ferries. At Meaco was the court of the emperor, yet the city lay partly in ruins as a result of long-continued internecine war. In this city Xavier learned more of the two principal religions of Japan. The followers of Buddha, or "Fo" were far more numerous in this part of the country than were those of the more ancient religion, Shintoism.

The little band of Christians found it impossible to gain access to the imperial court. All that they could do
was to preach in the streets, a dangerous undertaking.
With the almost chaotic condition of the area, their preaching seemed to bring little spiritual reward. Xavier deemed it wiser to depart. Going to Osaka, at the mouth of the Yodo river, they sailed for Hirado and then to Amaguchi. In the latter city they did receive a more friendly reception this time from the ruler and, somewhat heartened, returned to Kagoshima.

On November 20, 1551, Francis left Japan on the return voyage to Malacca. Here he found important news awaiting him. Ignatius, he learned, had separated the East from the (Jesuit) province of Portugal. The East now was a separate province; and Xavier himself had been named as its first "provincial" (Jesuit governor). He continued on to India and assumed this new and high position.

Francis Xavier, however, was not one to be satisfied to direct and to observe from afar the efforts of those in the field. During the return journey, not satisfied with the results of his heroic efforts in Japan, he had been revolving a new plan in his mind. There was still another empire in the East, the great country of China. True, it had seen little contact with the West and the relations generally had been so unpleasant that its borders were closed to traders. But could not one bringing another type of merchandise—the means of salvation—gain access to its teeming millions?
Almost from the first, this final enterprise of Francis Xavier, seemed an ill-fated one. At Melacca, difficulties arose with the secular governor, and support from him was denied. Notwithstanding, Xavier sailed to the island of Shang Chü'an (Sanchian), just off the south coast of China. Here he arrived toward the end of August of 1552. Wearied by the voyage, he now was frustrated in his attempts to reach the mainland. He became ill and lay for weeks in a hut, attended chiefly by a Chinese youth, with the Christian name Antonio, and a Malabar Indian one named Cristoval, almost his only companions. On December 8, 1552 Francis Xavier passed from this life. It is said that his last words were:

"In Te, Domine, speravi; non confundar
in aeternum!"
CHAPTER II

HOMELAND OF FRANCIS XAVIER; HIS FAMILY AND EARLY EDUCATION
In that part of the European continent which now constitutes the southwestern corner of France and the northeastern corner of Spain there was, in former times, a strange country: the Land of the Basques. Here, along the coast of Guipuzcoa and in the mountain range above it, layers of brown sandstone slant down at a sharp angle toward the Bay of Biscay. Was there, perhaps, in prehistoric times, a great subsidence of this part of the European continent?

The kingdom of Navarre, home of Francis Xavier, had been formed out of a part of the land occupied by the Basques and the Gascons. The first king of whom we learn in historic records was Sancho Garcia, who ruled at Pamplona in the early part of the 10th century. Under his successors the kingdom increased greatly in size and power, taking in all of the Basque provinces and portions of adjoining Spain and France. Later, it began to lose territory and influence. From 1234 on, the crown was claimed by the kings of Aragon but in fact was held, through marriage, by a succession of French rulers. This was its condition at the time of the birth of Francis Xavier, in 1506. Ten years later Ferdinand, ruler of Spain, annexed the greater part of its territory, including Pamplona.

The Basque language, spoken even today by over a million people in the Pyrenees region is called Euskara or Euzkara by the Basques themselves. It is a language "without any
known or demonstrable relationship or affiliation with any other known language."¹ An example of its fundamental difference from other languages of Europe is the lack of declension of the nouns, this feature, common to all of the Indo-European languages including Sanskrit, being replaced in Basque by an elaborate postpositional system. The definite article itself (a for the singular, ak for the plural nominative) is a postposition as are "in," "into," "by," and "to."

There are two explanations which have been set forth for the origin of the Basque language. One is that it represents the ancient Aquitanian tongue, spoken on the Iberian peninsula before the Roman invasion. The other, admittedly a daring one, is that it may be the last remnant of the language of the "lost continent" of Atlantis. It does not seem to be a simple or primitive language, which makes it the more surprising that it has no written characters of its own and has to use those of the Roman alphabet.

Basques have been considered, by tradition, very able in the mastering of other languages. Yeo says: "The Basque will tell you proudly that his language is the oldest as well as the most difficult in the world, and that a Basque learns Chinese and Japanese more quickly than any other 'foreign devil'."²

Was some of this native linguistic genius of his people an asset to Francis Xavier when he set out to gain a mastery of the languages of the East?

Yeo tells us also that an early Jesuit missionary to Mexico learned to speak the Aztec language in a fortnight, and that this was due, in part at least, to its likeness to the Basque language!

The father of Francis was Don Juan de Jussu. He was a successful politician and lawyer. His educational opportunities had been good and he had made the most of them. He had received a doctor's degree from the prestigious University of Bologna. Returning to his native Navarre, he had become a Court official there. In 1476 he was made alcalde of the legislative body or Cortes. A few years later he helped to solve a difficult question of boundary between Navarre and Aragon. As a reward, he was elevated to the first rank of nobility in the kingdom.

The ancestors of Don Juan de Jussu were of French origin, coming from the region of St. Jean Pied-de-Port on the north side of the Pyrenees. The financial fortunes of the family had been good. Juan's father, the paternal grandfather of Francis, lived at Pamplona and was auditor of the Court finances.

As Juan's star continued to ascend, he became the trusted adviser of the monarchs of Navarre, Queen Catherine and her French consort, Jean d'Albret. His time at the castle of
Javier was curtailed and much of the business and household cares there devolved to a large extent on his wife, Doña María, who, of course with the help of servants, cared for the three daughters and, after the birth of Francis, three sons. It was under the tender tutelage of his mother that Francis received his earliest lessons. His first words and his first prayers were in the Basque language. Soon he passed on to more formal lessons in the castle, learning to read and write in the vernacular, being taught the fundamentals of Latin, and the basic rituals of the Church. There was an abundance also of less formal education, the folk-tales of the Basques, the native songs and poems, often sung or recited by the Bertasulariek, wandering entertainers who enjoyed the hospitality of the old castle. Mingled with the lighter tales were grim stories of warfare, of bitter conflict between Christian and Moor.

Francis' father appears to have had so little time for the boy that he scarcely could have left a real impression upon his son. Martín de Azpilcueta, a relative who helped the mother in business affairs, seems to have supplied much of the place of a father to him.

The complex fortunes of Navarre during the early life of Francis have been described briefly (Chapter I). They meant for him chiefly a darkening of the family's fortunes, as the King and Queen fled to France, never to return, the death of his father
at Javier, and the departure of his two brothers to bear arms in what became a hopeless cause. Yet with all this, Francis no doubt had the resilience of youth and hope. He is described, as a young man of eighteen, with "black eyes full of life and expression, his gay mouth always laughing," with thick dark hair and strong and healthy body. He excelled in running, jumping and other athletic activities. We do not know the details of his schooling at this time but we are told that he carried his desire to excel, as in athletics, into his studies as well. After his lessons in the castle itself, he is thought to have attended college first at Sangüesa nearby, and to have continued in the college at Pamplona from spring of 1524 until summer of 1525. On his return to Javier at that time, he found both of his brothers at home. They saw in him a fine recruit to fight in the cause. By this time, however, and perhaps much earlier, he had resolved to follow the path of learning rather than of arms. His ambitions were high and no university of Iberia would satisfy him. It was Paris, "the university not of a town but of the whole world" to which he would go.  

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CHAPTER III

THE YEARS AT PARIS
When Francis Xavier came to France, the University of Paris already had a long history. It had been organized some three hundred years earlier, near the beginning of the thirteenth century. Great names such as Albertus Magnus, Abelard, St. Thomas Aquinas, came to mind when one spoke of Paris.

Doumergue says, of the early days: "There was in those days no medieval sage who had not studied or taught in Paris—subtle doctors, seraphic doctors, angels of the schools, Italians, Spaniards, Germans. At one moment the souls of the students would be imprisoned in the hard armour of scholastic argument and the next caught up into the third heaven of mysticism." ¹

Lucas gives us a not too sympathetic vignette on the early Sorbonne: "The Sorbonne takes its name from Robert de Sorbon, the confessor of St. Louis, who had suffered much as a theological student and wished others to suffer less; for students in his day existed absolutely on charity. St. Louis threw himself into his confessor's scheme, and the Sorbonne, richly endowed, was opened in 1253, in its original form occupying a site in a street with the depressing name of Coupe Geule. From a hostel it soon became the church's intellect, and for five and a half centuries it thus existed, almost continually, I regret to say, pursuing what Gibbon calls 'the exquisite rancour of theological hatred'." ²

¹ F. Doumergue, Vie de Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps (7 vols.) vol. 1, p. 50. (Lausanne: 1839-1819) Cited from E. A. Stewart, 1917.

All of the ancient buildings of the University of Paris are gone except for the "Church" of the Sorbonne, which itself was not constructed until 1625-53. By the time of Xavier the halcyon days of the university had passed. There seems to have been a decline in synchrony with the growth of an arbitrary spirit in the administration, which even verged on despotism, and with a type of mental sclerosis in the faculty, tending to make progress, or even change, difficult or impossible. This condition had made it an object of ridicule and satire by men such as Montaigne, Erasmus and, later, Fabelais.

An early "taint" of Protestantism, before either Lutheranism or Calvinism came into being, was seen in the sayings and writings of one Jacques Le Fèvre d'Etaples (Faber Stapulensis) who introduced the first stirrings of a critical attitude toward the traditions of the church and a spirit of independent study of the Scripture. In old age and in exile, having been forced from the university and his country, Le Fèvre began the translation into French of the Bible, a beginning which served as the foundation of the later versions in French. Earlier, in 1525, just in the year of the arrival of Xavier, the Sorbonne had announced that: "The books of the Holy Scripture are approved in the Latin language, and ought thus to remain." Indeed, Francis had left the problems of physical war in Navarre to enter what was fast becoming a battlefield of intellectual and religious doctrines and ideas at Paris.

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The road ahead even with no thought nor premonition of his real future, must have seemed to him a long one, when he donned for the first time the pointed hat and long black cape of the students of the Sorbonne. There was much learning to be accomplished. True, most of it was of the scholastic type, for the New Learning was generally frowned upon at Paris at this time. But it required hard, steady work and Francis was embarking on a course of study which was to take eleven years.

There was much to intrigue and to inspire the new student. The buildings of the old university formed a community in themselves, set off from the Cité and the town of Paris. Among the various colleges sat the abbeys of the Augustins, the Bernardins, and the Mathurins. The square tower of Ste. Geneviève rose into the clear air and nearby was the great bulk of the Sorbonne itself. Yet at closer view the setting for his studies was not an attractive one. The buildings of the colleges were poorly lit and badly ventilated. The narrow streets about them were unsanitary and noisome. Classes began at 5:00 in the morning, yet only a few lamps reeked in the lecture halls. Students generally sat on the floor, on straw in winter, on mown grass in the summer. It is difficult to understand how very effective work could be done when we read that each student received an allowance of only three sheets of paper per week.

The students themselves were a motley group, ranging in age from hardly half-way through their teens to middle age, and
in motivation from earnest desire to learn to a perhaps no
less earnest desire to enjoy the pleasures of Paris. Loyola
himself was a man of thirty-seven when he enrolled in the
university and it is interesting to try to picture him among
the varied and generally much younger members of that student
body. His biographer, who was a contemporary, describes a day
at the College of St. Barbe:

"Rise at four, at five lecture, followed by mass, and
breakfast composed of a roll. From eight to ten, lecture; at
eleven masters and pupils dine together, while parts of the Bible
or the Lives of the Saints were read aloud. Then, for recreation,
the reading of poetry and questions on the preceding lesson.
Another class from three to five; at six supper, repetition, Salut
du Saint-Sacrement, and to bed." 4

Xavier spent his first four years at the university as
a camariste-portioniste, meaning that he paid for both board and
lodging. Thus he cannot be placed in the category of a poor or
poverty-stricken student. He boarded, in fact, with the principal of
the college. Not only this but he had a man-servant, Miguel, also
from Navarre. Poor students, however, were numerous enough. They

4 Ribadeneira, P., Vide del P. Ignacio de Loyola. (Madrid:
1594.)

Ribadeneira, P., Life of Blessed Father Ignatius. English
worked for the university at various jobs and in return had free tuition.

What was Francis Xavier learning during these years at the University of Paris? It is important to remember that at this time he was a very ambitious young man, in the sense in which we usually employ that term. While his orientation was toward the church, he could look forward to striving for one of the many positions of prestige, power and wealth which ecclesiastical preferment could bring in those days.

Like many others, therefore, Xavier embarked upon the Arts program as offering a general cultural program and forming a preparation for the long course of theological study which would be necessary for such a career. History, Grammar, Latin, and Greek, and a little later Logic occupied his attention. The examination for the degree of Bachelor was a "hurdle" to be surmounted, as was also that, generally a year later, for the licentiate. When those two examinations were behind him, the student received, at a public ceremony, a diploma and the Apostolic Blessing from the chancellor of the university. Later in that year the bonnet was bestowed and the title of "Master" or rather, "Magister." This was qualified as "magister novus," "new master" until he was appointed as a teacher when he became Master Regent, or full Master in one of the colleges. Continuing his studies then, at a higher or more professional level, he was somewhat in the position of our present-day "teaching assistants" who generally, of course, are graduate students.
It is not too clear how much competition there was among the students for achievement in their studies. It seems that students very rarely failed to receive their degrees because of actual failure in the examination, even though, as now, the students may have considered the examinations as hurdles. That there was a large amount of attrition before the examinations is amply attested by the records.  

The reputation of the College of Ste. Perbe (Saint Barbara) was as high or higher than that of any college in the university. Its principal, Jacques de Couves, was a Portuguese. A very able administrator, he felt strongly the need of the great new colonial possessions for men of high character, for only too often the spirit of selfish cupidity and lawlessness went forth with the white men who sailed to those distant countries. The college was the most cosmopolitan in the university. Many excellent French and Scottish students, as well as Spanish, Portuguese and Basque were enrolled there. The Faculty were of the best. Indeed, the College of Ste. Perbe was said to resemble the Wooden Horse of Troy "because it had within itself such a number of great men."

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5 It is stated that not more than half of those matriculating in Arts ever took the Bachelor's examination, while a small proportion of those who did ever went on to the Master's degree. (H. Rashdall, Medieval Universities, 5 vols., ed. by F. M. Powick and H. B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936)).

6 Stewart, Life of St. Francis Xavier, p. 52.
It is a matter of regret that we do not have records of the impressions made upon Francis by the great men of that place and time with whom he must have been in close and frequent relation. Such a man, for example, was George Buchanan, future "instructor" of Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI, who had arrived in Paris in 1520 and who in 1529 was in the same college house with Loyola and Xavier. He and Mathurin Cordier, together with the learned Strebéc, had instituted the classical revival in the College of St. Barbe. As a professor of great heart, as well as mind, willing to think of Catholic reformation although firmly committed to the general orthodoxy of the church, Cordier might have seemed an interesting contrast to the Scottish humanist, George Buchanan.

The College of Ste. Barbe was one of the more liberal ones and Francis had ample opportunity to learn of the ideas of the Lutherans. In some other colleges, such as that of Montaigu, under the reactionary Noel Beda, the atmosphere was extremely conservative.

But the years at Paris might have been cut short before there was an opportunity for the great transformation of Francis Xavier to take place. His expenses were considerable, while his mother had spent much of what she had in the courts of law trying

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7 Of Beda, Erasmus is reported to have said; "In one Beda there are three thousand monks." (E. A. Stewart, 1917, p. 55).
to regain what had been lost to the family by war and turmoil.
There was serious thought of asking this youngest son to return

to Navarre and to contribute to the resources of the family.

It was at this time that his sister Madeline wrote home from her

nunnery to say: "Do not do this; rather help my brother Francis
with his studies, for I am sure that he will become a great

servant of God and a pillar of the Church." 8 This advice, together

with Francis' success in his studies, seems to have influenced the

family to keep him in school.

In 1529 Francis' mother died. He was now 23 years of

age, both of his older brothers were married, and the home of

his youth no longer awaited his return to Navarre.

If we have little recorded by Francis himself of these

early years at the University of Paris, we do have from the pen of

Peter Faber the following lines:

"I went to Paris to the College of Ste. Barbe in the year

1525. I was nineteen... I pray to God that he may ever keep

me in grateful remembrance of the good things He gave to me, both

bodily and spiritually, by various means, during those three and a

half years. I put among the foremost of my mercies that I had

such a master, and that I found in the room of his college in which

I was installed such good companionship: I speak above all of

Master Francis Xavier, who is of the Company of Jesus." 9

8 J. M. Cros, Saint François de Xavier: son Pays, sa


9 P. Faber, Fabri Monumenta, Memoriale, p. 432.
"Before all things, the Exercises are a school for the reason and the mind, a school to form self-mastery." Thus the story of Francis Xavier's coming under the spell of Ignatius of Loyola and of his enlistment in the Company of Jesus cannot be omitted from a consideration such as ours of the intellect and mental resources of Xavier. The step-by-step procedure in the Exercises, their guidance through Confession and Repentance to Resurrection and the flooding into the soul of the Divine Love, their intensely personal origin in the spiritual life of Loyola; these things have given a great power and originality to them. It would not be correct to say that they have come only from the mind and soul of Loyola, personal as they are; for we find in them intimations of Loyola's study of the writings of men of several nations: of García de Cisneros of Spain; of Rudolf of Saxony; of Mauburnus, Gerard van Zútpen and Thomas à Kempis of the Low Countries; of D. Charmines of France; and of St. Bonaventura of Italy. But all these have felt the mystic touch of Loyola and have been blended into a new creation.

10 Anonymous Jesuit writer, cited by F. A. Stewart, 1917, p. 90

The meditation on the Two Standards has been considered by the Jesuits themselves as one of the most powerful and effective parts of the Spiritual Exercises. The Standards are those of "Christ, our sovereign Leader and Lord" and "Lucifer, the mortal enemy of our human race." Ignatius asks the disciple to picture to himself two scenes or stages on which these two antagonists hold the central position. One is a vast plain around Jerusalem where the Supreme general Leader of all good, Christ our Lord, holds his station. The second is a great plain in the country of Babylon where Lucifer is seated on a lofty throne of fire and smoke. From these stations Christ and Lucifer send forth, the first his apostles and disciples, the second his evil and cunning agents.

It might seem that the choice here would be an easy one. As Ignatius proceeds to tell us what the snares and charms prepared by Lucifer in fact are, there may be cause for hesitation; for the three steps to perdition are riches, honour and pride, steps which lead on to all other vices.

And to what, then, does Christ call us? First, to poverty of spirit, and "to actual poverty, if it please his Divine Majesty;" second, to reproaches and contempt from others; and thus to the third step, to humility.

Truly, this contrast of the two standards is a powerful one. In the life of Francis Xavier we seem to find a complete
loyalty to the way of poverty, reproaches and humility.

Although there was no really formal nor officially approved Company of Jesus at Paris even after the gathering at Montmartre and the consecration of their lives by the companions, there was a very large amount of true companionship, a combination of such fellowship as not infrequently develops among young men in an academic atmosphere, but strengthened by the strong ties of religious dedication. They supped together, had long discussions, compared notes from their courses, and, above all, discussed plans for the future, which now was to be not an individual striving for success and renown by each of them, but a group effort for service in the greatest of causes.

It was during these months that the ties between the members of the group were even more strongly fastened, those ties which are expressed in the deep affection shown by Xavier in his letters. In the atmosphere at the University in those days, it was natural, however, that any such firmly knit group should come under suspicion. Bad reports reached Francis' older brothers in Navarre, and it was necessary for him to write to dispel the suspicions which they invoked there, and especially to stand up for Ignatius, who in fact carried one of these letters on his own visit to Navarre in March, 1535.

The companions now had plans under way for arranging their individual affairs, taking leave of relatives and friends in their
respective homes, and meeting in Venice. From there they planned to embark on a journey to the Holy Land, where, it will be recalled, Ignatius already had travelled and where now, as their "Spiritual Father" he would guide the members of the Company.

Almost at the hour of his departure from Paris for Venice, Francis received word that he might have a Canonry in the Cathedral at Pamplona if he chose to accept it. If he considered it at all seriously, perhaps he did so in relation to the choice of a Standard. True, it was a highly honorable and respectable position and a means of serving the Church. But was it the true way of poverty, of reproaches and of humility? Evidently Francis thought not; for he proceeded with his plans to go to Venice.

It had been a long period in the academic world at Paris—some twelve years of university life. There Francis had mingled with minds of many types, some of the keenest and most subtle of the age. He had discussed, argued, studied in at least five different languages: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Basque and Latin. His courses were those intended to make him a finished theologian and a "broad-minded" philosopher. As a young teacher, he had given lectures on the philosophy of Aristotle. But added to these experiences, had come the supreme one to which he had been led by Ignatius of Loyola. With this man he had found himself and his destiny and, he believed, the very meaning of life, for he had found his God and not only earth, but the heavens, now were open to him.
CHAPTER IV

TIMES OF WAITING: ITALY AND PORTUGAL
War between France and the Empire broke out in the summer of 1536. The companions, now nine in number and under the authority of Peter Faber, still were in Paris, but ready to depart for Venice where Ignatius awaited them. Southern France and northwestern Italy soon were suffering the ravages of war. The companions had to seek another and longer route to Venice. They decided not to wait for the close of term but to set off on November 16.

It was a winter journey and by a northern route. Clad in coarse, heavy garments and carrying walking staves, with rosaries to identify them as catholics, they set forth. Even on this route they passed groups of disbanded or deserting soldiers and saw scenes of destruction. Day after day the cold rains beat down. When the company would arrive at an inn, they knelt in public prayer, and in the morning before departure they did likewise. Metz, then Nancy, with its shrine of St. Nicholas, were passed. Crossing into Switzerland, they went through Basle to Constance. This was a land of religious ferment. Francis Xavier and the others felt keenly the lack of knowledge of the language (Swiss-German) but often the people of the towns, seeing that the travellers were catholic, would seek out some inhabitant with a knowledge of the language of the pilgrims or of Latin and an animated theological discussion would take place. No doubt these experiences were of
some help to Xavier on later occasions when he found it necessary to match his intelligence and knowledge against learned men of alien faiths far from Europe.

Then they entered again into Catholic country, going through Feldkirch, Bozen, and Trent, then to Verona and thus to Venice, arriving in early spring, 1557.

The city-state of Venice had passed the zenith of its prosperity and greatness. The taking of Constantinople by the Turks nearly a hundred years before, followed by the Portuguese discovery of a route to the East around the African continent, meant an inevitable decline for Venice, the Bride of the Adriatic. Yet much remained: the unique beauty of the city, the palaces, churches, and mansions along the canals, the masterpieces of art and literature.2

The companions, however, took little time to enjoy their new surroundings. Each found his niche here in service to his fellow human beings and to the church. Francis Xavier and Peter Faber went to work in the Hospital for Incurables.

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1 Sixteen years later two of the companions, Salmeron and Laínez, were to play a prominent rôle in this same city, at the Council of Trent.

2 Titian (1477-1576) still was producing his magnificent paintings at Venice. In the realm of printing, the Aldine Press equalled or surpassed the presses anywhere in Europe.
We do not know just how Francis felt on coming into contact, really for the first time, with all of the manifestations of disease, often of a most loathsome nature, and with suffering where there was little or no means of alleviation, at least for the body. We do know that he persevered. Surely he was upheld and encouraged by the daily companionship of his dear friend, Peter, and by the presence in Venice of his beloved "spiritual father," Ignatius.

The papal blessing on the journey to Jerusalem was needed. The companions therefore, but without Ignatius, journeyed to Rome—again on foot. They reached their destination in Holy Week and soon after Easter were received in audience at the great new palace of the popes, begun in 1506 and still under construction at the time of this visit. Paul III (Pope 1534-1550) received them. He gladly gave them his blessing, with leave for their ordination by any bishop "their learning to stand in lieu of their patrimony." Already the future Jesuits were becoming known as learned as well as holy men.

Seven of the companions, including Ignatius and Francis, were ordained in Venice on June 24, 1537, the feast of St. John the Baptist. News came during July that no ships for pilgrims

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3 Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, p. 56.
could hope to get through the Turkish blockade. There was nothing to do but wait—and while waiting, to find a way to serve God and man.

After a forty-day retreat in a dilapidated hut near Monselice, Francis went out to teach and preach in the Italian villages. The companions did remain in communication and were able to meet and to continue under the supervision of Ignatius. He soon sent them out by twos, to various assignments. Probably because of his university training and degree, as well as his charming ways, Francis was assigned with Bobadilla to the university city of Bologna.

Bologna, Salerno, Oxford and Paris—these were the oldest and the greatest centers of learning. The atmosphere must have seemed to Xavier a familiar one, with the students and professors, the animated discussions, and the medley of languages; for here at Bologna the staccato of Italian was mingled with German, English and Latin, as well as with the vernaculars of France end of the Iberian peninsula. There were important differences between this university of Francis' father and that of the son.4

Francis' work again was with the sick, and now also with prisoners and other unfortunates. His devotion and fervor deeply impressed his host in Bologna, who eventually gave up his house to become a Jesuit college.

4 See Appendix I.
In 1558 Francis returned to Rome, arriving again at the Easter season. Here the Jesuits worked with the poor and suffering. Xavier's body had suffered much and he had long periods of illness. Yet he continued with his work the greater part of the time and participated in the serious discussions as to the future of the Company. Should they disband, to work in various locations—or should they knit together their companionship in a more formal organization? They decided on the latter course. On September 3, 1559, the new constitution was placed before Paul III, who quickly approved it verbally.

During the greater part of this second stay in Rome, Francis Xavier was serving as secretary to Loyola, assisting him with an already voluminous correspondence. This must have made the decision doubly hard for Ignatius when the Pope, responding to a request from John III, King of Portugal, for Jesuits for a mission to the East, asked that Ignatius choose two such missionaries. Ignatius did assign Rodriguez and Bobadilla and no doubt felt the matter well settled. Bobadilla's unexpected illness changed everything. How Ignatius must have struggled over the final decision may be indicated by the fact that Francis learned that he had been chosen only 24 hours before the ship with the message to the King was to sail to Portugal.

The journey of Francis from Rome to Portugal was made in the company of the Portuguese ambassador. This meant that
Xavier had a good horse under him rather than travelling afoot. Yet he did find many opportunities for generous service to the members of the group with which he travelled. We are told: "Yet none was more pleasant in conversation than himself, nor more ready in all kinds of courtesies... But, which is hardest of all, he kept such a mean in these things, that, tempering courtesy with gravity, both his actions and words savoured all of sanctity." He did not, however, hesitate to hold to his point during discussion of religious matters, but "... the wholesome bitterness of these discourses he always allayed with the sweet sauce of many courteous offices."

By way of Modena and Feggio they travelled on to Parma. Here there should have been an opportunity for a reunion with his dear friend, Peter Faber. It was not to be. Faber was away from the city temporarily and there was no opportunity for Francis to await his return. They were never to see one another again in this life.

After a perilous passage of the Alps, during which Xavier displayed a selfless courage on several occasions, they traversed the south of France. Through a pass in the Pyrenees they entered Xavier's native land of Navarre. He may have gone

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6 Ibid.
close to his ancestral home, but we find no description of a
visit to it in his letters, and in fact such indulgence of
personal sentiment would have been out of character in his new
life of devotion and service.

Lisbon was reached at last, in June of 1540. Portugal
at this time was in its flowering, but the bloom was to be a
brief one. Henry the Navigator had made the most of the
opportunities which the sea offered. Men such as Bartholomew
Díaz and Vasco da Gama had found roads over the waves to the
opulence of the East.

Francis, happy and serene as he came to this place from
which he was to depart for the unknown, seems to have captivated
the Court and the people by his combination of humility and
authority, of lowliness and nobility, traits which would remind
anyone familiar with the Gospels of that same combination in the
Master whom he served. He made no relaxation of his work nor of
his devotions at this time, although, with some knowledge of the
hardships ahead, such a relaxation might have seemed pardonable.

Did Francis Xavier believe in miracles? In the broad
sense, the answer must be "yes" but in cases where he himself was
concerned, it is difficult or impossible to say that he considered
himself a worker of wonders. Here at Lisbon Simon Rodriguez was
awaiting him, but was ill with a fit ofague. While some writers
have tried to make a miracle of his quick recovery on the arrival
of Xavier, a letter of Francis says, in a matter-of-fact yet very apt way: "My coming was such a joy to him, and seeing him such a joy to me, that the two joys added expelled the fever. That is a month ago, and it has not come back since ..." 7

Another letter written at a time very close to this one but more specifically to Ignatius (and to Peter Codacio) is of interest in the attitude expressed by Francis concerning a house or college proposed for establishment by the Jesuits, under patronage of King John III. Francis says: "... we will need to know your intention as to its style, and as to who should govern it, and the order they ought to have, that they may grow in spirit rather than in learning—so that when we speak to the King we may tell him about the way those who study in our colleges must live ..." 8

The uncle of Francis Xavier, Martin Azpilcueta, a famous canonist, was serving as a professor at the University of Coimbra, which was later to play a brilliant rôle in the annals of the Jesuits. He wished very much to see his nephew; and Francis, from his letters, appeared eager to see him again, but the opportunity


did not present itself. Meanwhile, the King made plans to establish a Jesuit college at the University of Coimbra and houses for students at Evora.

Time was passing rapidly. The success of Xavier and Rodriguez had one rather disconcerting result, for the King was coming to feel that they might do more good in Portugal than in the colonies. Rodriguez, in fact, was persuaded to remain in Lisbon; but Xavier's face was set to the East.

The farewell letter to Ignatius and John Corduri in Rome (March 18, 1541) is of special interest in the requests for advice and counsel from these two on how to proceed in missionary work with the unbelievers. Clearly it was not to Xavier a matter which already had been settled or which he felt completely confident of solving independently. With pardonable pride, he tells of the success of the Jesuits at court: "Let me tell you that this Court is greatly reformed. So much so that it is more like a religious house than a Court..."\(^9\)

The sailing of the fleet to the East was truly a great affair, an annual event for the city of Lisbon. It was a time of mixed emotions, of ambition and hope but also of sadness, for it was known that many who sailed would never return. The point of embarkation had received the name "The Place of Tears."

Yet what a bold and colorful scene was this! Camoens, in the great epic of Portugal, had described the voyage of

\(^9\)Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 15-20.
the fleet of Vasco da Gama:

"Now far from land, o'er Neptune's dread abode
The Lusitanian fleet triumphant rode;
Onward they traced the wide and open main,
Where changeful Proteus leads his scaly train;
The dancing waves before the zephyrs flowed,
And their bold keels the trackless ocean ploughed,

The Lusiac was completed after the death of Francis Xavier, for Camoens himself did not sail to India with the fleet until 1553. Yet each of these sailings might be thought of as the beginning of a new epic of adventure and heroism.

10 Luis de Camoens, The Lusiad, Book I (translated by W. Mickle)
CHAPTER V

PASSAGE TO INDIA
The name and renown of Henry the Navigator are so closely related to the history of exploration and of the expansion of knowledge and trade that the nature of the chief motivation of this Prince of Portugal easily may be forgotten. It was a religious one.

The vast extent of Moslem dominion may be realized from the fact that a follower of the Prophet, before the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, could go from Delhi in India to Cordoba in Spain without leaving that dominion. Prince Henry had taken part in the attack on Ceuta in 1415. That place, called the African Gibraltar, had been the first stronghold taken from the Moors in their own country by the force of Christian arms.

The tremendous spread of Moslem influence and power had been due in part to the religious fervor and bravery of Moslem warriors on land; but it owed much also to the mastery of mathematics and astronomy with their application in navigation over great stretches of the sea. It was Prince Henry who took up the challenge for Christendom and charted voyages which were to take Christian explorers, soldiers and men of God to the far parts of the earth. Henry died in 1460 but he bequeathed to Portugal the search for a sea route to India.

In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz made the great discovery which showed clearly that such a route existed. He sailed with three ships ever south along the coast of Africa and with strong, favorable winds from the north, passed far beyond the southernmost
Portion of the African continent, where no European ever had been. When at least the wind sank, he steered north and east. When he reached Africa, he found a strange people, the Hottentots, and a stormy cape which he named "Cape Tempestuous" (later changed to "The Cape of Good Hope"). His return to Lisbon was hailed with great excitement, for he had passed the place where the trend of the African coast changes from east to northeast and it seemed clear that he had rounded the southernmost part of Africa. From that farthest point he had turned back and made the return voyage again along the west coast.

Early in the summer of 1497 King Manoel of Portugal had called Vasco da Gama, son of a proud sea-faring family, to come before him. Da Gama took the oath of fealty and was given a banner of silk emblazoned with the cross and the Order of Christ, an order of Chivalry founded, with papal sanction, in 1319, "for the defense of the faith, the discomfiture of the Moors, and the extension of the Portuguese monarchy." At Lisbon, da Gama assumed the command of a small fleet of four ships. The preparations for the voyage included the provision of the most up-to-date charts and instruments of navigation. The results of the voyage, of course, are history: the reaching again by Portuguese of the Cape of Good Hope, the long voyage along the east coast of Africa where they found the Moslems already established in a number of places among the black African natives,
and finally the journey eastward across the Arabian sea to the city of Calicut on the western coast of India. What is not widely remembered is that on the early part of the voyage, in the Atlantic Ocean, the little fleet of Vasco de Gama was out of sight of land for 4,500 miles! The voyage of Columbus, to the New World, in comparison, had taken his ships out of sight of any land for only 2,600 miles. Truly, the work of Henry the Navigator and the long years of study of the sea and the stars and preparation by the Portuguese had been rewarded on this first passage to India!

It would be pleasant to portray the passage to India of Francis Xavier as a happy, adventurous time, with its joy heightened by the anticipation of the great conquests for Christ which awaited his arrival in the East. An adventure it surely was but one full of hardship and even downright misery. Xavier wrote in his letter from Mozambique: "... We left on April 7, 1541. I was sea-sick for two months, suffering badly for forty days along the Guinea coast, partly on account of the great heat, partly from bad weather. ..." 1

But what gave more pain to Francis Xavier on this journey than physical discomfiture (the Spiritual Exercises had

hardened his soul to withstand such things) were the endless scenes of men's cruelty and indifference to suffering of his fellows: the almost untended sick and dying aboard ship; the vice and blasphemy; the harsh punishments of slaves by Arabs and Africans which the Portuguese seemed unwilling, for political reasons, or unable to prevent. It must have been some of these scenes which made him declare later on that he would give much to return to the University of Paris and cry aloud, exhorting students and faculty to turn away from their obscure discussions to the things which really matter in life—the efforts to fight against evil and suffering.

Long delays in starting and along the west coast of Africa found the ships rounding the Cape of Good Hope far later than had been anticipated. Bitterly cold winds from the frozen Antarctic replaced the stifling heat. Then they turned north again and reached the island of Mozambique off the east coast of Africa. It was well into the fall and they would need to winter in that place, the "cemetery of the Portuguese," as it was called. At least it was dry land. Xavier at once set to work in the hospital. There are many tales of his service and self-sacrifice at Mozambique. Often he continued his work when he himself was stricken with fever and after having been bled repeatedly for his own illness.

In February, he sailed north with Don Martin, the commander. At Melinda, Xavier's heart must have been gladdened
to see the towering cross—one of six erected by Vasco da
game along his route. But here too he saw some of the power
and opulence of the Moslems who had long ruled these coastal areas.
A companion of the Sultan, evidently a thoughtful and inquisitive
Mohammedan, entered into conversation with Francis Xavier. He
was curious about the state of the Christian religion and frankly
told Xavier that his own religion in this area seemed to be in
a state of sad decline. Of seventeen mosques there, only three
were still being used and even in them there were few worshippers.
Francis said only that it was a cause of more wonderment to him
that the religion of the Prophet had been successful as long
as it had—not, perhaps a very objective comment.

The reasons for a decline in religious feeling in the
case of one type of faith might well be significant in the case of
another. Only too often was Francis Xavier to see how rapidly an
area in which many had been converted to Christianity and baptized
would revert to its old pagan ways. Yet it is true that he was
not travelling to the East to make a study of Comparative Religion.
He carried with him the conviction that the Christian gospel was
the one true message and that it must triumph over all of the
religions of error.

On these less tempestuous seas, at this time
and on later voyages, one aspect of Xavier's learning came into
pleasant prominence for himself and his companions—his knowledge
of the stars. While this may have been of interest under the skies of Europe, it now seemed almost as though a veil had been torn from the heavens and the starry host shone forth in all of its God-given brilliance.

Along the route from Africa to India lay the rocky and barren island of Socotra. The fleet stayed here for a short time. Xavier made two visits ashore. Christianity had been introduced by a Franciscan mission in 1507, but the resident Portuguese had left the island after only four years. Xavier attended a "Christian" service in one of the mud hovels. The walls were smeared with butter before the services. A cross set up on a rude altar also was heavily greased. The fragrance of incense and smoking candles filled the room. One of Xavier's biographers says: "Somehow Francis managed to note the words of some of the hymns and prayers in Chaldean. Somehow—probably helped by an Arab interpreter and gestures—he made them understand the necessity of baptism rather than circumcision (which had replaced it), the evil of Islam and moon-worship..."²

This statement seems to indicate some understanding by Xavier of the Semitic language of the hymns and prayers. The

²Yeo. Saint Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, pp. 96-97.
term Chaldean often is used as synonymous with Biblical Aramaic. Xavier's formal education or his own curiosity may have given him some knowledge of Hebrew and of the related Aramaic. The religion and the manner of worship of these "Christians" on Socotra were a strange mingling of various faiths. Francis felt strongly the need of these people and even suggested that he be left on the island, but the commander of the fleet would not agree to this.

The remainder of the passage to India was uneventful. On May 6, 1542, the voyagers sighted the Quemada Islands, near to the coast of India. About midnight they dropped anchor under the fort of Fangim which lay about half-way up the river to the city of Coa.
CHAPTER VI

INDIA, MALACCA AND THE FAR INDIES
The seaport city of Goa had been seized from its Moslem rulers by the Portuguese commander Alfonso d’Albuquerque in 1510. This and other conquests by the Portuguese in the East were carried out with full papal sanction. The Portuguese were not the first to take territory in India by force of arms. It was already, when they arrived, a land with a long and complicated history and waves of invaders had moved south, to conquer, to rule, and to be replaced by other invaders.

The religious history of India also was a complicated one (see Appendix II). To Xavier, however, the non-Christian, of whatever religion, was a soul to be won, although he indicates that followers of some non-Christian religions were more difficult than those of others. It might be thought that upon his arrival in India, the missionary to the East would plunge almost immediately into the efforts at conversion of the non-Christians. Such was not the case. The first six months, spent in Goa, were devoted to work in the hospital, located close to the landing-place, and to caring for the souls of the resident Portuguese who seem to have required much attention.

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1 An outstanding example of the tremendous power of the Papacy is seen in the Bull issued by Alexander VI in 1493, by which an imaginary line was traced from pole to pole, by which the rights of exploration and conquest were divided between Spain, for lands west of the line, and Portugal, east of it. A minor adjustment in 1494, in favor of Portugal set the line as running 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. (Beirão, Caetano. História Breve de Portugal (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1960) p. 61).
Xavier came to India as Papal Nuncio. He presented himself at once to the bishop, a venerable Franciscan. The two men began a relation of friendship and mutual admiration which was to continue for many years. In spite of his high commission, Xavier insisted on a life of poverty and abnegation. He lived at the hospital. Through the night, sleeping lightly on the floor, he was available to the sick and dying. In the morning, after Communion and Mass, he would set out to visit the several wretched prisons of the city. From them he went to the lazaret-house beyond the suburbs to preach and minister to the lepers. He spent much time begging from door to door for the hospitalized, the prisoners, and the many poor of the city.

Goa was considered as a beautiful city. Francis admired its Franciscan monastery, its cathedral, and many churches. In the beginning of his stay, nothing is said in his correspondence of the evils of exploitation, the greed and prejudice of the Portuguese, which must have become evident to him within a short time. Later, he did speak out boldly, even to the King of Portugal, about the corruption and the abuses of power behind the fine exterior.

It is an interesting fact that the Portuguese rulers had shown a fairly large amount of tolerance for the native religions, more toward the Hindu than the Moslem. The same, indeed, had been true of the Moslem conquerors in their attitude
toward the religion of the conquered. Thus Xavier found the
temples of the Hindus actively carrying out their services, with
the worship of strange figures which he considered as idols.
The only custom of the Hindus which had been rigidly forbidden
was suttee, the sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pyre of
the husband.

Goa, though ruled by Portuguese, was far from being a
Portuguese city. In its crowded streets Francis Xavier heard a
strange mixture of languages: Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Chinese and
only occasionally Portuguese. He saw the native porters sweating
under great loads and the huge elephants obedient to the will of
their drivers; and he smelled the many and strange fragrances of
the East. The wealthier Portuguese were well provided with slaves
and servants. Since women of their country were few in India, many
had taken concubines. Friendly and sweet-tempered, Francis not
infrequently would get himself invited to dinner in a home of this
sort, would make much of the children and having prepared the way,
would ask if he might meet their mother. Afterwards, he would have
a quiet talk with the man, and finally would point out, with care
and patience, the desirability of a Christian wedding. Often this
was, indeed, the result of the visit, even if it meant the shedding
of a few "superfluous" concubines.

Out in the streets, Francis often went about ringing a
little bell, at the same time calling on all and sundry to gather
for a session of Christian teaching which might take place in a
chapel or in the open. His methods of teaching seem to have been
well suited to the circumstances and the people. Hymns which actually were a summary of doctrines were sung by the group, leaving in their minds the melody and the thought or belief. Then he would lead in a litany, speaking so clearly and devoutly that his own emotion was taken up by the listeners, who sang their answers as an expression of their appreciation of him and of their faith.

That Francis was eager, during this time in Goa, to go on, to penetrate farther into the great subcontinent, is seen in his response to an invitation for him to take charge of the newly-formed seminary for native priests. Enthusiastic as he was about the project, he did not once consider that he should become its director.

It was to the south that he looked, to the pearl-fisheries of Comorin. Here some years earlier the inhabitants, known as Paravas, had asked aid from the Portuguese against oppression by the Moslems. Many had become nominally Christians. Instruction in the faith, however, was scanty or lacking. Here was a real missionary challenge!

Francis obtained the consent of the Governor, Don Martin, to take ship for Comorin. In his letter to Ignatius from Goa (September 20, 1542) he asks for advice and counsel as to the methods by which to carry out his new task, although realistically
it would seem that he could not have had a reply for so many months that he would have been compelled to devise his own methods. Perhaps, with some feelings of the strangeness of the new environment to which he was going and even some feeling of inadequacy which was not alien to his finely-strung and sensitive nature, he simply was reaching out a hand in the darkness, hoping that somehow it would be grasped by his Spiritual Father. Xavier says: "Write to me at length, for God's sake, as to what line of conduct I should take with the heathen and Moors to whose country I am now going ... as for the mistakes I shall make while waiting for your answer, I hope in our Lord that your letters will make me realize them and enable me to correct them in the future." 2

The coast along which Xavier and his companions sailed was by no means wholly Portuguese-controlled. Great Calicut, for example, the gates of which had opened to Vasco da Gama, now were closed to the Europeans. Mangalore, too, was hostile. At Cochin there was a Franciscan mission and from this city the annual shipment of spices from the Indies left for Lisbon.

At Cape Comorin Francis and the three native students whom he had brought with him, left the ship. This first stay among the Paravas was to last for a year. Francis was now indeed on the edge of the unknown. The nearest European was at Tuticorin, seventy miles away.

It was now that the difficulties of the language barrier arose before Francis for the first time. Some of his biographers, especially those who stress the mystical aspects and who describe the miracles attributed to him, have tried to overcome these difficulties by indicating that Francis exhibited the phenomenon of the "gift of tongues" or glossolalia. In some parts of the New Testament it is indicated that this was a frequent and much prized type of ecstatic behavior among the early Christians (1 Cor. 14:5, 18, 23, 26; cf. Acts 9:17). Paul mentions it in his writing to the church at Corinth (1 Cor., 12: 6-11; 14: 1-19).

Whether the ecstatic condition caused the persons involved to pour forth an almost meaningless conglomeration of words and phrases or whether there was an actual facilitation to speech in one or more languages foreign to the speaker is, of course, difficult to ascertain. In any event, Francis himself alludes to the problem of language for himself and his fellow-workers in India, Melacca, the Moluccas and Japan. The early days on the pearl fishery coast, among the Paravas, were made even more difficult by the fact that the three young native priests, trained at Goa, seem to have forgotten a good deal of the language of this area, which was Tamil, a Dravidian language spoken here for centuries before any of the Aryans had come this far to the south. In his first letter from Cochin (January 15, 1544) Francis says of the Paravas:
And, as they understood me no better than I understood them—their mother language being Malabar, mine Basque—I collected the more educated among them and looked for some who understood their language and ours. After numerous meetings and with much difficulty we translated some prayers from Latin into Malabar, beginning by the way to make the sign of the Cross and the confession of three Persons in one only God. Next the Creed and the Commandments, Our Father, Hail Mary, Salve Regina and the general confession. When, having translated them into their tongue, I knew them by heart, I went through the whole village, a little bell in my hand, collecting all the boys and men I could."

What a practical and careful plan, we almost might say a "scientific" approach to this very difficult problem do we find here! Xavier appears to have wasted no energy in unproductive lamentations nor to have waited in any expectation that the "gift of tongues" would descend upon him. He went to work with articles serving as the great fundamentals of the faith, and apparently with little help not only translated but also memorized them.

It may have seemed, indeed, almost miraculous when these sentences, so familiar to him in Latin, came from his lips in what, after a few repetitions, would seem to be a fluent delivery in Tamil.

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3 When Francis here speaks of "their language and ours," he means Malabar (the name used by the Portuguese of that time for Tamil) and probably Portuguese or Latin, not Basque, as the European tongue. The natives of this area had been in some slight contact with the Portuguese.
Francis spent almost three years among the villages of the Fishery Coast and in the towns and cities of southern India and after his work in Malacca and the far Indies, returned again to this area on other occasions.

In addition to the language barrier, there was another and actually more difficult obstacle. In facing the problem of language, one with an intellect as fine and a mind as versatile as that of Xavier can be reasonably certain of some success through his or her individual effort; and we have seen with what astuteness and practicality for his purpose, Francis had undertaken to solve the problem. The second obstacle was that of the native religion. Here the individual effort was not to be so effective. Francis seems not to have had any large amount of curiosity about the details of doctrine, belief, and worship of the religions of the East. Indeed, we may well believe that attempting to think of these in what we might describe as an "objective" way would have repelled and even shocked him. While time and effort were likely to decrease the magnitude of the language barrier, these two factors often would increase the seriousness of the barrier of religion, as the Brahmins came to realize the threat to their religion, Hinduism, if these new missionaries were successful in their efforts.4

4 See Appendix II.
However he may have felt inwardly, Francis did not completely shun contact with the religious leaders of Hinduism. One of his biographers has attempted to reconstruct the scene when Xavier visited one of the greatest monasteries of southern India to discourse with the holy men there. 5 The roof of the spacious court was upheld by many pillars. Strange sculptures were everywhere. Great bats clung to them and swung down from the ceiling. The holy men, in white muslin, set in dignified silence until one or other of them would engage the foreign barbarian in discussion; while slim youths, their foreheads smeared with the sign of Siva, leaned against the columns and listened, no doubt with varying degrees of interest, to the questions, answers, and arguments. Surely it was a courageous encounter for Francis Xavier to make. We are told, however, that conversions remained limited to the families of the pearl-fishers and other persons of the lower castes.

Much of our knowledge of Francis' activities and attitudes during these years in India comes to us through his letters. Curiously, it is not the letters to Ignatius of Loyola, to the Fathers in Rome, nor to King John III which are the most

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5 The scene is described by A. Pellessort who travelled through India and Japan in modern times but re-tracing, as far as possible, the footsteps of Francis Xavier. A. Pellessort, Saint François Xavier (Paris: Libraire Académique Perrin, 1955).
productive in this regard. It is a group of twenty-seven letters written to the Portuguese Mansilhas, a man of little intellectual ability, unable to learn well enough to have been ordained and having also a character showing impatience and at times bad temper. Francis filled these letters not only with advice and admonition, apparently much-needed, but also with details of his own activities which may not have appeared suitable for the more formal epistles.

It was in the summer of 1545 that Xavier enjoyed a short respite from his missionary work, staying at Meliaspor where is the chapel of St. Thomas, erected where the apostle was said to have been martyred by the thrust of a spear. From Meliaspor Francis set out on a new mission, travelling first to Malacca, near to the present location of Singapore, and using that area as a point of departure to the Per Indies, the Moluccas.

We are told little of actual work among the natives by Francis at Malacca. In fact, he had not planned to remain there long but as the winter monsoon set in, weeks lengthened into months. Xavier was far from idle, however.

In one of his later letters (that from Amboins in the Moluccas, May 10, 1546) Francis mentions the great difficulty which he had at Malacca in translating the Creed, Commandments and some prayers into the Malay language, that common to educated natives of this whole general area including the islands. This tongue resembled
French slightly, but with the more open vowels of Italian.

Eventually, Xavier actually composed a rhyming catechism in Malay.

In a letter of November 10, 1545 to the Fathers in Portugal, he says:

"Every Sunday I preach at the Séo (cathedral), but I am not as pleased with my preaching as those who have patience to listen to me. Every day I teach prayers to the children for an hour or more. I live at the hospital, hear the confessions of the poor sick people, say Mass for them and give them communion. I am so overwhelmed by confessions that it is impossible to satisfy everyone. My chief occupation is translating prayers from Latin into a language understood by the people of Macassar. It is a most troublesome thing not to know the language." 6

The story of Xavier's work in the far Indies, the Moluccas, (January to September of 1546) is primarily one of adventures and hardships. Again, the beginnings of Christianity had been brought to these islands some years before, but only too often it was difficult to recognize that any change had occurred in the villages. In the so-called Isles of the Moors, those farthest to the east and not far from the western tip of the great island of New Guinea, he found the natives especially fierce, warfare common, and the very earth tortured by earthquake and volcano. Yet he said of them in a letter from Cochin to Rome (Jan. 20, 1548), "I never remember

having experienced such spiritual consolations and so little realization of physical sufferings as in these islands . . . ." 7

Francis returned to Malacca about the middle of the summer of 1547. Here he stayed almost until the new year. It is well, indeed, that he did so; for it was in December of 1547 in Malacca that he encountered a young man who was to play an important rôle in his greatest mission. The man was Angero (the Portuguese version of the Japanese Yajiyo) and the mission was to the islands of Japan.

Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 1-22 (quotation is on p. 5: "Je ne me rappelle pas avoir jamais eu d'auisi grandes et d'avis; continuuelles consolations spirituelles que dans ces iles avec un sentiment aussi reduit des souffrances corporelles, . . . ")
CHAPTER VII

JAPAN

ARENA FOR THE MIND
What was the nature of this strange and distant nation to which Xavier was to travel? The answer to this question, incomplete as it must be in the present essay, is of much importance to an understanding of the reactions to Xavier's missionary efforts and to the adaptation of his methods in this new setting.

In the first place, the civilization of Japan was an ancient one. Seven hundred and fifty years before its "discovery" by the Portuguese in 1543, Kwammu Tennō was reigning as the fiftieth emperor of Japan. It was he who chose Kyoto as the site of the capital of the country, some seven years before Charlemagne was crowned at Rome. The religious history of Japan also was a very long one and was related closely to its government and the struggles for power. Kwammu Tennō had founded a great monastery, the Enryuku-ji, on the mountain range behind Kyoto.

At least three hundred years before the time of Kwammu Tennō, Chinese culture, including some knowledge of Chinese thought and literature, had been introduced to the higher social classes of Japan. The indigenous religion was Shinto, the Way of the Gods. Two hundred years before Tennō, Buddhism had come into the country from China via Korea. It had made little progress, however. It was in the newly-established monastery of Enryuku-ji that the religious leader, Saicho (Dengyō Daishi) made a startling proclamation that

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1 Dengyō Daishi is the posthumous name of Saicho. Such names are commonly given to members of the Buddhist religious community.
was to alter the slow progress to a rapid one. He declared that the various deities in the Japanese pantheon actually are manifestations of the Buddha! This view gained strength by constant repetition and made it possible for Buddhism and Buddhist institutions to grow and thrive, and for individual Japanese to be loyal both to Shintō and to the new religion.

In the centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese, the religious institutions of Japan had gained vast tracts of land and had accumulated wealth of many kinds. With the Emperor himself holding his power by the title "Son of Heaven," and representing Divinity in human form, a threat to the established religion was indeed a serious offence. The history of the country, in spite of this close relation between secular and religious authority, had not been a peaceful one. The rugged and mountainous terrain, with the resulting isolation of valleys, together with the pride of the great families, had led to the development of a system which, by the time of Xavier, was as feudal in nature as that which had grown up in many parts of Europe. There were also the Heiryō Ainu, a people who at one time had occupied much of Honshu as well as the northern islands and who fought a stubborn warfare as they retreated.

In early references to Japan, mention is made frequently of the character of its people as intelligent, curious, quick to learn and desirous of new knowledge. While we tend to be cautious
in modern times in laying emphasis on racial traits and differences, these qualities of the Japanese people, whether due to genetic composition or to historical background, have been noted for centuries by the peoples of other nations.

It was, then, to such a country that Francis Xavier was to travel.
The gap between the people of Japan and of Europe was a wide one. It involved not only great distances over stormy seas but also the differences in religion, language, history and tradition. It would seem to have been a peculiarly fortunate circumstance that Francis Xavier and Ingero of Japan came together in December of 1547 in the city of Malacca. It is true, however, that Ingero had known of the Holy Father and his great works for some time. It is true, also, that Ingero was seeking some new direction for his life as well as an opportunity to return to Japan. A native of the southern island, Kyushu, Ingero had fled on a ship outbound from Kagoshima after an altercation in which a man had been killed. Ingero's wife and children remained at Kagoshima.

It was the captain of that same vessel in which Ingero sailed, a Portuguese named Alvarez, who introduced him to Francis after a church service at Malacca. It was already over a year since Ingero had left Japan and he had learned to understand and to speak a little Portuguese. Between Ingero and Alvarez, Francis was able to learn many facts about Japan. Some of the descriptions were vague and others inaccurate, as Francis learned later; but many were true and vividly described, such as the intellectual curiosity of many of the people, the sense of courtesy and honor, and the system of feudal loyalty. Ingero was a member of the Shingon sect of Buddhism but he knew little of the details of doctrine nor philosophical aspects of his faith.
Francis saw in his meeting with Angero the sure hand of God directing him to carry the Christian message to the people of Japan. In his letter to Rome of this time, we have what is really the first European account of Japan, although not as yet at first-hand.

To further the plan for the mission, Francis arranged for Angero and Angero's two servants to sail directly to Goa, while he himself went first to Cochin to learn of the condition of missionary projects in the south of India. Angero spent some months receiving further education in the Christian religion. Francis appears to have been well pleased with Angero's progress when they again met in Goa. On Whit Sunday, 1548, Angero and his two servants were baptized in the cathedral—the first Japanese ever to receive this sacrament. Angero henceforth was to be known as Paul of the Holy Faith. The Japanese lived at the College of Santa Fe where a number of native Indians were studying for the priesthood.

The months prior to the beginning of the mission to Japan held much of discouragement and not a little righteous indignation for Xavier. He sent off six letters with the fleet which left Goa for Lisbon in January, 1549. One of them was to King John III. In his denunciation of the cupidity and pride of the officials of the Portuguese government in India, he says: "Experience has taught me that your Highness is powerless to spread the Faith of Christ in the Indies but powerful to amass and possess all the temporal riches of India." Here was the courage

2Letter of January, 1549 to King John III from Goa. Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, p. 220.
and cendor of a prophet of old! Xavier's learning and long experience in foreign lands had in no way dulled his moral sense.

There were grounds for discouragement in other aspects of his mission work also. His keen mind and eager spirit were wounded by the slowness of response, the "backsliding" and the superstition of the natives of the country. He unburdens his mind on this subject and at the same time gives counsel on the necessary quality for missionaries to be sent there: "The natives of India are a barbarous race, so far as I can see . . . very ignorant, at least all those I have met till now. Those who come out to convert them need numerous virtues, obedience, humility, perseverance, patience, love of neighbor and a great chastity." His judgment may seem unnecessarily harsh here. It may have been founded in part on some happening at just about the time of writing. In any event, such a feeling by Xavier makes us understand how he would be looking forward to a mission in another, supposedly more "civilized" country where the gospel seed should find fertile soil.

Francis was taking with him on the mission the three Japanese (Ingero and his servants), Cosme de Torres, a Spanish priest and brother Joao Fernandez, a Portuguese. Shortly before

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3 Letter from Francis Xavier to Ignatius de Loyola, January 12, 1549. Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, p. 220.
sailing, Xavier wrote: "I am leaving for Japan. There, at
least, there are neither Jews nor Moslems, only heathen, a
people eager-minded, greedy of new things, serious about God
and nature. The thought of my determination to go consoles me."

The mission sailed in Holy Week, 1549. A good voyage
of 40 days took them to Malacca. From Malacca they were to go in
a Chinese junk, manned by a Chinese crew and commanded by a person
who apparently was, or had been, a pirate. The mission party
was joined by three additional persons, a Malabar and a Chinese
servant, and a Portuguese traveller. On the day of the feast of
St. John the Baptist, June 24, the ship sailed from Malacca.

No sea voyage in those days was likely to be without
incident. This one, however, was fraught with peril from great
tempests and with the darkness of superstition of the crew.
The loss overboard of the captain's daughter during one of the
worst storms made it seem not unlikely that the grotesque patron
god of the ship, a leering figure of wood, might ask retribution
by sacrifice of one or more of the Christians aboard. Somehow
the crisis passed. The captain now, however, expressed his
intention of wintering on the Chinese coast. News of hostile
ships, possibly pirate vessels or even Chinese ships of war, kept
him out at sea. By the best of fortune for the mission, the
southwest monsoon sprang up and they had to run before it. Carried
along thus, the junk entered the bay of Kagoshima on August 15, 1549.

4 Letter of April, 1543 from Goa to Rome. Yeo, St. Francis
Xavier, Apostle of the East, p. 224.
As he no doubt had hoped and anticipated, Paul of the Holy Faith was able to return in triumph, for his new learning, his strange experiences, and his new companions, who aroused much curiosity, seem to have made all forget whatever had happened before his departure.

For the Europeans, it was truly a new world. The three Jesuits—Xavier, Torres, and Fernandez—were given a room in Angero's house, a building of light wood construction, with sliding paper panels, or shoji for doors and windows, yellow straw mats on the floor, and three futons or beds, also on the floor and each with its wooden pillow. Outside was the small garden with miniature lake and islands, dwarf trees and curious stones to represent mountains.

Those first days and weeks in Japan brought many new experiences. They were, however, busy days. With the aid of Angero and others, the Jesuits were beginning to learn the Japanese language, or at least enough of it to carry on their missionary work. Fernandez showed especially good progress in this study of language.

Along with the study of Japanese, went work on translation of some works which Francis Xavier considered essential as they entered upon Christian teaching. In this work Angero played the
leading rôle and his studies in Goa came into good use, as Francis had foreseen that they would. He was not what would be called a scholar among his own people, apparently having relatively little knowledge of the Kanji, the complicated Chinese ideographs which had been adapted for their own use by the Japanese. He did use the Kana, the simpler syllabic characters, with effectiveness. Through his efforts and of course with counsel and supervision of Xavier and the two other Jesuits, he translated five works into Japanese:

1. The Gospel of St. Matthew
2. A catechism
3. Xavier's "Summary of Christian Doctrine"
4. The Passion of our Lord, with the seven penitential psalms, other prayers, and a calendar
5. Another version of a summary of Christian doctrine which Francis had translated into the native language on the island of Ternate in the Moluccas.

None of these translations ever was printed, and unfortunately not a single manuscript of them has survived.

Xavier, by his background, his education in Europe, his many travels and his contacts with the natives in southern Asia, had learned much of the languages of men and of their intricacies. It might seem that he would be capable of absorbing a knowledge of Japanese, at least in a period of many months; for so much of his time was spent in the company of Japanese of many classes and types.
For some reason, however, possibly preoccupation and concern about the real purpose of their being in Japan, the conversion of heathen to Christians; possibly from an accumulation of fatigue; possibly even from some subjective reaction to the sound of the language, he is said not to have made good progress. According to Jennes: "In Japan, the gift of tongues was not granted to St. Francis Xavier as is sometimes believed. His knowledge of the Japanese language was always very limited, and for his sermons as well as for the discussions with the bonzes he needed the help of an interpreter." 5

Whatever his success with the language, however, Xavier was determined to make progress in the propagation of the Christian faith. The preaching of sermons and the teaching were relatively easy at Kagoshima due to the congeniality, the curiosity and the eagerness of the Japanese to learn. Later, as we shall see, Francis was to undergo almost incredible hardships and great dangers as he attempted to carry the Christian message farther into the country. Here, as in many other lands, the personal qualities of Francis Xavier, his dynamic energy, his cheerfulness and humility, and his great devotion and reverence, "came through" to the people with whom he came into contact in spite of the serious language problems.

While some of the early Japanese converts to Christianity embraced Catholicism out of curiosity or for reasons of expediency, an impressive number, coming from various walks of life, accepted the new faith for truly religious reasons. 6

It has been said that Francis Xavier was able to be "all things to all men." In the Japanese environment he did show a great degree of flexibility. He seems to have had much respect for the Japanese who had associated themselves with him in the missionary effort. It was on the advice of Ōngero, formerly a Shingon Buddhist, that he began to use as the designation of God the term Daishichi, which in turn was identical with the name Mahavairocana, who was the Great Sun Buddha of the Shingon sect. The term Hotoke (Buddha) also was used for God by the missionaries; while the designation of a Catholic priest was 8ō, the same as for a Buddhist monk! The use of such terms, while they might be questioned by many Christians, surely helped to remove some of the strangeness from the message of the missionaries. On the other hand, they could and did lead to near-disaster in some cases, as we shall describe farther on.

Weeks passed and little progress was made with conversions. Xavier had planned to lose little time before journeying to the capital itself, the city of Meaco (Kyoto). He was not encouraged

in this plan by the Japanese. A daimyo, or nobleman, of the area, however, did question Anger about the strangers and as a result the Jesuits were invited to his castle. The results of the visit were encouraging to Francis, although it seems likely that some of the ceremonial courtesy of the Japanese may have been mistaken for true reverence for the pictures of Jesus and of Mary which the Jesuits had brought along.

It seems that the earliest relations of the Christians to the Buddhist priests, the bonzes, were generally cordial. In fact, Francis' first visit to another Japanese city was made in the company of two bonzes aboard a Portuguese ship which carried them to Hirado, the Japanese city with a harbour nearest to China. Francis, it seems probable, already was looking ahead to a time when not only Japan, but the great empire of China would be a fruitful mission field. Francis was given permission by the daimyo at Hirado to preach and make conversions. The bonzes sailed on a Portuguese ship to Malacca, where they received baptism, while Francis returned to Kagoshima. It must be said that it is not clear whether the bonzes thought of baptism as indicating a real change of faith on their part. With the similarity of many of the terms used at the beginning of this Christian-Buddhist contact, it seems not improbable that they did not feel that they were abandoning their original faith. The opportunity to travel to a strange land, and to return with the prestige which such experience was likely
to give them, must have been an attractive one.

Francis had begun early in the stay in Kagoshima to visit the monasteries and other holy places. It was natural for the Jesuits to feel some affinity to the bonzes, whose meditation, prayer beads, and frugality in meals must have seemed very acceptable to the holy men of Christ. Buddha himself had preached the renunciation of worldly concerns. His Way was the Way of "three robes and one bowl." The "one bowl" generally means begging, considered a base way of life by so many in the West (and Fast also) yet a way familiar to Francis and his companions; for the way to human redemption lay first of all in the control of that Desire which demands to be fulfilled yet which never is satisfied. Buddha once said that man's desire never would be satisfied even with a heap of gold twice as high as the Himalayas. 7 Francis could agree with such a sentiment, especially after what he had observed in the colonies of the Portuguese. It was only as Fernandez, Cosme de Torres and he came to understand more of the Japanese language and religion that the differences between Christianity and Buddhism, which space forbids us to discuss here, became clear to them. As time went on, in Kagoshima and in other cities of Japan, Francis became more openly critical of the bonzes and of the Buddhist religion in general. He did, however, continue to have discussions with some of them and often found them a good

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7 Fumio Masutani, A Comparative Study of Buddhism and Christianity (Tokyo. The Young East Association), p. 38.
match for his own keen wit.

The situation at Kagoshima was deteriorating. Sinister rumors about the Christians were spread abroad, including one that they were in fact cannibals, perhaps from some description of the communion by a young catechumen who had not learned his lesson well or, even more likely, had trouble in translating it to Japanese. The result of the troubles was that the daimyo, discouraging further proselytizing, offered the Jesuits a ship to carry them on the first part of the journey to Meaco (Kyoto).

With the details of that journey we shall not deal here. It was made partly by sea and partly by land. Much of it was in the dead of winter and through deep snow. Francis, now accompanied by his two European companions, came again to Hirado. From there they continued to the city of Yamaguchi, at that time a thriving city of fifty thousand inhabitants with a powerful daimyo named Yoshiteka. The three companions and two Japanese converts fared poorly in this great city. This may have been due in part to the rather strange combination of their shabby and low appearance with the bitterness of the denunciations which Francis was now becoming accustomed to use and, of course, to have translated. Then too, abandoning the advice of some of the Japanese Christians, he now used the word "Deus" freely for God. In Japanese phonetics, this has to be Deusu and his enemies quickly changed this to "Dai Uso"—the big lie! Thus in Yamaguchi, cries of "Dai Uso" followed the
Christians through the streets. After two months of unfruitful labor, shortly before Christmas of 1550, they left Yamaguchi to undertake the 500 mile overland journey to Meaco (Kyoto). This city, at a much earlier date, had held a population of a half million people. Not only a great secular community, it was the religious center of the country, with numerous temples, monasteries and shrines. But the Meaco which the companions finally reached was far different than it had been at the height of its glory. Civil war was laying waste the country. Bands of armed men fought through the streets, smoke and flames would rise in one quarter after another, and the population had decreased to some 20,000 persons!

Preaching was almost impossible; even survival was difficult. At the imperial quarters, a great area of park, palace, fortress and temple, attempts to approach the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, were met with contempt by guards and servants. The Shogun had fled the city. It seemed that there were none to approach but leaders of murderous bands. Some time in February, 1551, the little group of Christians began the return journey to Hirado.

What of the mind and spirit of Xavier amid these devastating experiences? One thing is clear: they did not crush his will to succeed in making conversions in Japan. Another fact, also, however, is clear. Some change of attitude did occur. Francis began in Hirado to prepare for an entry into Yamaguchi by his companions and
himself which was to be very different from the first entry into that city. Francis came now as a royal ambassador, he and his companions well clad, accompanied by servants and bearing strange and valuable presents. There was a musical-box, a clock, mirrors, spectacles, Portuguese garments and even some cannon. No doubt Portuguese merchants had contributed some items while Xavier may have hoarded others discreetly until it seemed that they would be of most use.

The change in manner of approach seems to have impressed the daimyo of Yamaguchi greatly; perhaps even the contrast between the two visits seemed to him of much importance. Preaching now was permitted. Samurai, bonzes, Buddhist nuns, rich men and poor men came, not only to hear the Christians but to question them, to argue, and now, in many cases to be converted. Under these conditions, Francis' long university training stood him in good stead. These persons who now were plying him with searching questions on the Christian faith were not like the natives with whom so much of his contact had been in the South of Asia and who often knew little of their own religion. Many of his interlocutors in Yamaguchi were men trained in the monastery schools and familiar with the ancient sutras or books of Buddhist learning, not a few of which had reached Japan in the original Sanskrit language.

Later, in forecasting what other Jesuits who would come to Japan must anticipate, Xavier wrote: "They will be worried by
visits and questions at all hours of the day and part of the
night, called to the houses of the principal men of the country,
for we cannot escape it. They will have no time for prayer,
meditation or contemplation, nor any spiritual recollection.
They will not be able to say Mass, at least not at first. They
will be endlessly busy answering questions. There will be no
time to say Office, nor even to eat and sleep." 8

Within a few months the Christians in Yonaguchi
numbered some 500 persons. Xavier felt that it was time for him
to move on, leaving others to consolidate the work already so
well begun.

Hearing of a Portuguese ship in port of the territory of
Pungo, he resolved to go there. It was the "new Francis," an
ambassador from King and Pope, who made his entry into Pungo. He
came from the Portuguese ship, accompanied by a considerable retinue.
Small feathered hats, silken coats and ballooning red trousers were
the costumes of the Portuguese. Francis himself wore a fine linen
surplice, a priest's stole of green silk grosgrain which reached to
his knees and was fringed with gold. He did, however, refuse to
ride in the beautiful lacquered litter made available for him, and
walked through the streets. A young Portuguese walked near to him,

8 Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius de Loyola. Cochin,
January 29, 1552. Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East,
p. 269.
carrying the Father's breviary in a silk bag, while another carried a parasol, and a third the ceremonial velvet slippers. In the final part of the procession was a picture of Our Lady, borne beneath a canopy of crimson damask.

We have mentioned these details to show how Francis, having experienced success with the new methods at Yamaguchi, repeated them at Fungo. Yet he did not make the mistake of going too far. His refusal of the litter was of a significance which it may be hard to over-estimate.

In mid-November of 1551, Francis sailed for India.
CHAPTER VIII

CHINA AND THE CLOSED DOOR
Francis Xavier had determined that his next mission would be to the empire of China. It was from there that much of the culture, learning and religion of Japan had come. China, whatever its moral character to Christian eyes, was known to be a great and powerful country with a government far more stable and unified than Xavier had found in Japan. If the Emperor himself could be approached, tremendous strides in carrying the Christian message to many more millions of people in the East might be accomplished.

With these thoughts now burning in his mind, Francis must have found it doubly hard to learn that things were not as they should be in the Jesuit organization in India. He had been absent for about three years. Quarrels, bitterness among persons who should have been cooperating, law-suits and other problems had accumulated. When he should have been able to have a well-deserved rest, he found that he must plunge into these problems, disentangle truth from lie, and make decisions, often painful ones.

One of the most difficult problems involved Antonio Gomez, Rector of the missionary college of Santa Fe. A popular and even eloquent preacher, Gomez had many friends in Goa and elsewhere. Yet his administration had not been a good one. He had dismissed the native students from the college, filling it with Portuguese. Xavier saw in him the sins of pride and disobedience.
Knowing the furor and opposition which would ensue, he removed Gomez from the rectorship and assigned him to a post at the fortress of Diu, some distance from Goa. The opposition was great, but Francis stood firm.

In April of 1552, Francis Xavier sailed from Goa, on his way to China by way of Malacca. Prospects of success for such a mission were at best doubtful because of the policy of the Closed Door which the Chinese had adopted after troubles with some of the "foreign devils." Francis did, however, have an arrangement with a well-to-do merchant, Diogo Pereirã, who would take him on his own ship, laden with costly merchandise, much of it as presents from the Portuguese Viceroy of India to the Emperor of China. They would attempt to enter the country as an official embassy from royalty to royalty. The plan was fated not to work out.

Suddenly and without apparent cause, Don Alvaro, Commander at Malacca, began to show a strong opposition to the whole idea of an embassy to China. Possibly he bridled at the thought that the merchant Pereirã would be going as a secular ambassador with little or no dependence upon himself, the Commander. Possibly there was some deep-seated resentment against Xavier, whose mental and spiritual powers eclipsed his own.

He began to put obstacles in the way. His opposition culminated in actual seizure of Pereirã's ship. Francis now for
the first time in Malacca disclosed his high position as Papal Nuncio. This meant that opposing him in work would lead to excommunication. There was a stand-off for some time. Then Don Alvaro gave in to the extent of saying that Xavier, but not Pereira, might sail in the ship, the Santa Cruz. It was a sad time. Francis set out, accompanied by Antonio (the Christian name of the Chinese servant) and Alvaro Pereira, both of whom already were ill with fever. Before the end of August, 1552, they anchored in the bay at Shang Chüen (Sanchian). This was a neutral ground, a meeting-place in summer for traders from China and the west. A few Chinese lived in huts on one part of the island. A hut was made available for Francis.

A time of dreary waiting ensued with unsuccessful efforts by Francis and his helpers, now somewhat recovered, to enter China. Yet even here the mind of Francis was eager and active. He talked with the Chinese traders who came into the bay, discussing philosophy and natural science, the Chinese systems of Confucianism and Taoism and other subjects. True, the discussions were limited by barriers of language, but interpreters often were eager to help. After all, much of the crucial conversation even in the world today takes place through interpreters!

During this period of waiting, Xavier also was considering possible alternatives if the promised help of a merchant did not
materialize. Among these possibilities of which he thought was that of trying to attach himself to the embassy of the king of Siam to China the next year. Had he lived, this bold plan might have worked.

November 19, the day when the Cantonese merchant was expected to arrive, passed in empty hopelessness. Two days later Francis became ill. Tended most of the time by Antonio, the Chinese, he lingered until December 3rd. During his conscious hours, he spoke often in a language which his attendant, who knew Portuguese and Latin, at least to some extent, did not understand. Evidently it was Basque, a natural return to his mother tongue.

The end was peaceful. The door to China had remained closed to Francis Xavier, but another door had opened.
CHAPTER IX

MIND IN THE LIFE OF FRANCIS XAVIER
Francis Xavier may seem to us today to be harsh in his description of the people of India and of the Indies with words which are the equivalents of our English words "ignorant," "stupid," "barbarous" and even more opprobrious ones. He was quick to sense differences among groups of people as among individuals. His admiration for intelligent curiosity, eagerness and ability to learn, were displayed on many occasions. He says of the Japanese mission: "The fatigues of working among intelligent people, anxious to learn in what religion they would best save their souls, bring with them immense satisfaction. . . The number of people who came to question and discuss was such that I can truly say that never in my life had I so much spiritual joy and consolation. . . I end without being able to end, for I am writing to my fathers and brothers whom I love so much. More, because I write about the Christians of Japan who are so very dear to me." 1

We have seen how in his letter of January 29, 1552 to Loyola (see Chapter VII) he had indicated how missionaries who would come to Japan in the future would have to expect to be busied day and night with these ever eager and questioning people. Many examples of the truth of his prediction could be given.

1 Letter to the Fathers in Europe, Cochin, January 29, 1552. Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the East, p. 278.
Gay says: "El daimyo de Omura 'que sabía ya bien la doctrina' quiso pasar la vigilia de su bautismo en la Iglesia oyendo predicación hasta que amaneció."2 ("The daimyo of Omura, who knew the doctrine well, wished to pass the vigil of his baptism in the Church, listening to preaching until dawn.")

It would seem that least a part of this admiration for the active minds of those who seemed so often to surround him in Japan came from the affinity which he may, even unconsciously to some extent, have felt for those with a mind more like his own. Surely many of the European men of religion found much satisfaction in the presence of less alert and active minds or perhaps in climates less conducive to a high degree of mental activity.

For a man with the intellect and the background of Francis Xavier, there must have been a very real problem of isolation when he was among the Paravas in the south of India. There was, perhaps, always some occasion for working with the native language. The missionaries had to attempt to learn at least its rudiments and to translate from Latin or other European language the essentials for the beginning of Christian education. But such work would be very different from the animated discussions to which Francis had been accustomed in earlier years.

Francis Xavier clearly seems to have been not only a man of learning but a man with a great degree of intelligence and an unusual amount of flexibility, adapting himself to many and strange situations, holding firmly to his position when he felt it to be right and when it held any hope of helping to achieve a goal, yet not hesitating to make a fundamental change in his method when this seemed to be indicated, as on the occasion of his second visit to Yamaguchi.

An interesting light is thrown on the mind of Xavier, and on the breadth of his reasoning when we learn that a large part of the motivation for his effort to enter China actually was related to a plan for a return to Japan in a way which he thought would make more effective all future missionary efforts there. He had observed the respect which the Japanese displayed for various aspects of Chinese civilization and authority. With success in a missionary effort in China, and returning from that great empire to the islands of Japan, a Christian movement might be started there which would make not thousands, but millions of converts.

One of the major challenges for missionary efforts from earliest times has been the problem of language. For missionaries to the Far East in the sixteenth century, this problem was especially difficult. Yet we may see how carefully and with what zeal Francis Xavier met this problem. He looks far ahead, saying at one time:
"Nous avons composé en langue Japonaise un livre qui traite de la création du monde et de tous les mystères de la vie du Christ; ensuite nous avons écrit ce même livre en caractères chinois afin que, lorsque j'irai en Chine, je puisse me faire comprendre en attendant que je sache parler chinois. . .\"\n
(We have composed a book in the Japanese language which describes the creation of the world and all of the mysteries of the life of Christ; then we have written this same book in Chinese characters in order that when I go to China, I can make myself understood in the time before I come to know how to speak Chinese. . .")

The mind of Xavier is one aspect of the man. His tremendous energy, his endless perseverance, his very real accomplishments in teaching and conversion, are other, yet related aspects. He showed in his life a blending of humility with a manifestation of authority and even of power. In this blending the traits of character may seem paradoxical. They parallel, however, those strangely opposite features as seen in the life of Jesus. They seem also to represent an ideal for the Company of Jesus, perhaps not one which all of its members could be expected to follow, yet one which represented the strength gained from the Spiritual Exercises when these had set the pattern for a life.

No doubt he was loved and honored more for his personal magnetism and his contagious devotion and enthusiasm than for his mind as such; yet his mental abilities entered into almost all that he did. In the breadth of his inner vision the pattern of his life was formed.

Was there a conflict between mind and spirit in Xavier? We find no evidence of such a conflict. His life, from beginning to end, has been described as a continual prayer, "a union with God unbroken by exterior occupations, troubles, or dangers." Spirit and mind were in harmony.

\[4\] Yeo, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle to the East, p. 292.
APPENDIX I

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
IN ITALY AND FRANCE
IN THE TIME OF FRANCIS XAVIER
Rashdall stresses some of the differences between higher education in Italy and France in these times. In Italy the tradition of lay teaching had survived through the Dark Ages. He says: "In Italy we find no trace of the theory which looked upon masters and scholars as ipso facto members of the ecclesiastical order, nor were they subject in any greater degree than other laymen to ecclesiastical supervision or jurisdiction." This difference obtained between the University of Bologna, the school of Juan de Jassu, Father of Francis, and the University of Paris, Francis' own school. This broad distinction meant also a certain difference in the subject-matter of education. In Italy, as well as in Britain and France, all subject-matter was considered as comprised in the seven liberal arts which were broadly the same in these different nations. There was, however, a difference in the relative stress and importance given to the different elements. In the lands to the north of the Alps the stress was upon dialectic—in particular, dialectic as applied to metaphysics and theology. Abelard, Scotus and other great teachers in the north were known chiefly as dialecticians. South of the Alps, on the other hand,

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rhetoric and grammar received greater stress. There too, the poetry and myths of ancient times were kept alive to a far greater extent than in the north and such material not infrequently was not only un-Christian but even anti-Christian. Then, too, the objectives of study of grammar, rhetoric and logic in Italy were of a more worldly nature, more to assist the notary in composition of legal documents and the pleader before the bar rather than as a preparation for the study of the writings of the Fathers of the Church and of the Scriptures themselves. In the northern countries the scholasticism in theology and philosophy in the time of Francis Xavier was the result of the work of the dialecticians of the so-called Dark Ages. In Italy the revival of legal science was the result of the restimulation of ancient educational traditions which the city-states had inherited from over a thousand years of Roman history.

It was indeed out of these ceremonies of receiving the licentiate, then undergoing inception, that the university may be said to have developed as a formal institution, for in a sense it consisted chiefly of a "guild of masters," a trades union with a monopoly of the trade of teaching. It was in the years just after Abelard that Paris moved rapidly to a new and unique position in the world of learning. While a number of abbey or cathedral schools now flourished there, these institutions owed their fame usually to one or a very few distinguished teachers. Now Paris
became veritably a "city of teachers." It is not possible to set a precise date as to the beginning of the university—it seems to have "grown" rather than to have been established. The "origin" of the University may be set roughly as in the period of A.D. 1150-1170. It was not until A.D. 1208, however, that the university had any written statutes and not until still later that it had a presiding officer.
APPENDIX II

RELIGION OF INDIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
By far the predominant religion of India in the time of Francis Xavier was Hinduism. The roots of this religion go back to a time thousands of years before Christ and are found in the Vedas, collections of religious writings somewhat resembling the Hebrew psalms in their musical qualities. They are in Sanskrit and often seem to represent the nature worship of a semi-civilized pastoral people, apparently the early Aryan herdsmen who came into India from the north.

As conquest occurred, this religion appears to have been mixed with religions already present in the subcontinent, so intimately that it now is almost impossible to disentangle the two.

Very early in the mingling of peoples we read of the mysterious Brahman, the fundamental but unknowable principle of the universe, of the powerful gods, Vishnu the Preserver and Shiva the Destroyer, and of Krishna, who is an incarnation of Vishnu. The pantheon of gods grew and he who would study Hinduism in detail will find the names of hundreds of deities.

Sectarian division occurred among the Hindus as among the faithful in all of the great religions. Curiously, however, it never affected any very large portion of those holding to the Hindu faith nor led to the sharp divisions seen in some of the
monotheistic religions. It is not correct to think of Hinduism as a static religion. Ramananda, whose time is not known with certainty but who probably was of the fifteenth century, brought a wind of reform to Vishnuism, relaxing for his followers many of the rules of caste and food, causing the status of Sanskrit as the holy language to recede, and the vernacular languages to advance for religious use, and founded a rather liberal monastic order, the Vairagins.

Francis held a low opinion of the Brahmins and looked upon them as deceivers and exploiters of the people.
APPENDIX III

LIST OF EQUIVALENT NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES
# APPENDIX III

LIST OF EQUIVALENT NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

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<th>Japanese</th>
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<td>Yamaguchi</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Anjiro, Yajiro, Hachiro</td>
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<td>Bushido</td>
<td>Way of the Samurai, a code of honor and conduct</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Way of the Gods</td>
<td>Shintoism</td>
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What profiteth a man if he should gain the whole world but lose his soul?
The Vatican contributed to the post-war reconstruction of the front of the pre-war church.
local lord, who granted him permission to preach. There, during the next ten months, he brought the message of Christianity to peasants, warriors and lords. He argued theology with Buddhist monks and, although he did not succeed in converting any of them, he was successful in baptizing one hundred and fifty other Japanese.

This was only the beginning of the Jesuit suc-

Oda Nobunaga was in power.

Nobunaga was having trouble with armed Buddhist monks. He had burned down their great monastery at Mount Hiei and decapitated the inmates. Disliking Buddhists because they stood in the way of his political ambitions (except for one Zen sect), he welcomed the Christians. Nobunaga was no great believer in Japan-

'Portrait by Japanese artist of Saint Francis Xavier, founder of Society of Jesus, may be copy of a western painting.'