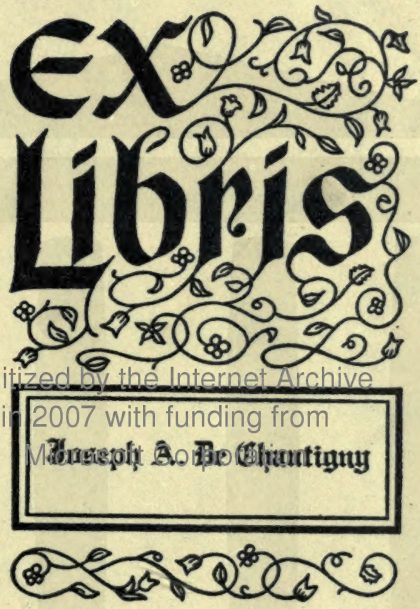

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BOOKS REVIEWED:

The Dublin Review

OCT., NOV., DEC., 1921

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS *of* CARDINAL WISEMAN *to* DR. MANNING

[When the great Cardinal, who restored the English Hierarchy and founded the DUBLIN REVIEW, found himself lonely and opposed, he poured forth his woes and policies, hopes and confidences to the undeviatingly loyal Dr. Manning. Wiseman, as these letters show, was hard pressed from within and without. A Gallican priest, Mr. Boyle, brought a libel action against him in which Mr. Ivers, another priest, gave evidence of a letter, which induced the jury to mulct the Cardinal in £1,000, but the verdict was set aside by the Court of Exchequer. The law on Charitable Trusts threatened all Catholic endowments where mention was made of Masses for the dead. Wiseman wished to take a stronger attitude than his Bishops to the law and sent Manning to represent him at Rome. The Bishops carried their opposition to great lengths and finally Dr. Ullathorne wished to resign his bishopric, which Dr. Manning struggled to avert. Every annoyance was extended to the poor Cardinal, Dr. Goss even showing discourtesy about leaving cards, and complaints being made of Wiseman parading the purple. But when they came before the Pope he gave Wiseman justice and satisfaction. Religious Orders added to the Cardinal's cares. One Mother Superior proved a little too strong for the Bishops of Southwark and Birmingham, but in Wiseman, backed by Manning, she met her match. Disease and anxiety, Gallicans and Protestants galled and tortured the good man. But he held his Ultramontane way, writing Latin verses in his sleepless nights and opening new missions by day. Sorrow and suffering brought their spiritual counteraction. Clare Vaughan and Sir Thomas Redington die saintly deaths, the conversion of England is spread and the old Cardinal sinks glorious, though wounded, to the grave.

Numberless allusions and mentionings might call for commen-

tary in the course of this post-posthumous publication of Cardinal Wiseman's letters. Many names are not sufficiently important for a note, and many of the incidents are now but specks of dust floating in the ray which we are able to shed through the forgotten past. But it is possible to realize that the minute cares and now forgotten difficulties of the Cardinal were responsible for the note of saintly resignation which lit his last worried years. His loneliness must have been unique even among heads of Hierarchies. . . . In Provost Manning, however, he found solace and sodality, gentle sympathy and iron strength. Manning's own philosophical patience upheld the long-suffering and over-sanguine Cardinal. At the same time one can trace in the action of old Catholic trustees and Gallican clerics the source of much Ultramontane seed in Manning's mind. The Cardinal's line had caused division and left him practically without a Hierarchy. Even among American Bishops there was approval or disapproval. Lord Acton recorded in the early 'fifties that he found Archbishop Hughes of New York approving Wiseman while Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston took a contrary view.

Two deaths caused the patient Cardinal and his ecclesiastical Achates great grief, those of Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce and Mr. Laprimaudaye, Manning's old Sussex curate, just as their new work for Rome in England seemed begun. In their place Providence had permitted the Cardinal to ordain (as recorded in these letters) the future Cardinal Howard and Archbishop Stonor, drawn from the old Catholic ranks. Lord Acton's *Rambler* was causing intellectual anxiety, while the "Italian Mission" in London was a parochial disappointment. Though the letters are often weighted with the distress and detail of the day, there are abundant flashes of supernatural insight. The interview recording the *verba ipsissima* of the Pope is the most historic addition these papers make to the Cardinal's Biography, giving a hint from the Pope as to Ullathorne's probable succession to Westminster.

It seems worth adding a translation of the Italian in the text (June 19, 1862):

Pius (on the English Hierarchy): "What would you have? When you see people so reserved, so buttoned up as folk across the Tiber say, one must invite them to speak."

"I hope they'll obey me. Yes, Ullathorne acts as standard-bearer to the others and quite naturally, for he has more to hope for, but he is docile, and on other occasions has obeyed me at

once. Grant seems to have had a little head, but I believe him to be good, and he'll obey."

Wiseman: "Yes, yes, he is very scrupulous indeed, and this perhaps adds to his narrow-mindedness."

Pius: "The others I don't know."

Wiseman: "Browne?"

Pius: "Ah! he's only a chatterer. He seems to me like a Neapolitan. He can't have much of a head."

—S. L.]

Walthamstow, Easter Tuesday, 1855.—I have felt quite sure of your kind sympathy in all that has occurred. The whole of the preconcerted plan of my advocate seems to have been overthrown by the conduct of the judge: and everyone in court seemed of opinion that with an adverse judge and jury, whose conduct throughout showed a predetermined verdict, the best was done. Bramwell told me early that there was not the slightest hope of justice and that the jury would take Mr. Ivers' oath against mine. I could do nothing but put myself into the hands of my counsel and abide by their decision. I will not enter into any details, as it can only be painful to do so, and a short conversation will do more than a long letter. But I do not intend to expose myself to a repetition of the past and, if any further step is taken, it must only be such and as much as is necessary to clear away Mr. Ivers' imputation about the letter put into his hands. The affair of Charitable Trusts is pressing most urgently. It is rumoured that Parliament will sit only for a short time after Easter; and if nothing is done, we fall irrevocably under the law. There seems no remedy but a further delay in its operation, based on the ministerial changes and the absorbing pressure of the war. To return to the principal topic of my letter, it has pleased Almighty God to give me strength of body and mind so as to have enabled me to go through all this painful affair without really feeling it. Indeed, I have been more inclined to rejoice than to repine at the portion of the Cross which He has so seasonably granted me. On Sunday morning at 8 I shall ordain Edmund Stonor subdeacon at home.

Could you attend ? E. Howard was ordained deacon on Holy Saturday.

London, January 30th, 1857.—I write at a dismal *Ave Maria* while sleet is falling upon the muddy street, envying your walk to-morrow morning along the *Via Nomentana* to dear St. Agnes and her lambs. I am sorry that some miserable points of law should keep the affairs of St. Charles in suspense. There are two matters of form I am sure on which Mr. Ward and Mr. Harting differ. Canon O'Neale, alas, has spoken to me agreeing with the latter. I will state them to you and you shall decide and instruct Mr. Ward as you think best. Mr. Ward insists that the superior of the House shall, when required, name trustees to the property without the Bishop's approval, merely giving him notice, but no power of objecting. It is remarked that no ecclesiastical property in which the Diocese has an interest is so held. That often the Bishop may have secret reasons for the unfitness of a person to be a Trustee. What is asked them is, on positive objection from the Bishop to a given Trustee he should not be named. Of course this is an extreme case. No Bishop would object without a strong reason, but ought it not to be provided for ? Put the question to some prudent Canonist in Rome ? Mr. Harting wants insurance to be extended to all the buildings, Mr. Ward only to those of the congregation. The practice is for every parochial church to be insured by itself out of the funds for it, that is, insurance is one of the charges on the Church. Should an exception be made here ? The difference is that the house insurance would fall on the congregation's accounts, the Church's on the parish's. This sounds simple out of lawyers' hands.

London, February 17th, 1857.—Though to-day is a most busy day, being that of our annual meeting for the adjustment of Lenten services, I cannot allow the short post to go by without writing to you from two causes. The first is the duty of acknowledging the receipt of your

sorrowful letter only confirming what I had heard, the news of Mr. Robert Wilberforce's death. Although I had as yet had very little opportunity of knowing him, I feel this like a personal loss. I own I reckoned much upon his great learning as a help and on his virtues as a future glory to England and to Westminster. Almighty God has judged otherwise and he has been *consummatus in brevi*; "*monstratus potius quam datus*," as an inscription in St. Peter's tells us.* But I am sure you must feel much consolation and, indeed, consider that a special disposition of divine Providence sent you to have it, in being near him in his last moments and giving him the comfort of a friend at his side, who could fully feel as he did and be the witness of his edifying end. I have not failed to offer up the Adorable Sacrifice for him.

London, February 27th, 1857.—By all means apply for leave for our nuns to have the Blessed Sacrament. It is as necessary for their spiritual as bread is for their corporal sustenance. The Mother Superior of the Assumption called on me the other day. However, in the course of conversation she mentioned an undertaking entered into by the Convent in Retreat to establish in the heart of Protestantism a house of the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. Originally Geneva was the place intended, but obstacles had arisen and *Londres vaut bien Genève* she observed. She asked me if I desired to have such a House and I, of course, accepted. They will be ready, I hope, soon, and I have thought of St. John's Wood as favourable from having isolated houses in quiet nooky lanes, not much frequented and suitable to an enclosed Order. Bayswater does not as yet offer this advantage. I hope you will catch your German and your Italian also. I write by this post to the Bishop of Limburgh.

London, March 6th, 1857.—I enclose the Bishop of Limburg's gracious answer to my application. The ministerial crisis and the collisions and confusion incident

*That of Leo XI.

on it absorb all other topics. Lord Palmerston had said in answer to a private inquiry by Mr. Bowyer that his intention was to put off by an Act any interference with Catholic Trusts by legislation for two years more at least. This will be more necessary in a short summer session. Lord Granville has named Mr. Morel Inspector without, however, applying to the Poor School Commission. This I regret. Howard has rather mistaken the object of my Lenten lectures by what Mgr. Talbot tells me. They will be, I hope, to the purpose of the present time. I fear you are overtasking yourself. I do not see what right the religious loungers and baskers in the sunshine of Rome have to your strength and exertions which belong to the benighted of England. They have spiritual luxury enough without eating up our fare into the bargain.

March 21st, 1857.—Since the second Sunday of Lent I have felt very weak and physically depressed and to-day I am writing with a sick headache, having no time to rest. Yet thank God I have kept all my engagements so far and next Sunday finishes my lectures. After that I start for Gloucester, for an action by the *abbé* Roux which has been the source of much pain to me. I think you know the case. You will escape the excitement of a General Election. It is difficult to say what will be its issue. Several measures of consequence to us were before the House and I am glad that you will be back before one of them can come on again. It seems intended almost to neutralize the Reformatory measure. It allows any policeman to take up any child without an offence if found wandering or without a shelter (no crossing sweeper would be safe) and conduct him before a magistrate who can at once send him to any reformatory, the only reserve being, if the parent goes before that magistrate within ten days and applies to transfer him to another. The indolence of such parents, the dislike of the poorest to getting before a magistrate, still more of going to contradict him, their fear of quarrelling with a policeman, who has such arbitrary power of molesting them, and the

case often of there being no parent, will be a bar to getting the children rescued. A very serious effort must be made to prevent the Bill from passing. As to Charitable Trusts Lord Palmerston's intention was, and doubtless still more will be, to put it off for two more years. My mind is quite fermenting and pullulating with the lectures on Infidelity. The subject is expanding before me singularly and I seem to see my way clearly thro' much of the matter. If I had the Holy Father's approbation as of a work wanted or useful for the Church, I should feel more confident.

Eastbourne, October 14th, 1857.—These few days have calmed the nervous system and given it fresh tone, though I have been obliged to write as many as from twelve to fifteen letters per day sometimes and some very long and foreign ones. Yet the calm and loneliness and the sea, which has treated us to a magnificent storm, have done good work on me. What a singular game the *Times* is playing. It seems bent on disunion and on reviving religious hatred. How insane at such a moment! I am glad to see the Duke of Norfolk came forward so manfully. I cannot help thinking that the Poor Clares, the Perpetual Adoration, etc., have excited great ebullitions somewhere below, the scum and froth of which bubble up through the *Times*. It looks like possession.

January 24th, 1858.—I had heard the sad news by mere accident. I could hardly believe it as I had not heard of Mr. Laprimaudaye's illness. R.I.P. I assure you that I feel the blow myself as if it were a domestic one: and I can easily enter into your special motives of grief. And yet God knows best what is good for each, for him and for you. I cannot believe for a moment that the stroke is meant to shake but only to try your work. It will give you other supports than those you have leaned upon. Be not therefore discouraged, *virtus in infirmitate perficitur*. I end this hurried note before Mass in which I will not fail to remember specially Mr. Laprimaudaye.

London, August 5th, 1858.—*Private.*—You will greatly oblige me by your opinion on the foregoing case. The *Rambler* for August contains the following assertion: "Nor because St. Augustine was the greatest Doctor of the West, need we conceal the fact that he was also the father of Jansenism."

Folkestone, October 8th, 1860.—I was glad to find that with the exception of two or three points your list of topics for St. Charles is pretty nearly what I had selected. The afternoon before I received yours, I had taken a fruitless drive to call on the Rector of Lyminge (Jenkins), who formerly had written to me and did so the other day again, sending me a book. During the drive over the bleak downs I composed a couple of stanzas, casting them, of course, in the rough, and one ran thus:

"*Sacerdotio vix dicatus*
Ad sublime est vocatus
Quin infletur animus:
Nam virtutem bene amabat
Cuius nomen coronabat
Quem devote canimus."

As you suggested that same day. I was afraid I was not sufficiently up in St. Charles and I have no books here. I think I am right in making him born in the Castle of Arona as follows:

"*Sanctum si laudandum quaeris*
Dura claustra ne secteris,
Sordis mitte horrida;
Villam Borromei jucundam
*Pulsa, quae Benaci undam**
Ripa cingit florida
Ibi bysso tectus, natus
Purpuræque destinatus, etc."

I won't bore you with more.

November 10th, 1860.—Herbert seemed very anxious

* *Lago di Garda.*

the other day when I told him I had only one stanza to give to the Oblates in St. Charles' Hymn. I have just written it and send it rough to see if it will do.

"*Suas ut diffundat dotes,*
Pios vocat sacerdotes,
Quos Ambrosio dedicat.
Cum his vivit, gaudet, frater :
Hos informat, curat, pater :
Per hos agit, praedicat."

I have added to the end of each decade a stanza entitled *Corolla pro Episcopo recitanda*, which I think may give the hymn additional acceptance.

St. Andrew's Day, 1860.—I wrote the enclosed before dinner except the fourth stanza which I could make nothing of till it flashed into my mind at 2 this morning, while kept awake by cabs, when I got out of bed and wrote it all out. I send you your sermon on St. Charles in Dutch.

Leyton, April 12th, 1861.—Could you let me have the following dates and matters. What day did you reach Rome last year ? When did you first speak to any Cardinal and to whom about the Synod ? Did you suggest any measure or decision on the subject as from me or from yourself ? I first spoke to Barnabò on the 16th of March. It is singular that I should have fixed unknowingly on the 16th of April for the Bishops' meeting, the anniversary of the Congregation on the Third Synod !

St. Leonards-on-Sea, May 8th, 1861.—Your last letter on Ushaw quite breaks me down. Last night the first intelligence interfered sadly with my sleep and I fear the matter will not advance the progress I was making. I therefore refrain from writing on it. I have been expecting you to run down to the Duchess, when I could have had a talk. For she expected you. I propose running up to town for the first day of the Bazaar ; as, if the principle be a mistaken one, the effort is great and I cannot help

thinking may be the beginning of a system of combined action in charity.

(*N.D.*)—I hope Mgr. Bartolini will be at the opening and that he and you will dine with the Bishop of Münster at my house on Tuesday. The Bishop and his circum-revolving satellites do not understand a word of English with some rare exceptions. So that your eloquence will be thrown away on their Teutonic ears. May I therefore suggest a *modicum quid sapientiae tuae* in preaching, i.e., more a *fervorino* than a sermon, e.g., the Germans gave us language, character, nationality, govt.-energy, everything that makes a people great before the world. We gave them in return Christianity, Catholicity, all their great Saints and wonderful mystics, all that is great before heaven through St. Boniface, and the Bp., etc., come to join in erecting a monument to him, common to both countries in England and for Germany. St. Boniface's union with Rome and great deference and loyalty to it may be worthily touched by you. Now you have had more than *modicum quid insipientiae meae.* Old Miller will be there. I saw him there on Friday and he spurns a carriage and will walk from Hackney. He was present at the opening of the building as a Lady Huntingdon chapel in 1791, when he was ten—his uncle preached the opening sermon and he remembers its drift, that the clouds and shades of popery would now be dispelled by the gospel light which would be diffused from this new chapel. The board announcing the opening is still there and you may see it. Miller is a convert and a very good octogenarian. Sir Thomas Redington is dying a most saintly death.

(*N.D.*)—Yesterday I assisted in cappa and preached (the third time in three days) here at our opening. To-morrow at 12 I have a confirmation of converts, on Thursday three functions, on Friday a clothing at the G's, on Sunday confirmation at Stratford, on Monday opening at Spitalfields, a Pastoral to write and print for

Sunday. If I am killed by functions and their preparations, you may add the following to my Elogium :

" *Functiones dum agebat,*
Se in pauperem gaudebat
Vertere aedituum ;
Donec nimis fatigatus
Ense tandem jugulatus
Est sacrorum rituum."

What would Bartolini say to this ? The vagaries at the Italian Church are beyond belief.

November 23rd, 1861.—I have an important piece of information bearing essentially upon pending questions. You will remember how much of our differences arose from the question of " superstitious uses " as modified by the Act of last year. Others were disposed to take Lord Campbell's assurance that Masses for the dead or as he carefully said, *Prayers* for them (common to the Jews with us) were not considered by the Law of England superstitions. I said at the time that if Lord Campbell had decided this on the Bench, reversing the decision in Rolls *v.* West and Shuttleworth, his word might be law, but that a speech on the woolsack was worth nothing. However, great weight was given to this declaration and it was believed by those who differed from me that we should hear no more of the Mass or Prayers for the Holy Souls being in the eyes of the English Law a superstition ; Dr. Ullathorne determined to try the question and the case (Blundell's will) was tried before the Master of the Rolls this week. Four legacies to missions had been set aside on account of the condition of masses for the Testator. His Honour has given judgment after much study and deliberation, and it is that all masses for the Faithful Departed are in the eye of the Law superstitions, and no legacy for or with them can hold, i.e., must be confiscated by the Charity Commissioners to other purposes: (1) The new law makes it illegal even to found Masses or leave them as a condition of any legacy ; and (2) formally declares

what the Church believes to be holy and wholesome and besides her greatest act of worship, to be a superstition. For it must be borne in mind that the action was assuredly brought to test the meaning of the new law by a judicial decision exterior to it. Unless the Holy See shall rule to the contrary I feel I must suffer anything rather than allow a submission to such a law.

December 7th, 1861.—I will add two important remarks. (1) Mr. Harting tells me he has discovered an Act of Parliament unrepealed which declares all religious houses *superstitious*. The Emancipation Act, it must be observed, only says that none of its restrictive provisions apply to female communities: but it repeals nothing regarding them and authorizes or permits nothing. (2) Lord Petre told me that it was to him that the late Ld Chan. said that the law of England did not consider *prayers* for the dead superstitious, quoting Widow Wolfry's case, and he made him repeat his assertion *twice* on the *woolsack*. I said at the time (1) that he had not said so in giving judgment on the bench; (2) that he said *prayers* not *masses*. Now for the first time Lord Petre informed him that Lord Campbell expressly said Prayers to him, that it was not prayer for the dead but the Mass, in which it was included, that the law of England considered superstitious. I ought to have added that immediately on the decision being made the Tempests put in a *caveat* or something by which they made themselves parties to the suit under a compromise made with Mr. Walsh and I suppose the Stonors will do the same. This shows how "*ubi fuerit corpus ibi congregabuntur et aquilae*." Lay Catholics will be ready enough to pounce on any disputed funds and they will be easily swallowed up in litigation. Enough. I have hardly any property without specific or vague directions for masses, the loss of intentions for which would be serious. But if the Holy See takes the responsibility on itself *for me* which my Colleagues seemed quite ready to take for themselves, of implicitly obeying the law and meeting the Commis-

sioners half way, I am content. You are very right in one respect. My opposition and dissent has evidently modified greatly their intentions: in one point specially, that of recurring to the Holy See for fresh instructions, which they voted was not necessary. Please to keep this point and view before Barnabò and the Holy Father. As to the rest, I can't lose by the decision. I may mention that Ld. Petre has almshouses established by Sir W. Petre in Mary's reign, one condition of which is that any nomination to them of a non-catholic is void. But because some old lady in the last century left them about 3s. a year the Commissioners have demanded of Ld. Petre all the documents relating to the charity. "*Inimicus homo hoc fecit.*" The increase of priests in this year's directory is of 10 or 11. I hope we shall get up to 200 before long. Say everything right to everybody, beginning with the Vatican.

January 4th, 1862.—Though Dr. Melia starts to-day with a dispatch of 4 folios for you I write by the fast post in anticipation, because I hardly know how far what I have written will now be wanted. However, it contains much matter from which assertions and answers may be picked out. With the long and painful *scrittura* which you require from me I will set to work at once, and perhaps they will give a little time for it. It must be *riservatissima*. Your last letter, bearing the Roman mark of December 28th and the London one of January 1st, has relieved me of any anxiety. Really, if the Bishops had given heed to what I wrote and had read at one meeting, everything would have been found there (conjointly with the *Ponenza*) which they have taken such pains elaborately to bring forward. I think you see your way so well that I need not trouble you with further guidance. But I will make one or two remarks. You seem to apprehend about the succession duty. But whether we like it or not it must be met in all cases of religious houses who cannot hold Trusts: and must hold as private property. Nuns even, according to Mr. Harting, are *superstitious* uses.

But if you look at the *Ponenza* you will find that even from then we foresaw and provided for it. For I had powers given to me to give faculties to put aside from the income of charities sufficient to create a fund to meet probate and legacy or transfer duty, when it should be necessary to treat property as private. So this even is no new point or evidence of sagacity. It is true the new Commission is an expeditious Court of Chancery, but therein lies its mischief. We should long ago have been attacked in this but for its expensive and unwieldy machinery. Anyone moving would have had to retain solicitors and counsel and disburse perhaps £100 of his own to set a course in motion. Now all expenses come out of the Charity. The Commissioners are jury, counsel, and judge. It is incorrect to say that they do not act summarily and without proof. There is no process before them, but all is summary and decisive except when they themselves invoke the higher powers of Chancery. As for Contempt of Court and such like penal proceedings, they can certainly change trustees and put property into the hands of their own officers. I am sure reference to the Act will meet most of the erroneous statements in the *scrittura*. Finally, it seems to me that you can make good two great points. That the Decree of 1843, based on my *ponenza*, is invulnerable, and that it was not sufficient (especially as interpreted by the Bishops) for the new law. *Ergo supplicandum S.S. pro novis instructionibus.* You have never mentioned whether my last letter to Propaganda (the one which elicited the letter to the Bishops) has been communicated to the Delegates. I hope that by the time you receive this H. Vaughan will be with you. I shall be obliged for all the assistance you can render Dr. Melia in trying to get the site of the Italian Church ceded to the Diocese. It is shocking to see it sterile after 10 years and without prospects of its cultivation.

January 25th, 1862.—I did not intend to trouble you with business to-day, but rather, if I wrote at all, give you any bits of Diocesan news on hand. I write, however, prin-

cipally to forward the enclosed, not, I suppose, announcing, but treating of the death of holy Clare Vaughan. Next post I will forward to Herbert the beautiful letter I have received from the Superior at Amiens describing it. It is indeed the account of a precious death. The word went in a moment all through Amiens, "The saint is dead!" I have not courage to pray for her, I am so tempted to pray to her, as I know people have already done. You will receive, forwarded by this day's post, another episcopal Circular from Rome, mysterious in its insinuations. I requested Canon Morris to add a few comments on it. One thing comes transparently through it: that there will be a gathering of bishops to receive a report with details from the delegated two, of course without me. I think you should enter a protest from me against the Bishops holding meetings apart . . . Now that we have come to issue on our respective positions I must make good the rights of my See. I trust that this will be noticed by Cardinal Barnabò, or even the Holy Father, and an admonition be given verbally at least to the two (*nos duo turba sumus*) discouraging, if not inhibiting, such meetings. I regret I did not put these semi-schismatical meetings into my *scrittura*. There is, however, a supplement even more *riservata* due from me. I promised the Holy Father to make him acquainted with the state of feeling among the laity as to Rome. It is a matter of great delicacy, but I think necessary for them to judge rightly on English affairs. *Should it be done at once?* It would not be long. I am anxious to learn your first impression of the *scrittura* if it be disappointing.

Leyton, February 8th, 1862.—I received your letter 24 hours after Herbert's, though sent by the same post. Are letters detained at Paris and read? However, both gave me great comfort although the mystery hanging over Dr. Ullathorne's resignation is not cleared away. But yesterday, Friday, I received through Melia your *Scrittura riservatissima*, which I devoured at once. I do not know how to thank you for it. It says so much that

I could not have said, and yet so calmly and so prudently that it is far beyond anything that could have come from my pen. And, in fact, it contains what, in a truer sense, I could not have said, for many facts and circumstances are new to me, though I can connect the details of them with points of recollection about the attempts made to have me removed. All this you have known better than I ever did, and I cannot but admire your prudence in keeping things so quiet. I can only repeat what I have before said, that I must leave all thanks and rewards to a higher and more liberal as well as richer Giver, Whom I pray from all my heart abundantly to reward you. In the meantime, everyone with whom I speak at all well knows the unbounded confidence which I feel in your exertions, and the success with which I consider that you have made them. I have not seen Melia, though probably I shall see him before I close this letter. He could not come yesterday, and he staid a day at Paris. I have not a remark to make on the *Scritture*, except that your kind and generous eye has seen a great deal more good in me than I can find. I dare say that often I am found irritable and worried. I ought to check it, and with God's help I often do, with great effort and after-pain. When some 8 or 9 years ago I was the first to tell Mr. Hawkins that I feared diabetes had come upon me he had no idea of it, and asked by what symptoms I judged. After mentioning others, as thirst, I added that what convinced me most was irritability of temper. For though when young I was very hot and perhaps passionate, my years of quiet study and higher means had brought me into a state of habitual peace, which had not been broken ever by much to plague and provoke me. Yet suddenly there had come upon me a fretfulness about trifles which perhaps even showed itself in manner, which I knew from observation in others was a symptom of that complaint (depending mainly on overwork of brain) as much as gentleness and softness is of consumption. I trust, therefore, that at least before God this may form some excuse for what man may not have so easily overlooked. I will now wait

with patience for some decision on our pending questions, *real* and personal. Only one thing I do not understand: what is the meaning of "*aver portato la S. Porpora in una casa particolare*"? I dislike wearing my purple and fine linen so much that I do not think I have ever worn it where not absolutely compelled by rubric or duty.

Leyton, February 3rd, 1862.—I send you the close of my second *Scrittura re* Ullathorne. I could never reasonably expect that the Pope should see or hear such a long and miserable story. But Cardinal Barnabò might read it and, if necessary, give His Holiness a *sunto* of any part requiring information. I had not the remotest idea that the book had such grave grounds of quarrel as could not be set right but by his resignation or simply my removal. I thought that on most points we were pretty much together. The worst is that I have all along in both *scritture* been writing completely in the dark. Of course you could not help this, but I really should have been glad for any light. I am quite in the dark as to whether the Congregation has been held or not. But one thing I have been really anxious about: I have had two letters since the one in which you mention the arrival of my long *scrittura* and your having read it. But you do not hint at your impression of it, and whether it is the thing you wanted, and I own I fear it is not; yet I am really too fatigued to go on writing more. I pass nights awake and my old worst symptoms are hovering about my chest. I know you are oppressed with my business, and fear you may be suffering from it. But let Herbert give me a few lines occasionally. You know how little sympathy I find about me, and I really want a little. Do all in your power to prevent Dr. Ullathorne's inconsiderate step being approved. I suppose that till it is accepted or rejected he suspends all action, being *quamdiu ab ipso pendet* no longer a bishop. But in all sincerity I say that his would be a very serious loss and a calamity both to his Diocese and to our Episcopate. I hope my vote under present

circumstances will have some weight. I must leave it to God to reward all your pains and trouble for me.

Leyton, February 18th, 1862.—Mr. Weguelin's departure for Rome makes me defy the terrors of heavy postage or, rather, evade them; so I can enjoy the luxury of large and thick paper. The affair of the resignation is getting out. Canon Walker wrote to me the other day that he had just come back from York where he had heard that Dr. Ullathorne had resolutely tendered his resignation on account of something I had done to him; but he could not understand what. I sent him an explanatory letter, and to-day I have received a long one from him taking a most melancholy view of things and considering the *rinunzia* a prae-concerted, deliberated and most determined act. His letter is very singular and will be worth reading when you return. He thinks I have been hard on the Suffragans by preparing such ineluctable papers as the *Elenchus*, and now forcing on them the humiliation of separately answering it, which he considers hardly one is capable of doing! It is a curious letter, but may throw light on the episcopal mind. I enclose a few copies of true accounts of poor or, rather, happy Clare Vaughan's flight to heaven. I have nothing more to add except thanks, the warmest and sincerest for your last and crowning letter; which not only set my mind completely at rest but gave me such touching evidence of your affection and devotion. *Deus rependat!* for I cannot. Canon Morris has already written how much I have felt it. I hope you have been inside *Sta Pudenziana* and tasted its lemons. I am quite at a loss where to go. I fear the Minerva will be my last resource for the College is too inconvenient in many ways.

Leyton, March 1st, 1862.—I saw yesterday a Passionist just come from Rome who had seen Barnabò and confirmed from him all that you have said.

Leyton, March 8th, 1862.—I think you will consider the answer to my letter foreboding squalls. What *are* the

wounds of the Episcopate ? I have no news. I hope we may get the Immaculate Conception Charity into better working order.

Leyton, March 10th, 1862.—When I wrote last I had not read your *scrittura* which Dr. Gillow has brought, for I was all morning conferring with Messrs. Langdale, Manners and Fullerton (who is just starting for Rome) on the Immaculate Conception Charity—the very constitution of which has been changed so as to bring it entirely to Hill Street, to the exclusion of our clergy most completely from all real share in it. G. Talbot and Macmullen were resigning their office of Directors quite in displeasure. In fact your prediction had come true—it was in no way diocesan but exclusively in certain hands. All must be readjusted. I have now, however, read the *scrittura* and must thank you sincerely for it, as for the other. I cannot but think that the other side ought to thank you for being very merciful. For it is evident that you might have been very hard on them and said very severe things on the line they had taken. They must have found it unanswerable and unobjectionable, two difficult things to combine. I do not see a single point on which I could desire it other than what it is. Dr. Gillow could add very little to the information which you and Herbert had given me—indeed, he did not know as much as I did. Dr. U. never talked to him about the Trusts' matter. He did, however, about the College, and his information startled me. He told me that Dr. Clifford had already in his possession a long answer on the subject signed by *eight* bishops. Now what I meant you to do as preliminary to my sending mine is to call attention to two things : First, that this proceeding nullifies the prescription of the Decree that the bishops should answer on the *Elenchus seorsim*. There was an object and meaning in this which is now completely nullified, i.e., to get at the result of 13 people's study of a question. Secondly, that this document will be the result of 2 men's study at most and 6 men's blind ad-

hesion and, without probably having thought of it, may possibly have signed the document without reading it. Thus my *scrittura* will appear as one man's opinion, *that* as that of 8. The bishops have not met or conferred ; and therefore this can be no joint act, but the production *only* of one or two (possibly the two G's) sent to the others, some of whom have told me that they know nothing about the case. I hope you will be allowed to see it. The policy is now evidently to carry by *majorities*, not by weight of arguments. It was as at Synod, it was so last summer, and so it is again. Eight against one or 2, such is to be our mode of carrying on affairs. In reality it is 2 or 3 against 2 or 3, the rest being dead weight thrown into the scale. Please prepare Propaganda for this consideration, as I must put it strongly in letters with my *Scrittura*. The Bishop of Plymouth, I hear, starts to-day with Kenelm (Vaughan). Perhaps Herbert may learn something.

Leyton, March 22nd, 1862.—I am not without hopes that I may be at Rome yet, before the decision, judging from usual delays. Dr. Goss' conduct about the cards is only a piece of ill-breeding. He must know that the matter has been explained. It was explained to the Pope last time we were in Rome by Dr. Roskell. Dr. Goss has got a grievance in the affair and nurses it. I need not say that the whole thing is untrue. Searle tells me he investigated the whole affair and showed it to be a blunder of Girolamo or Pippo, and nothing more. Fr. Faber's letters to me are insulting to insanity. Anthony Ball will take the correspondence to you next week, and you will see it. God grant us peace ; for I shall not much longer stand this pelting from all sides. And I believe I can better stand stones than mud. Yet we have many consolations. Besides Hendon and Fitzroy, I trust we shall have new missions started this year at Hounslow, Southend and Doverscourt (Harwich), perhaps another in Essex. The country is thus being opened. I told Bentley he must be the first baptized in his beautiful font, and by me, and he is under instruction for it. Many other good

symptoms present themselves to prove that in spite of me and my many miseries, God has not abandoned this poor Diocese, and surely when a better comes in my place it will flourish with greater prosperity.

Leyton, March 23rd, 1862.—I must solemnly make my protest if I write to Propaganda against the scandals likely to come if visitation and correction by a stronger hand than the Bishop of Southwark (at whom Mrs. C. laughs and who seems afraid of her) or of Birmingham (whom I understand she boasts of having twisted round her fingers) be not soon made. In June the convent, if not barred by the Holy See, will have most unjustly seized what Mr. Jones intended for the mission. Can you not rouse the Holy Father about the matter ? He abhors such a state of things so much.

Leyton, March 25th, 1862.—This is to me a red day or *creta notandus* in various ways—the anniversary of my first Mass, of my going with the Pope to the Minerva, and other pleasing recollections. Here it associates itself with little that is agreeable. I am just starting for Moorfields for the dreary Tuesday work of giving audience, seldom pleasant, and then going to look into a very ugly affair with our girls' Industrial School. I am glad to say that a very painful contest with the Oratory, which became most distressingly personal, ended yesterday evening, as far as it concerned me, by a very humble and submissive letter from F. Faber ; so I have nothing more to say on that head. By him this morning I have sent two dispatches for you and one through you to Cardinal Barnabò about the *Rambler*, which Ward tells me this month quotes my Inaugural Discourse to prove that I admit that mankind may have sprung from the ape . . . It is a shame to be working on such a feast. I was asked the other day for an inscription for a bell for Sydney in honour of Venerable Bede ; so this morning before breakfast I wrote the following, which may fill up my remaining space :

Unpublished Letters of

" O sacra, quae, ferro pulsante rugitis, ahena,
Qua Sol nocte latet, clangite adesse diem.
Dum insculptum geritis Bedae venerabile nomen
Quos orbs disjungit, jungat amor patrius."

March 30th, 1862.—The two pseudo-Italians have arrived. I have written to our Melia that I accept them as *interim* till real Italians can come. It seems to me the worst of policies to have sent a *Tedesco* here, the very name if even an Angel's being abhorred. The slightest German accent will be fatal. Most of the Italians, even good ones, are Lombards, Piedmontese and insolent Italians. Even Faà's life was considered by him as in danger, though a hot Piedmontese. The Bishop of Plymouth passed through the other day. He was asked if he did not intend to call on me. He answered *that it was not necessary* and that, besides, I was out of town. Of course cards are left at my house as usual. This is what I mentioned in my *scrittura riservatissima* which I fear has been shelved as habitual with my sensitive Colleagues.

Rome, June 17th, 1862.—On Saturday I had a great field-day: the Pope with all the bishops (except Clifton in bed), then the King of Naples, last a good hour with Barnabò and Capalti. They are all gone except Capalti in a very dejected state of mind. The Pope standing, with us round, began by saying how delighted he was to see me and them there, and said very kind things of us and the progress of religion in E. But he was sorry there had been differences amongst us—no wonder, they existed between SS. Peter and Paul. As to these his wish was, and he added later this must be considered a command —that we should take the highest and largest mountain in the Alps and put it over all past questions and dissensions without any tunnel through to get at them. They were never to be referred to again or brought up under any circumstances. So end the six months' attacks, personalities, etc. Next he said it was his desire that the

usual meetings should be held every year as heretofore; and that all matters of a general interest should be discussed; and either settled by a majority of voices or referred to the Holy See. . . . Finding a dead pause I spoke and said I was sure I could say, in my own name and in the other Bishops', that it required only a wish of His Holiness to be a command. We should therefore continue our annual meetings as heretofore, and I hoped we should continue to deliberate and decide as in the past, "*con pace, concordia, e libertà.*" Another pause—no one spoke, so I resumed: "*But*, Holy Father, we are to have communication made of the last decision of Propaganda on trusts." (*The* great point for which the Bishops believed they were to be assembled before the Pope and about which they have been so eager.) "*Già*," said the P. with great indifference, "*se ne farà comunicazione.*" "It is your Holiness's intention to do so now or will the Propaganda do it?" "*Lo potrà fare il Cardinale Barnabò.*" "But the Bishops are leaving to-morrow and would be glad to know it." "Why, I shall see no one till to-morrow evening when Capalti will come, when I will speak to him." "Then the communication will be made in writing?" "*Già per iscritto.*" Priests and others were then called in and so the affair ended. Not one spoke a word from beginning to end—not one took leave or asked for a blessing on his journey or his flock, but went out blank and speechless. In the anteroom, where many Bishops had come, I hunted each one out, asked him if he was going next day, and shook hands, wishing a pleasant journey. Not a hand was kindly held out. I had almost to lift some up dead from the side. They went into St. Peter's, where a person who saw them wondered what had come over them. Talbot called on them at dinner and found them very low and prostrate. And so they have gone without an answer to their six months' pleadings with Mont Blanc over their personal complaints and charges; and now an order instead of a friendly understanding to meet annually and whenever requisite and an end to episcopal Committee Government.

Such is the grand total of this unhappy attempt to make void the hierarchy and return to Vicarial regimen. The Pope said to Talbot, "I hope the Cardinal is now quite satisfied."

June 19th, 1862.—After thanking the Holy Father for his splendid present in the Exhibition, I thanked him for the words addressed by him to us the other day. I will try to give all that he said as nearly as possible: "I am sorry I forgot one thing. I mentioned three—burying of past differences, triennial synods, and annual meetings (he never once alluded, as I was expecting, to the Church Trusts). I ought, perhaps, to have asked them if they had nothing to say or remark. *Che vuole? quando si vedono le persone così riservate, come dicono i Trasteverini, abbottonate* (taking hold of his own buttons as if tightening up his chest) *bisogna invitarle a parlare.*" Then he added: "However, better not, for in these times who knows but it might have led to discussion which I did not wish." He went on: "*Spero che mi ubbidiranno. Già Ullathorne è quello che porta lo stendardo agli altri—è naturale, giacchè ha più polone da sperare; ma è docile, ed in qualche altra occasione mi ha ubbidito subito*" (about the resignation?) "*Grant, pare, è una testa piccola—ma credo che di vita sia buono e ubbidirà.*" (These words struck me as showing that the opinion which he enjoys among so many votaries has not reached the Pope's ideas, and that a man may be a prophet in his own country.) I replied: "*Si, si, anzi è scrupolosissimo, e forse questo ajuta quelle strettezze di mente.*" "*Gli altri non li conosco.*" "*Browne?*" "*Ah quello non è che chiacchierone. Mi pare un Napolitano. Non deve aver gran testa,*" or something similar. I did not go on, for it was plain that the rest of the episcopate in Rome was a blank in his mind and that there was no individuality in them to his eyes. So I trust is ended the great campaign of 1861-2. God grant it may never have to be renewed.

Talacre, September 1st, 1862.—I am here tranquil, and to-day quite alone. There is no party, and Mgr. Searle

and Stonor are gone to Bangor. Just as I was starting came 13 copies of the *grandis epistola*, 2 large thick well-filled sheets for each bishop. One was the Decree, the other the substance of the Pope's conversation in Latin, but so correctly following what I had written that no doubt they had found my minute. In the meantime I had sent them a second. The postage approached L.3. You shall see it as soon as we meet.

Talacre, September 9th, 1862.—I give you full powers to deal with the DUBLIN REVIEW in every respect as if your own property, and I shall be ready to ratify all your acts concerning it: retaining no responsibility or necessity of further reference to me in the transactions with publishers or editors.

Leyton, October 2nd, 1862.—This is the anniversary of my leaving England for Rome in 1818, under the patronage of the Holy Angels Guardian. *Me sanum duxit atque reduxit* I can say of mine. Forty-four years ago! A long time to answer for. We did not reach Rome till the 18th of December. What a change in worldly matters!

London, October 17th, 1862.—Your letter of yesterday sorely grieved me. It only made me repeat for the hundredth time, "How much more easily is God propitiated than men, and on how much easier terms He forgives than the best of us do. Silent, sweet, complete and unexacting is His pardon: unwilling, hard, full of exactions and bristling with conditions is man's!" I believe the N—— people have insulted me as grossly as anyone, and have behaved outrageously to me. But this does not for a moment interfere with my wish to save their souls and the lives of hundreds. May we not say that while God's love of Himself is infinite He has no self-love? No *amour propre*: that it is of the very nature of true love of oneself in God as it increases to consume and destroy egotism or love of self out of God? Is it not also true that every restriction of self-love expands the

second as well as the first precept of charity in the soul of individuals and in the practice of religious bodies? Is there not in the present case a tendency to exact compensation *usque ad ultimum quadrantem*? But what I have written carries me on further to observe how even very great charities without the flywheel of universal charity to carry or fling round redundant action are in danger of narrowing the sphere of true virtue. The distribution of charitable operations leads easily to the absorption of the mind, heart and energy of those who carry them on to the diminution and neglect of the universal virtue. One body think of nothing but Poor Education, another only care of the sick, this exclusively penitents, that orphans, forms the grand and supreme work of charity. This has doubtless its advantages, in concentrating great powers and exertions upon each separate object. But there must be one who is impartial, that is equally solicitous and loving towards and about all—equally anxious to bring up every branch to perfection, uniting if possible the intensity of these different charities in his one heart. The bishop, in other words, should try to have his soul like the sun as now represented to us by science, covered or made up of distinct fires of every beautiful hue, all resulting from different combustions, supplied by various substances and all combining to give one light and one heat, diffused over and through space. His heart ought to be the focus of all the rays of *charities*, in him they ought, converging, to form the centre of charity in his diocese. He alone can balance, combine, amalgamate the various appreciations and, we may say, even jealousies of virtuous minds given to charity. Now here is, I fear, a case in point. The genuine *Petites Sœurs* have their minds concentrated on their own beautiful charity (which I have often inculcated and illustrated long before they came to us) of caring for the aged and decrepid who are stumbling forwards to the grave. Nothing can be better, but they feel comparatively little interest in helpless infancy cast away to perish. So those who look after education. Till

a child is ready for cramming with knowledge they care very little about his being plenished with milk. St. Vincent had a heart for all, and liked picking up babies in the streets as much as nursing old men in bed. At this moment, when the terrible increase of child-murder turns men's minds to the want of antidotes and counteracting influences to check the crime, we, the Catholics, find ourselves unable to supply them. To my mind and feelings infants are as important creatures as old men: they have sinless souls if baptized and are more helpless, not having speech or reason. I would make any sacrifice for them; but I suppose I should be unreasonable if I expected the same from others. Should God ever put the episcopal burthen on your shoulders, I hope you will admit as a holy maxim: "*Si angustiantur vasa carnis dilatentur spatia caritatis.*" Lay as lightly as possible the claims of justice on anyone. They are the *vasa carnis*, the hearts of flesh that contract when they urge them, and widen as much as possible the room for every form of charity to enter and dilate. I fear you will think I have given you a rhapsody. But I am much troubled about this matter, as I must always be when I see a great and good work slip out of my hand.

April 18*th*, 1863.—The business of the meeting went through quickly and smoothly. *Entre nous* the most tough and complicated matter I had all drawn and in Latin for their acceptance. I let them fully discuss the matter without interposing, till they had quite come to the same conclusions on the practical part as I had; but there was no study on the subject and no order or fullness. Dr. Grant as usual suggesting some verbal emendations, mostly if not all wrong, to which I, of course, acceded on principle of avoiding logomachies. So all is gone off really well and quickly. The Italian Church went off admirably considering that when I got there the throne was not up. All the Bishops were in admiration at the Church, but more at the function, which was really grand, everything used being noble and rich. The ceremonies were

excellently performed, the whole space filled with persons of all classes from Lady Londonderry to plenty of poor, many priests and religious in habit and 12 bishops. After the function I took all the Bishops, except Southwark and Birmingham, to Leyton, where they all seemed to enjoy themselves immensely and dined very cheerfully.

Leyton, Good Friday, 1863.—The Queen has expressed herself greatly pleased " and seemed deeply touched " by the manner in which I had spoken of the Prince Consort in my lecture. I have this on two certain authorities, one of her physicians and her librarian, who mentioned it to her, having been present at its delivery. You who know the struggle for the Hierarchy and the personal jealousies and antipathies erected at Court by it will understand how important and how gratifying it is to have slowly and effectually worked back over the ground and, without yielding an inch, overcome prejudices and malicious influences. I think I mentioned in my last the dinner of the Astronomers to which I go next week . . . I can hardly believe that the Cardinals will sanction such a plan. But they may not see as we do how fatal to all hopes of ecclesiastical education the plan, if admitted, will prove. Dr. Grant, for instance, would have Dr. Rymer, Doyle, etc., immediately at his back to prevent any solid reforms. I will mention two facts which may be useful in urging the Seminary question: (1) I believe Dr. C., by the death of Miss Eyre of Bruges, comes in for a legacy of £10,000. Now this would give him a Seminary. Is he even thinking of founding one ? (2) Dr. North left Dr. Grant his convent for a Seminary. He has given it up to Dr. Todd for an orphanage and, it is said, has no idea of establishing one. (*Holy Saturday.*) Will you be good enough to look up Gabrielli (in the Artillery) and let me hear from you about him; and if necessary " take care of Dowb" by saying a good word to Mérode for him. His domestic position is most sad at his age, and he is entirely under my care.

Broadstairs, October 15th, 1863.—I arrived safe on

Monday, but so fatigued that I am only slowly recovering. My appetite completely left me again. I have been reduced to great weakness, and only to-day, in spite of dreadful weather, I have felt the first symptoms of rallying. But I am far from being myself, and I have a sort of languid despondency which makes me feel as if I never shall be so again. Of course I am lonely, and have no means of keeping my thoughts out of the two extremes of over-activity or self-devouring, except inward efforts and control which feels like riding a very hard-mouthed horse along the top of a cliff by way of recreation. However, I must bear my cross as it is shaped for me; but only God knows what I suffer inwardly at times—I could not write it. I wish I could get a quantity of prayers as I had before from Convents, etc. I need them much.

Broadstairs, November 2nd, 1863.—A few days ago I sent off the whole Malines Address to Brussels. After correcting some 25 pages, mostly folios of the shorthand writer's notes, I found that as I got on I must have been partly tired, partly anxious to condense, so I set to work and wrote the rest over again in French without effort or feeling fatigue—nearly 30 close quarto pages. I did this because it appears to me that though nothing eloquent or perhaps interesting, it is the first *exposé* of our condition and progress, and as such may be sought for in other countries and looked at with earnestness. I think it of the utmost importance that I should see you before you go to Rome. The Italian church is my greatest trouble. There is a natural propensity in Rome to take part with their countrymen. But it will be a serious difficulty if this national feeling leads to interferences with episcopal work and judgment.

London, April 10th, 1864.—In the meantime I am much engaged till Tuesday, when I deliver a lecture on London Architecture. Every place has been engaged for weeks, and I fear much is expected. I have therefore departed from my usual custom of trusting to shorthand writers

and then having to dilate and correct their reports, and I am writing the whole lecture beforehand and so sending it to press at once. The letter to the Chapter would be a great boon if Rinaldini could get it expedited. I should have been glad to have it before the Bishops left last week. Nothing could have been more pacific and friendly than our meeting. The matter of the Colleges was not even alluded to by anyone. I will await your arrival for any other matters, only giving you our commission. There was announced in Paris, to appear a month ago, a work on Shakespeare by Victor Hugo or Dumas (?) which I am anxious to have. If you see the Nuncio pray interest him in favour of the new French Church to say a good word to ministers.

Leyton, June 16th, 1864.—I enclose you two letters for perusal to be brought on Saturday if you come to me or sent back. They show a new tone or feeling which would not have shown itself a short time back. In this respect they are useful because encouraging to us to take up a new position and advance prudently but fearlessly. I did not find your lecture *dry*, but the contrary. At the same time I think you could make it more popular and therefore useful to many by illustrations, or rather applications.

July 26th, 1864.—I have seen no V.G. or others to whom to give directions. And my head has been working like a windmill in a storm. I enclose a letter from Melia at Rome *al solito*. Something must be done, but really I cannot do it all alone. As I do Rinaldini's! Anything that can give me peace may linger on from year to year. To-morrow I will perhaps write to Cardinal Barnabò about that and the Italian Church—my two Crosses. I fear only those of the two *Ladroni. Intanto pazienza! La pace verrà nella sepoltura.* Any news of Herbert? I believe to-day the crisis comes and the sickening will pass off. It has been like lying at anchor in a swell, all nausea and no progress. I had *no* sleep till 3 this morning and little since, so I am rather swimming in the head. Pray

for me. I have been living these days and nights in the past and a long way off.

November 30th, 1864 (*Private*).—Many thanks for your kindness in copying my letter and for your suggestions. I feel almost sure that were I to substitute your letter for mine, what I send would be at once recognized by those acquainted with your style to be yours and not mine. This I believe would make matters worse: (1) It would be said that it did not represent my sentiments and so leave all rumours on that subject untouched. (2) That it was true that you and not I ruled this business. (3) That, as Mr. Foulkes has repeated and others after, I receive all my inspirations, etc., from you. I am sure that you had set aside my letter on so important a point and induced me to send one composed by yourself. The past false impressions would be incurably confirmed that the entire affair was yours and not mine, and that I was under moral pressure. Many Catholics would or might take up this view. It would be fatal and I am sure most unjust to you. Whatever, therefore, I write must be recognizable as mine.

DANTE AND ISLAM

MUCH interest has been felt lately as to the extent to which the form of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante has been influenced by Islamic eschatology. This interest has been stimulated by the publication of a book by Don Miguel Asin Palacio, entitled *The Mussulman Eschatology and the Divine Comedy*, which contains an address read by him on his reception into the Spanish Academy in January, 1919. The subject was introduced to the notice of Italian scholars by three lectures delivered in the Arcadian Academy at Rome by Professor Gabrieli, the learned Librarian of the Accademia dei Lincei. Neither in Italy nor in England has the view of Asin received ready acceptance, because it was thought to impeach the originality of Dante's genius. It rather exhibits the vast extent of the poet's learning.

Passing over for the present the origin of the legend and the form which it took in earlier times, we will turn to the chief of the Spanish Mussulman mystics, the Murcian Ibn Arabi, called by Asin Abenarabi, who died about A.D. 1240, twenty-five years before the birth of Dante in 1265. He could not, therefore, have derived anything from Dante. He wrote an account of the night journey of Mohammed from Mecca to Jerusalem, partly in poetry and partly in prose, and also an account of the Mirach or the Ascension of Mohammed to Heaven. We will deal with the resemblance of his description of Hell and Paradise with that of Dante and omit for the present the Purgatory, in the account of which the similarity is not so striking. Abenarabi describes hell as a well or abyss of fabulous depth, consisting of seven circular steps or sections. Each one of these is destined for a special category of sinners, who are condemned for the commission of a particular sin by one of seven bodily organs. Abenarabi also subdivides each story into four quadrats appointed for sinners in the faith: the unbelievers, the polytheists, the atheists and the hypocrites. Further, each circle is divided into two halves or semicircles, one

for sins of action, the other for sins of thought. Finally, each circle includes about a hundred subordinate stories, which are again subdivided into dwellings, cells, or little houses, corresponding to the mansions of Heaven. The circles diminish in size as you descend, and in this respect they resemble the hell of Dante. Abenarabi gives in his treatise a diagram of the Islamic hell precisely similar to those given in some school editions of the hell of Dante, copied from the well-known Atlas of the Duke of Sermoneta, except that Abenarabi makes seven concentric circles, and Dante ten. The circles of Abenarabi's hell are assigned, beginning with the uppermost, to the sins of the seven parts of the body; those of Dante are given to the lazy, the worshippers of false gods, the unbaptized, the gluttonous, the squanderers and avaricious, the passionate and slack, the heretics, the violent, the fraudulent, and, worst of all, the treacherous. In Dante's hell all move to the left and never to the right, in the Islamic hell the sinners have no right hand while the just in Heaven have no left. In both we meet at first with a furious wind, which in one carries with it Francesca da Rimini and her lover; while, in the other, it is more general and terrible. The description of the wind and of its effects upon the tortured is said by Asin to be similar in both accounts. In the hell of Dante, his tutor, Brunetto Latini, and those who were guilty of similar vices, are represented as walking without repose round the place of their confinement, while a slow rain of fire, like flakes of snow, falls on their naked bodies. In the Islamic hell a rain of boiling water and of melted brass pours without ceasing on the heads of the sinners, and penetrates their limbs. The punishment assigned by Dante to the diviners, that they have their heads turned round, and that the tears which they shed fall down their backs, has a parallel in the Koran which has received much attention from commentators. The hypocrites in the malebolge wear mantles which outside are of brilliant gold, but inside of heavy and oppressive lead; while the Mohammedan misers walk slowly, oppressed by the weight of their

treasures; other malefactors being presented as clothed with mantles of copper or brass which are burning hot. The thieves in malebolge run about naked from one side to the other mad with terror, howling without hope, because they are bitten all over by serpents and hydras, ejecting a burning poison which consumes their bodies, reproduced again for a new punishment. So in the Islamic hell is a valley called Lamdam where there are snakes as large as a camel's hump, and as long as a month's journey, which bite those who omitted to pray when they were alive. In the Sad Valley there are worse reptiles, huge scorpions, as large as camels, which punish usurers and adulterers. The punishments in the ninth pit in malebolge of Ali, whose body is cut open showing the heart, of Mosca degli Uberti with his hands lopped off, of Bertrand de Born holding his head in his hand like a lantern, have their parallel in the Islamic prototype, where some sinners are cut about by knives and others have to hold up their own bowels, vomiting blood. A thief comes before God in the last judgment with both his hands cut off, and a murdered man, holding his bleeding head in his hand, with the man who murdered him, says "Lord! ask this man why he murdered me!" The last pit of the malebolge contains forgers and calumniators covered with sores and ulcers which they continually scratch and with swollen stomachs, suffering from a perpetual thirst. Similarly Mohammed meets in hell calumniators, usurers and drunkards suffering a like punishment, with itching sores which they scratch to the bone, and hunger which compels them to devour their own limbs, or a consuming thirst which burns their entrails, and forces them to beg for a mouthful of water. After leaving malebolge to descend to the Circle of the Traitors, the last in hell, Dante and Virgil have to pass a deep pit occupied by huge giants who rebelled against God. These are Nimrod, Ephialtes, Briareus and Anteus. The last takes up the two poets in his hands, and deposits them gently in the last circle. No analogy to these monsters is to be found in the Christian precursors of Dante, but

the Mussulman writers tell us that in the day of judgment the infidels appear of enormous size, sixty fathoms tall, crowned with diadems of fire. The bodies of these sinners are as huge as mountains, each one of their teeth is as big as a man, and the rest of their body in proportion, their legs and thighs being like the mountain of Albaida, the space which one of them occupies being equal to the distance between Medina and Mecca. In the theology of Islam, Nimrod and Pharaoh are considered as types of the Satanic spirits who rebelled against God, and they share the worst part of hell with Iblis, the Mohammedan Satan. In Dante the punishment of these worst offenders is extreme cold; the lake Cocytus is frozen by the wind produced by the movement of the wings of Lucifer. There is no authority for this in the Bible, but it is found, if not actually in the Koran, certainly in the commentators. It is possible that it had a Persian origin, as Zoroaster considered fire sacred, and it may have been introduced by Zoroastrians who were converted to the Mohammedan faith. When Mohammed was asked what was the Zamharir of hell, he replied that it was a well or tank into which the infidels were thrown that their limbs might be torn asunder by the intensity of the cold. Also in both accounts the sinners are found contracted with their feet touching their heads.

There is nothing more awful or more impressive in the hell of Dante than the conception of the fallen Lucifer in the very centre of the earth, held fast by enclosing ice, with three faces holding in their mouths three traitors, Judas who betrayed Christ, and Brutus and Cassius who betrayed Cæsar, Lucifer himself being the arch-traitor who betrayed his God. Under the head are two large wings which move slowly and produce a freezing wind. This conception has no parallel in Christian literature. Islam, however, places Iblis, who corresponds to Lucifer, in the deepest pit of the Moslem hell. Abenarabi condemns Iblis to the torture of extreme cold because, being an angel, born of light, fire would be no punishment to him. St. Luke says, "I saw Satan falling like a thunder-

bolt from Heaven." So the Koran describes in several passages the casting of Iblis from Heaven as the punishment of overweening pride.

If the Islam Purgatory is little like the Purgatory of Dante —a mountain formed by the earth which fled in horror at the approach of Lucifer, leaving behind it the pit of Hell —there are similarities in the Earthly Paradise of Dante, which is placed on the summit of the mountain of Purgatory, and the Earthly Paradise of Islam, which is located on what the Mohammedans believed to be the highest mountain in the world. Some place it in Syria, some in Persia, some in Chaldea, but most in India, and especially as the mountain of Jacinth or Zircon, which is now identified with Adam's Peak in Ceylon. In both conceptions the Earthly Paradise is on a very high mountain in the middle of a Southern Ocean. Ceylon was regarded as the antipodes of the Northern world, just as Dante places Purgatory as the antipodes of Jerusalem, and it is certain that this conception is not found in any Father or Doctor of the Catholic Church. According to the Moslem writers, souls, after leaving Purgatory to enter the garden of Paradise, have to bathe in two rivers the first of which takes away from their hearts all rancour and hatred, while the other purifies them so that their faces beam with the beauty and splendour of happiness. A Mohammedan Paradise is not always regarded as the abode of houris for the satisfaction of sensual pleasure, but as the home of spiritual joy and of intense spiritual life. In both accounts the Earthly Paradise is situated in a garden placed on the summit of a lofty mountain, on an island in the middle of the ocean, where after leaving Purgatory the souls purify themselves in two rivers and then meet the celestial bride who explains to them much which was not before understood. The spiritual nature of the Mohammedan Paradise is apparently only mentioned in the age of Dante by two Christian writers, Raymond Lully and Raymond Martin.

The Paradise of Dante consists of ten heavens, in the first seven of which appear the redeemed; the others

form fixed stars and the *primum mobile*, the tenth being the Empyrean, where the spirits are seated on thrones in an amphitheatre which forms a Heavenly Rose. In the centre, God, surrounded by His angels, is offered to the contemplation of the Elect. In the Paradise of Islam the spheres are occupied by angels, prophets and saints, arranged according to their deserts. It is certain that neither of these two conceptions is to be found in the Old or New Testaments ; but we find some hint of it in Origen and perhaps in Thomas Aquinas. It is not necessary to give a detailed description of Dante's Heavenly Rose, with its divisions into grades of spiritual excellence and the special places assigned to Adam, Moses, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist, to the Doctors, and to the Founders of Religious Orders, to Saint Francis, Saint Benedict and Saint Augustine, with their eyes fixed on the fire of the divine light, contemplating it more or less effectively. No doubt the larger part of this description is created by the imagination of the poet himself, but some close parallels are to be found in the Mohammedan eschatology. As there are seven storeys in the Islam hell, so there are seven mansions in its Heaven, the Mansion of Divine Majesty, that of Peace, the Garden of Eden, the Garden of Refuge, the Garden of Eternity, the Garden of Paradise, the Garden of Delight. We also find in other versions of the legend seven categories of persons inhabiting Heaven, prophets sent by God, martyrs and saints, men who worshipped by forms of words and ablutions, men who worshipped by meditation, men consecrated to the practice of religious devotion, ascetics, warriors in the spiritual combat against passions, pilgrims, and an eighth category of men who were chaste and loved their neighbours. In these categories stress is laid rather on the fervour and intensity of their spiritual life than on external reputation or success. All these elaborations, and there are many of them, are anterior to the time of Dante and could not have been derived from him.

Abenarabi conceives of Heaven as having a circular

figure with a series of concentric spheres, each with a progressively larger radius. The sphere of the Earth is surrounded at first by water, then by air, then by ether or fire. Then come the sphere of the Moon which is above the ether, the spheres of Mercury, of the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars, above which is the starless sphere, the *primum mobile*—"the first moved," as Milton calls it—which is the end of the astronomical world. But beyond this is the throne of God, surrounded by His angels shining as a source of eternal light. He gives to these divisions the names of the Abode of Protection, the Mansion of Perseverance, the Abode of Peace, the Garden of Eternity, the Garden of Refuge, the Garden of Delight, the Garden of Paradise, the Garden of Eden. Each of these eight circles—which are really seven, because the first is reserved for Mohammed, whose presence in each of them is an article of Moslem faith—is divided into an incalculable number of degrees, and each of them contains an incalculable number of habitations. The word "rose" is not used by Abenarabi, but the figure drawn in his book is exactly similar to that which we find in popular editions of Dante.

In the Moslem Heaven each of the individual mansions of glory contains a branch of a huge tree called the Tree of Happiness, whose roots start from the *primum mobile*, the roof of glory, while the branches passing downwards are found in all the celestial degrees. Abenarabi divides the seats of Paradise into four categories for the Prophets, the messengers of God, who occupy the highest place, the Saints, who inherit the teaching of the prophets and imitate their life, occupying thrones. Then come the Wise Men and Doctors of the Faith, who possessed in life a scientific knowledge of God, occupying seats, and then the Faithful, who only possessed a knowledge of divine things by a dependence on revealed authority, seated on benches. Dante assigns the highest place to the Doctors of the Old Law, Adam and Moses, and to the Apostles of the New, St. Peter and St. John. Below these are the Doctors and Founders of Religious Orders, Saint Francis,

Saint Benedict, and Saint Augustine. Beneath these come the faithful who did not create but merely followed the rule of a Religious Life. He speaks in a similar manner of thrones, seats, and benches. Dante places in the left section of the Heavenly Rose the Prophets and Saints of the Ancient Law ; and on the right those who followed Christ. By Abenarabi the highest place is given to Mohammed and Adam, having both the same degree of vision of the Divinity. In both cases the degree of the Elect in glory depends upon the greater or less clearness of the Beatific Vision, and in both there is no jealousy because all are satisfied with their lot.

The Beatific Vision is conceived both by the Murcian and the Florentine as a manifestation or epiphany of the Divine Light. The Elect not only enjoy the Light but are able to endure its intensity. Dante says that he thought he should be dazzled by the intensity of the living ray, and that he should be forced to avert his eyes, but that by abundant grace he was able to fix them on the Eternal Light and enjoy the full vision of it. Aquinas speaks of the Divine Vision as the culmination of human happiness and perfection, but he tells us that for this he has not the authority of the Fathers of the Christian Church, but of the Moslem philosophers, Avicenna, Averroes and others. Although the Fathers allow that the Blessed may see God face to face, yet they do not consider that this is effected by the human eye and they explain the words of the Psalmist, " In thy light shall we see light," as produced by the vision of Christ, who represents to us the Light of God. Some have attributed its origin to Plotinus, who was not a Christian. Abenhazar, the theologian of Cordova, admits the possibility of God being seen by a power identical with our bodily vision, but is inclined to attribute it to a sixth sense. Others ascribe the belief to a Persian origin. The main difference between Dante and Abenarabi is that the first assigns the different degrees of the Vision to a greater or less degree of love, whereas the other awards it to a clearer or more powerful intellect. But in each case the

enjoyment of the Vision is proportionate to the capacity which the soul has for receiving it, so that each one is perfectly contented and happy, having all the happiness which he is capable of feeling. Also in Abenarabi's view the element of love is not entirely absent, and with Dante to love is also to know.

In Dante God appears as a luminous point surrounded by concentric circles formed by rows of angels. Abenarabi has the same idea, especially in his description of the Last Judgment, where the angels descend from Heaven in seven huge circular concentric lines, surrounding the Divinity which forms the geometrical centre of the group. Dante describes his vision of the Trinity in language which he intends to be mysterious. He says that in the substance of the Divine Light, which is at once profound and clear, he sees three circles, each of a different colour, but of the same size. Two of them are reflected from each other as in a double rainbow, while the third circle seems to be a fire which proceeds equally from both. Abenarabi speaks of God as a circle of white light on a ground of red, with emanations of many intersecting circles, all really of the same substance as God, and eventually representing the three principal emanations of the absolute: first the spiritual matter, which contains the root and origin of all things which are other than God; secondly, the universal intellect by which the illumination of the Divine Light gives objective reality to the beings which in the spirit are only potential; and, thirdly, the universal soul which emanates from the One but passes through and is influenced by the intellect. This triad of substances, when joined together, represent to Abenarabi the essence of God.

Thus we see that the Murcian Abenarabi, twenty-five years before Dante was born, made drawings of the world beyond the grave in a circular or spherical form which represents to him the principle of the Universe; Dante, eighty years later, gives a description of these regions which commentators can only represent by drawings similar to those of Abenarabi. It seems unlikely that

Dante should not have known of their existence. We find in Abenarabi a prototype of limbo, another of hell, a sketch of Purgatory, a parallel of the Earthly Paradise, and finally the seven or eight circles of Heaven and the Tree of Happiness, together with something which resembles the Mystic Rose of Dante. We also find Jerusalem the centre of the world, with hell directly beneath it; Lucifer, like Iblis, imprisoned in the centre of the earth, by whom Dante passes to the home of God and the Elect, with the same number of mansions in which the wicked are punished according to their deserts, their punishments increasing as they descend, whereas in Heaven happiness becomes more vivid by ascension.

If it is apparent that these similarities are real and not fanciful and that Dante was acquainted with the Mohammedan eschatologies when he composed the *Divina Commedia*, we may inquire how he came to know them and what communication there was between Islam and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Islam, having conquered the territories which bordered upon the peninsula of Arabia, extended rapidly through the North of Africa, Spain, the South of France and Italy, occupying also the Balearic Islands and Sicily. The contact between the two civilizations was rapid and constant. From the Eighth Century of the Christian era, for more than three hundred years, there was an active commerce between the Mohammedans and the Russians, Scandinavians, Germans and Anglo-Saxons, by means of regular expeditions which, setting out from the Caspian, crossed Russia and following the course of the Volga came to the Gulf of Finland, and returned by way of the Baltic, Denmark, and the British Isles. We find large quantities of Arabian coins in these countries dating before the Eleventh Century. They went even further than this, and reached Egypt and Syria. Benjamin of Tudela, in the Twelfth Century, shows how Mussulman merchandise was found in the bazaars of Montpelier, Constantinople, and Alexandria. Also European pilgrims became early acquainted with Jerusalem, and lived for years amongst Moslems.

Hospices, monasteries and churches were founded in the Holy Land, and the intercourse became more common in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries. In the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries a consequence of the Crusades was that the Orient had a singular attraction for those who took part in them, and when the Dominican and Franciscan friars undertook missions to the East they were obliged to study the language and the religious literature of those whom they desired to convert.

The Vikings of Norway also raided the coasts of France, Galicia, Moslem Spain, Southern Italy and Sicily, making many permanent settlements. In this way French, Swedes, Norsemen, English, and Bretons came into contact with the populations of Spain and Sicily, where the Normans were afterwards permanently settled. Thus there arose a mixture of races, religions and languages. At the court of the Norman, Roger I, at Palermo, two or three languages were spoken and two or three religions were practised, so that Moslem writers and men of learning lived at the court side by side with the clerics and nobles of Italy and France. The King wore an Eastern dress, kept a harem in the Moslem fashion, and sat under a huge umbrella like the caliphs of Egypt. His ministers and astrologers were Mussulmans; he spoke and wrote Arabic, which was the language of his Chancery. The women adopted Eastern dress and customs. A Mohammedan university was founded, Mohammedan professors, historians, and poets were held in honour. These habits reached their culmination under the Emperor Frederick II, called the *Stupor Mundi*, the marvel of the world, a philosopher, a free-thinker and a polyglot, who surrounded himself with Mussulmans in the labours of peace and war, took them with him in all his journeys, kept them as his fellow-workers in study, and as the ministers of his court. A man of keen intellectual interests, he sought the company of the ablest and most learned persons he could find. Frederick II founded the University of Naples in 1224. It contained a library of Arabic manuscripts. He had

the works of Aristotle and Averroes translated, and sent copies to Paris and Bologna; he invited Jewish and Moslem philosophers, astrologers and mathematicians to his court, and submitted to them questions of logic, metaphysics, psychology and theology. He surrounded himself with Arabian poets whom he paid highly, and there is no doubt that they had a great influence over the Sicilian Trovatori. Sicily became a focus of Arabian culture, not inferior to Spain. Mussulman society, hybrid in its culture, motley in its origin, language and religion, was a source of western civilization which attracted the attention of European Christians, teaching them much which they did not know but desired to learn. Marriages between the two races were not infrequent even in the royal family. Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo, favoured the translation of Arabian books of science and learning. The works of Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy and Galen, which had been translated into Arabic, were now reproduced in Castilian. Alfonso the Wise, who from his youth had lived in an environment of Semitic culture, undertook, when he ascended the throne, the direction of these translations to make them more complete and systematic. Murcia and Seville became, after their conquest by the Spaniards, the centre of philosophic and literary schools, vying with each other for pre-eminence. Complete religious toleration was practised and the most distinguished philosophers of Islam could discuss freely with the doctors of the Catholic Church.

In this way the legends of the other world, which were popular among the Moslems of Africa, Sicily and Spain, may easily have penetrated even to remote parts of Christian Europe. These legends received a more definite form from being connected with the miraculous journey of Mohammed. The belief in this journey is based on a single passage of the Koran, which says, " Praised be the Lord who made his servant Mohammed travel during the night from the Holy Temple to the distant Temple " (that is, from Mecca to Jerusalem) " to

make him see new marvels." In the *History of the Arabs*, published in a Spanish translation by Alfonso the Wise, between 1260 and 1268, the very time of Dante's birth, we find the following account of what occurred. Mohammed travelled on his horse, Borak, to Jerusalem, he prayed in the temple with the prophets, he opened there three vessels of wine, water, and milk. He ascended with Gabriel to the first Heaven, he asked the guardian angel of hell to show him the fire. He meets Adam with good and bad souls. He sees the punishment of ungrateful wives, who are condemned to eat flesh which had died a natural death. He ascends through the heavens up to the seventh and in them he meets the Prophet Jesus with John, Joseph, Aaron, Moses and Abraham. Entering Paradise, he meets the affianced bride of Zeid, son of Haritro. Gabriel presents him to God, who reveals to him the precept of the fifty daily prayers. By the advice of Moses, he asks that they may be reduced to five, which is agreed to! These stories were known to San Pedro Pascual, Bishop of Jaen, who was born at Valencia in 1227, forty years before Dante. He was a member of the Order of Mercy, and, to further its welfare, travelled to Rome, where he attracted the attention of Pope Nicholas IV. He visited Paris, and was made Bishop of Jaen in 1296. In the following year he was captured by the Moors, and suffered martyrdom in 1300, spending the time of his imprisonment in writing a book against Islam, which showed a complete knowledge of these stories. He also wrote a life of Mohammed, as he was conversant with the Arabic language. He was sent by the Guelfs of Florence to the Court of Alfonso the Wise, to ask him to defend them against the Ghibellines, who were led by Manfred, King of Sicily. This embassy took place in 1260, five years before Dante's birth, and is mentioned in the opening lines of the *Tesoretto*. In this manner Brunetto Latini could have become acquainted with the account of the ascension of Mohammed to Heaven, and could have communicated the legends to his pupil, Dante. In this way Dante could easily have

become acquainted with them. It would indeed have been strange if Dante had not known of them. He was master of all the learning of his time, and may be compared in this respect with Roger Bacon and Raymond Lully.

Dante, in the *Divina Commedia*, treats the teachers of Islam with moderation. He places Averroes and Avicenna in Limbo and, if he condemns Mohammed to hell, it is as a disseminator of discord, with Fra Dolcino, Pietro da Medicina, Mosca de' Lamberti and Bertrand de Born. In the *Convito*, Dante mentions by name a number of Arabian astronomers and philosophers. Siger of Brabant, whom Dante places in Paradise in the sphere of the Sun as one of the chief Doctors of the Spiriti Spienyi, was conspicuous as a lecturer on Averroes. He was tried by the Dominicans on a charge of heresy, was excommunicated, and either executed or assassinated. It has been shown by later Dante scholars that Dante was influenced in many ways by the Neoplatonic philosophy made known to the Western world by the Arabians, as he was by Thomas Aquinas.

Thus the earlier Renaissance in Italy, at the head of which Dante stands, was produced quite as much by Mohammedan as by Christian influence. We underrate its power because the destruction of the intellectual vigour of the Arabs by the successive invasions of the Mongols, and especially by the Turks, makes us forget that there was a time when the force of Islamic culture and learning was incomparably superior to that of its rival in southern Europe. The Emperor Frederick II and his son Manfred chose their friends and counsellors among their Mohammedan subjects, because they were the most congenial and useful that they could find. What the Arabs have done once they may do again, and our own age, which has secured their liberation from the Mongols, and has brought them into connection with modern thought, may see them produce results both in mind and action of which we have now no idea.

OSCAR BROWNING.

THE UNIATES

A UNIATE is a Catholic who uses one of the Eastern rites. This definition is not quite scientific: it is the result of historical development. If we are to distinguish groups of Catholics by the rites they use, it would seem that the reasonable course would be to put the great Roman rite on one side and then, if need be, classify all the others as Uniate. In this sense the faithful of Milan and the Mozarabic families in Spain would be Uniates. But they are not generally so called. Although these have their own rites, they are small groups in the West, and they are so bound up with the West in everything else, that everyone includes them with people of the Roman rite as Latins. Yet language used in church is the worst basis of distinction possible. We should arrive at a far better distinction, indeed at the best of all, if we thought neither of rite nor of language nor of geographical position, but of *Patriarchate*. On this basis we should then say that every Catholic who is not a member of the Roman Patriachate is a Uniate. Yet this will not do either. The Italo-Greeks are, always have been, of the Roman Patriarchate ; yet because they use the Byzantine rite they are counted as Uniates. Nothing remains but the unsatisfactory definition given above.

Better still, since the basis of classification here is so vague, instead of an attempt to define what Uniates are, let us draw up a list of them. There are four great groups, some of these sub-divided. There is the very large group that use the Byzantine rites, in various languages. The only name for all of these seems to be *Byzantine Uniates*. There is no special bond between them, except the bare fact that they all have the same rite ; they include the Melkites of Syria and Egypt, the Ruthenians, Italo-Greeks, a few who use Greek round Constantinople, Rumanians and Bulgars. These groups have no common authority over them, except, of course, the common authority over all Catholics, namely, the Holy See. The next main group is that of the *Chaldees*, Catholics con-

verted from the Nestorian heresy, who have their own rite and a Patriarch of Babylon at Mosul. Third come a combined group of all who were once *Monophysites.* Here again we have no common bond except that authority. In this group come Syrian Catholics, Catholic Copts, those of Malabar, the Uniate Armenians and the small beginning of a Uniate Abyssinian Church. The fourth group is clearly defined and homogeneous, the *Maronite* Church, descendant of the old Monothelete schism in the Lebanon (though no Maronite would ever admit this), now all Catholic, the most loyal outpost of Catholic unity in the East. These are the people, of many tongues and many rites, scattered more or less over the world (including many in America), whom we call Uniates.

The word Uniate is not an old one, nor can it be defended on philological principles. It is not Latin (*unitus* is Latin) ; it is from the Russian *uniyatu*, a corrupt word first used for the Little Russians who were converted to the Catholic Church at the Synod of Brest in 1595, the people whom generally we call Ruthenians. The name *uniyatu* became well known through centuries of conflict and then of ferocious persecution by the Russian Government. Spreading out from that one case, it is now the usual name, in French and English, for all Catholics of Eastern rites. Before the arrival of *uniate* from Russia there was still no name in general for these people, and hardly the idea of arranging them in a special group. Even now it is purely a negative concept ; to be a Uniate you must be a Catholic (that is not negative, of course), and you must not be of the Roman or other Western rite. There is no connection between the various Uniate Churches, other than the common bond they share with Latins, as members of the one Church. A Melkite has really no more to do with a Catholic Armenian than he has with a Latin.

Why, then, do we classify all these Eastern people together at all ? They are Catholics, of course; we are all that, so long as we are in communion with the Holy

See; but why make these two divisions of Catholics, Latins and Uniates? The answer to this brings us to the root of the matter. There is no reason in principle for a twofold distinction. There would be good reason for distinguishing into as many groups as there are rites; but why "Uniates" as, more or less, one class, on the sole basis of not being Latin? This is the result not of any principle of theology or canon law, but of the accidents of historical development. The old grouping was by the five Patriarchates—three at first, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. Then Chalcedon added Jerusalem, and practically added Constantinople too.* So we get the five, in the order recognized in the West too, at least since the thirteenth century: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. Though grievously overladen by further complications, the order of five Patriarchates is behind our present division into rites. The Roman Patriarchate, roughly, forms the group of Latins; the other four together are the Uniates. Why Rome alone on one side? Only because the Roman Patriarchate and the Roman rite have become so much the preponderating element in the Catholic Church that people have come to look upon these as the normal condition of Catholics; so that to belong to any of the others seems like an exception. We can see how such an idea would arise inevitably. The Roman Patriarchate now is by far the greatest. It is about forty times as big as all the others put together. It is also by far the most flourishing.† This was not so in the beginning. At the time of Nicaea I, the Pope, apart from his position as visible Head of all, had not the best, but the least prosperous Patriarchate for himself. In

* It is not easy to say exactly when the See of Constantinople became patriarchal. The Synod of 381 (can. 3) professed to give the second rank (after Rome) to CP; but its canons were not recognized at Rome nor in the West. The 28th canon of Chalcedon gave great powers to CP; but this, too, was not admitted by the Pope; far-reaching rights were claimed by the Bishops of CP for centuries before they were acknowledged in the West. (CP = Constantinople.)

† The Roman rite has also the advantage that it is used by the chief bishop of all. This inevitably gives it special honour. But the Pope must use some rite. Since Peter set up his throne at Rome, his successor there naturally is Roman.

those days Alexandria had all the fat land of Egypt, teeming with loyal bishops and zealous monks, the richest province of the Empire. Antioch had all the rest of the East, then without comparison the most Christian part of the world. The great centres of Christianity, the fine churches, flourishing monasteries, learned bishops, theological centres were all in the East, in Egypt, Syria, the Balkans. These were the best provinces, as well the first converted. The Roman Pontiff for his Patriarchate had Italy, Africa, a good land but not to be compared with Egypt or Syria, and then only wild forests where savage, still heathen tribes wandered, lands of no use then to any Christian bishop, whence the barbarians already began to pour over the civilized parts of the Empire. In those days no Eastern bishop could envy the Roman Patriarch his uncouth, unconverted people. Then all this changed, and Western Europe gradually became the more civilized half. To a great extent the change was due to the Roman Patriarchs themselves, and to the apathy of Eastern bishops. Without envying their Eastern brothers for their more flourishing domains, the Popes set to work to convert and civilize their own inheritance. They sent out their missionaries from Rome; forests were cleared, the savages were converted, taught to read, even in some cases to write, in Latin; monasteries arose, then cities, where once wild tribes had barely defended themselves against the wolves. So the Western barbarians became the great Christian nations of Europe. While Rome was converting our fathers, the East was sinking into stagnation. Most of the fault is due to the Eastern bishops. They, too, had wild savages at their doors. Why did not they convert and civilize them? There was the conversion of the Slavs, of course; and since then the Russian Church has shown some missionary zeal. Yet, compared with the Papacy, the Eastern half of the Church showed very little care for the pagans at her doors. How different the whole development of history might have been if a great Christian Church had been built up among the Arabs before Mohammed was born. There were bishops

all around, in Syria, Egypt, at Bosra. They allowed these savages to remain heathen, while they quarrelled over abstruse questions of theology and intrigued for the Emperor's favour at court. Their illusion about the unchangeable splendour of the Roman court on the Bosphorus, the invariable Eastern idea that nothing could ever alter the position of their Empire as the centre of the world, the complacency with themselves that is typical of all Byzantine history, these things were mighty factors in the decay of the East, while the despised West was educating itself to become the dominant element in Europe. Then, just when the West had become strong enough to carry on the Christian tradition, Islam came and swept all the East away. The colonies, too, helped to increase the power of the Roman Patriarchate. If these colonies had been founded by Greeks or Syrians they would have been counted to the Eastern Patriarchs. But America, Australia, South Africa and the others were built up by Western Europeans. So, as far as they are Catholic, they are added to the Western Patriarchate.

Finally, schism tore away nearly all the East from the Church. Not quite all over ; yet what remains Catholic is a small remnant compared with all that has been lost.

Not by any aggressive desire of the Roman Patriarch, but by the natural development of things the Roman Patriarchate has become enormously the preponderating factor in the Catholic Church, so much so that it is even possible for Catholics over here to forget that there are Catholics of other rites in the East, and to talk as if all were Latins. This is, of course, a gross error. It is an error of fact, perhaps even more a deplorable error of principle. If really the Catholic Church were confined to the Western Patriarchate, there would be some excuse for the Protestant idea that the Church herself is divided. It would then seem as if the schism between East and West were the splitting of one body into two, it would be difficult for us to maintain that one-half were the whole. But this is not the case, happily. What is true is that in both East and West schism has torn away millions from Catholic

unity. If they over there have lost the Nestorians, the Monophysites and the Orthodox, we on our side have lost the Protestants. Yet in both halves the old Catholic Church remains, woefully diminished in numbers on both sides of the Adriatic, more diminished yonder than on our side, but the old Church still on either side.

In this way the Uniates are almost vital to our position*; they save the situation from the Catholic point of view, and prevent what would be a difficult thing to defend, namely, if the whole Church were now reduced to one Patriarchate. They are comparatively a small group (not so very small really, between seven and ten millions); so there are people who think of them as an exception, as something rather anomalous, as half-way between Catholics and schismatics—so inveterate among some Latins is the Byzantine arrogance of thinking our rite to be the only quite correct one. The Uniates are not an exception. The idea is as absurd as if they thought us queer and not quite Catholic folk, because we say our prayers in Latin. In the old days such absurdity as to consider one rite essential was not possible, because then the balance was more equal between the Patriarchates. Does anyone think St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom only semi-Catholics, or people whose position needs apology? The Uniates are the children, the legitimate successors, of those great men. Their pedigree takes them back to the most brilliant names and the most flourishing elements in the Church, at the time when our fathers painted their naked bodies and worshipped Wodan in dark forests. Like Athanasius and Basil, like the Gregories, Chrysostom and John of Damascus, the modern Uniates are joined in unquestioned communion with the Catholic Church, like those Fathers they recognize the Roman Patriarch as chief of his brethren and visible Head of the Church on earth; like them they use their own venerable

* Not quite really, because the Church would still be the Church of Christ, and Catholic essentially, even if it were reduced to a few hundreds in one country. It was a very small body on the first Whitsunday, and a local body, at any rate before all those Parthians and Medes and people heard the wonderful works of God. Yet it was already the Catholic Church.

rites, have their own customs, their own canon law.

Uniformity of rite and in local customs has never been the ideal of the Catholic Church; though it seems still possible for the more uneducated controversialist to say so.* A very slight knowledge of the facts will show that the exact contrary of this is true. The Popes have been very stern, very uncompromising when the faith was concerned. Unity in everything that is of faith has always been their unswerving principle. But, once that is secured, the entire indifference of the Holy See as to the language in which a man says his prayers, the rite he uses, is surprising. Far from demanding uniformity in rite, the Popes have been the only Patriarchs who have never cared about this matter at all. While others rigidly enforced uniformity, while Constantinople crushed every other rite in the Orthodox Church, to impose her own late one on all, while even the Anglicans in Scotland drove out the Scotch Protestant liturgy, the Popes alone were content to leave this matter alone. In the great controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries Rome was stern beyond measure in her refusal to accept communion with anyone on an ambiguous formula of the faith; she would have nothing of the Henotikon nor the Typos. But when does one hear of any Pope demanding uniformity in rite from anyone in the East? Let these bishops be Catholic in faith, that is all the Popes ever cared about. Before Charles the Great, in the heart of their own Patriarchate they allowed the Gallican rite with perfect indifference. It was not Rome but the policy of the Emperor that substituted eventually the Roman rite in Gaul. When St. Augustine converted the English he wrote to Pope Gregory, asking what rite his new converts were to use. Here was a splendid chance of imposing that of Rome, if Rome cared for such things. The new Church of the English was Roman in her birth, she would be united to Rome by the strongest ties of filial reverence. If any-

* Dr. P. Dearmer, *Rome and Reunion* (2nd edn., Mowbray, 1911), p. 37: "The Roman Church has rushed to her decline . . . by enforcing uniformity in her borders with an iron hand."

where it would seem that here the Roman rite should be imposed. Yet so entirely indifferent about uniformity is St. Gregory that he tells Augustine to adopt any liturgical customs he thought suitable, from Gaul or Rome, or anywhere.* Instead of the Pope insisting on uniformity in rite, he is the only Head of a Church who does not do so.† Since the schism, on every occasion that has occurred, Popes have repeated their assurance of perfect respect for the venerable rites of the East and their indignant denial of any wish to make all Catholics conform to Rome in matters of liturgy. Already before Photius many Greeks, chiefly monks, fled to Italy, to escape the Iconoclast persecution. No Latin bishop made the slightest attempt to persuade them to change their rite, though they were now living in the centre of the Roman Patriarchate. Pope Nicholas I writes to Photius to say that he has no kind of objection to people using different rites, so long as there be nothing in them opposed to the holy canons.‡ No Pope since has wavered from that position. Cerularius showed, of course, the other attitude, the intolerance of foreign custom always characteristic of the Eastern schismatics, of the Orthodox Church to-day. In 1053 he shut up the chapels of the Western foreigners at Constantinople and told them to conform to the Byzantine use. Leo IX writes to him: "Since both within and without Rome many monasteries and churches of the Greeks are found, none of them has been disturbed or hindered in the tradition of their fathers or their customs; but rather they are advised

* Greg. I, ep. xi, 64 (P.L. lxxvii, 1187).

† The toleration of different rites is not affected by another principle, namely that, *where the Roman rite is used*, the Holy See desires that it be used correctly and kept pure, in its present state. It is probably decisions of the *Congr. s. rituum* against corruptions of the Roman liturgy that have led to the common Protestant error, that Rome wants uniformity. But this is a different principle altogether, obviously a sound one, whatever rite is used. The same principle has led to the restoration of the pure Byzantine rite (without Roman infiltrations) at Grottaferrata. In publishing the missal of 1570 Pius V formally allowed the continuation of any other uses that had a prescription of 200 years (Bull *Quo primum*, still printed at the beginning of every missal). No other ecclesiastical authority ever made so tolerant a concession.

‡ Nicol. I, ep. xii (P.L. cxix, 789).

and encouraged to keep these."* Again the typical attitude of either side in the controversy. While the Greeks were raging against our rite and our customs,† Dominic of Gradus and Aquileia writes to Peter of Antioch, not to retort a single word against their use, but to protest that we look upon it with all reverence and have no complaint of any kind against it.‡ The Lateran Council in 1215 declares that the Holy See will " cherish and honour their customs and rites, as much as with God's help we are able."§ Florence repeats the same thing.‖ A long line of Popes have said so in the plainest words: Honorius V, Innocent IV, Nicholas III, Leo X, Clement VII, Pius IV, Gregory XIII, Clement VI, Paul V,¶ one after another, repeat that they have not the slightest wish to disturb any Catholic of an Eastern rite in his full, perfect, unquestioned use of the liturgical customs of his fathers. Sometimes Popes have shown an even meticulous scruple in this matter. Benedict XIII refused to sanction the acts of the Ruthenian Synod of Zamosc, in 1720, until they had inserted a special clause that nothing should be allowed to injure their original rite.** Most of all Benedict XIV stands out as the great protector of the Uniates. Three of his bulls are all about this.†† In each he points to the particular care which the Holy See has always shown for the Eastern rites, and makes new laws for their protection. Pius IX again repeated the same principles and founded a special Congregation

* C. Will, *Acta et scripta de controu. eccl. gr. et lat.* (Leipzig, 1861), p. 81.

† To call the holy Eucharist consecrated by Latins " dry mud " is a typical example of Byzantine indecency (Will, *op. cit.*, p. 105). Cerularius curses our rite all through the controversy. His chancellor broke open the tabernacle of the Papal Legate's chapel at CP and trampled on the Blessed Sacrament, because it had been consecrated in another rite (*ibid.*, pp. 104-5).

‡ Will, *op. cit.*, p. 207. § Cap. iv (Mansi, xxii, 989).

‖ Mansi, xxxi, 1031.

¶ I am quoting the pronouncements of these Popes in my book on the Uniate Churches. Meanwhile reference to most of them will be found in the encyclical *Allatae sunt* of Benedict XIV (July 26th, 1755), §§ 13-16.

** Decree of Propaganda, March 4th, 1724 (*Synodus prouin. ruthenorum hab. in ciu. Zamosciae*, Romae, Typogr. S.C. de Prop. fid. ed. 3, 1883, p. ix). All the same, there are some points in which Zamosc latinizes.

†† *Etsi pastoralis* (May 26th, 1742) for the Italo-Greeks, *Demandatam caelitus* (Dec. 24th, 1743) for Melkites, *Allatae sunt* (July 26th, 1743) for Latin missionaries in the East.

for Eastern rites.* Leo XIII went out of his way, over and over again, to insist on the principles of his predecessors in this matter. His Constitution *Orientalium dignitas*† is all about it; here once more he explains at length that the ideal of the Catholic Church has never been mechanical uniformity, but agreement in faith, while each part keeps its own customs. He repeats the statement of Benedict XIV, that Latin missionaries to the East are sent out only to be helpers and supports to the Eastern Catholic Patriarchs and bishops, not in any way to prejudice the rights of the Eastern Churches. Finally he inflicts suspension *a divinis* and other penalties on any Latin priest who shall persuade an Eastern Christian to adopt the Latin rite. Moreover, this law is to be put up in the sacristy of every Latin church in the East, where I have seen it facing me whenever I vested for Mass in those churches. And the present Pope has taken a great step in forming the Congregation for the Eastern Church, now separate from Propaganda, and in organizing at Rome systematic study, on the most sympathetic lines, of the rites, customs and history of Eastern Christendom. Rome was always the one place in the West where they did know a great deal about the East and Eastern Christendom. Never before has there been so great an interest in these, even at Rome, as there is now.

All sly policy, says the schismatic and the Protestant. All this pretence of caring for their rites is only a trap to catch converts; then, as soon as it seems safe, Rome will begin her nefarious policy of latinizing them. It is, of course, always possible to represent anything a Pope says as sly policy. But we need something more than bare assertion before we accuse generations of Popes during twelve centuries of wilful deception. These stern laws against interfering with Eastern rites, these precautions, with threats of punishment, are addressed to Latin missionaries in the East. Are we to suppose that all this

* Epiphany, 1862; at first a branch of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* (this mistake is now corrected).

† Nov. 30th, 1894.

is just pretence, to deceive the Eastern people, that one Pope after another has joined in a conspiracy of humbug, and has made laws that he did not really intend his subjects to keep ? Before suspecting so many great Popes, people should first ask themselves what Rome has to gain if she did try to latinize the Eastern Churches. If there were any question of our rite being driven out or diminished by dangerous opposition of others, then perhaps we could understand that the Roman authorities would wish to repress that opposition. But that idea is absurd. Reigning in unquestioned superiority throughout the five continents, used by the enormous majority of Catholics all over the world, what has the mighty Roman rite to fear from the small, the all too small, remnants of the other ancient liturgies in the Church ? Or is the idea that the Pope would gain in authority or dignity by making all Catholics conform to his own use ? On the contrary, the willing loyalty of people of other rites, whole-hearted recognition of his Primacy by those who do not follow his rite, who belong to other Patriarchates, is just the triumphant vindication of his claim. There is one case which disposes finally of the idea that protection of Eastern rites by the Popes is not sincere, the case of the Italo-Greeks. Here at least there might seem to be every excuse for latinizing. The Italo-Greeks do not live in the East, they are members of the Roman Patriarchate ; so on good canonical precedent they might well have been told long ago to accept the rite of their Patriarch. Nor had anyone any interest in maintaining their Byzantine liturgy. Scattered, isolated among Latins, the Italo-Greeks are helpless in face of the overwhelming superiority of their Roman neighbours. Their particular use leads to many difficulties; it requires ordination of special bishops for them, it by no means pleases the Latin Ordinaries of Southern Italy and Sicily. Ages ago the whole business of the Byzantine rite in Italy might easily have disappeared, with every appearance of reason, since they live right under the shadow of Rome, with no protest from anyone in the East, since the East hardly

knew, and troubled not at all, about these distant Italians. Such an anomaly as this would have been wiped out centuries ago, if it had occurred in the Orthodox Church. There has been a long story of disputes between the Italo-Greeks and their Latin neighbours, the Latin bishops have often wanted to latinize them—naturally, for what Ordinary would like to have groups of people, more or less independent of his authority, scattered throughout his diocese? Sometimes even the Italo-Greeks themselves, weary of a long struggle, pained to be still strangers in the land, have wanted to be latinized. All through that story, against the suggestions of the Latin bishops, sometimes against the wish of the people themselves, the unswerving champion of the Byzantine rite in Italy has been the Pope. Over and over again Popes have reprimanded Italian bishops, sometimes very sharply, for trying to latinize Italo-Greeks. Over and over again they have told the Italo-Greeks that they are not to turn Latin, but are to keep the rite of their fathers and practise it pure, unspoilt by Roman infiltrations.* In spite of all, there were Roman infiltrations, almost inevitable among people so long separated from their brothers in the East and surrounded by a huge majority of Latins. Did the Roman authorities encourage this? For a time, partly through carelessness, partly from a misunderstanding or natural suspicion of what they did not understand, the officials of Propaganda allowed, perhaps even rather encouraged, not that the Italo-Greeks should turn Latin, but Latin influence in their rite.† All that tendency has gone now. Grottaferrata at one time was badly latinized.

* Examples may be seen throughout P. Pompilio Rodotà: *Dell' origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia*, 3 vols., 4to, Rome, 1758. A typical case of a Latin bishop who got into trouble for trying to latinize Italo-Greeks is Annibale d'Afflitto, Archbishop of Reggio (1594-1638). His life, and the story of his bad latinizing habits, is told by Canon G. Minasi: *Vita di Annibale d'Afflitto*, Naples, Lanciano e Pinto, 1898. See also Rodotà, I, 407-10.

† There is a difference here that should not be forgotten. I do not find that the Roman authorities (Propaganda mainly) ever showed the slightest desire to make any Uniates forsake their own rite and adopt that of Rome. But there was once a tendency to let them modify their rites by supposed improvements from the West.

Now the monks have gone back to the pure unadulterated use of the Byzantine rite, so that nowhere in the world may you see it so perfectly carried out as there, within sight of the walls of Rome. And no one was more pleased at this than the Pope himself. That return to the pure Byzantine rite took place with the active encouragement and blessing of Leo XIII.

It is true that, in general, there was once a tendency to spoil the Eastern rites among the Uniates by Romanizing changes. This was often due to the Uniates themselves, who copied uncritically the practices of their powerful Latin fellow-Catholics. In Italy the local Ordinaries sometimes encouraged this. Even the Roman authorities, at a time when historic liturgy was not much studied, tampered too much with practices that they suspected (unnecessarily) of implying heresy. Certainly the liturgical books of some Uniates (notably of the Chaldees and Armenians), have been too much changed. But all this is over now. The tide has set strongly in the other direction. Now there are plenty of enthusiastic students of Eastern rites at Rome; the tendency now is rather horror at the idea of corrupting one rite by infiltrations from another. Among the Uniates themselves, among their Latin friends, among the officials of the Congregation for the Eastern Church, the cry is all in favour of preserving the historic character and the purity of Eastern liturgies. No one wants to latinize them now. What is coming is rather a further revision of their books, in the direction of expelling Latin accretions; and the idea of destroying their rites to make them Latins is considered shocking.

The Uniates are the aristocracy of the Christian East, and the best champions of Catholic principles in the world.

That they are the aristocracy of the East will not surprise a Catholic, since they have the grace of the faith. But, apart from supernatural motives, we can see that it must be so. The schismatic Eastern Christians have no outlet from their own, often pitiful, little sects. They

batten on themselves, and know hardly anything of the enormously more advanced West. It is true that in this matter the Orthodox are much better off than the others. Russia has always had its theologians and well-equipped theological schools. Many Greeks come to study in the West; though most of them go to German Protestant Universities. But the other schismatics are in a pitiful plight. Their clergy have hardly any education at all, except enough to read (in Egypt without understanding) their service-books. Most of them know nothing of any theology; their moral standard is often deplorably low. They have no authority over them, except themselves—bishops and a Patriarch who are products of the same environment. The Uniates have the enormous advantage of training in colleges admirably equipped and directed by excellent Western masters. Their clergy have been through the same systematic course of theology as Latins, they study our theological works. All know Latin, most know French. It is obvious what an advantage this must be to any man's education. How can he study theology properly, when he has no language but Arabic, Armenian, or Serb, and perhaps a little Greek? Their moral tone is kept high by constant Roman direction and supervision.

Of course it is possible to say that Western methods and Western education are not the best for Eastern people. Certainly unconsidered, clumsy Frenchifying of Easterns would not be good for them. But our Catholic colleges over there are very much on their guard against this. Their system, now at least, is to give Arabic, Greek, Slav boys, as far as possible, the advantages of Western methods, efficient Western books, while yet scrupulously guarding the native customs. It would be difficult for anyone to deny that, if a man is to study theology, languages, physical science, anything, he will do so better in a school directed by competent Frenchmen than in one that has no outlet beyond native Arabic teachers and books. The difference is seen when one meets the people. It is simply enormous. If you talk to a Uniate layman, you will generally find him on the level of a moderately

educated Frenchman. Probably he will have spent years in a French school; he will talk French and will take an intelligent interest in what is going on in the world. A Uniate priest has received his theological training at Beirut, Mosul, Jerusalem, or maybe at Propaganda or Saint-Sulpice. He will have sound, maybe rather old-fashioned, knowledge of the controversies between Catholics and schismatics. Then go to a schismatic house. It is like another world. The layman knows nothing but what he has learned in some wretched little Arabic text-book; the priests know nothing about any kind of theology at all. I have found that often they do not even know what is the difference between them and the Latins. They never preach; they can just go through the forms of their services (and they understand nothing about even these); they have no sort of interest in their profession. It is just a poorly paid trade, to marry, bury, baptize and celebrate the liturgy. They do this perfunctorily; and most of them earn their living by doing a layman's work during the week. In Cyprus I saw priests earning their living by bricklaying. The difference is colossal. With a Uniate any Western European will feel that he is with a perhaps not very advanced fellow-European. With most of the others the impression is that of what people used to call a "native," a being so different that one hardly knows how to talk with him.*

And the Uniates are the chief, the most deserving champions of the Catholic position and of the Papacy in the world. It is easy for us Westerns to stand up for the Pope; he is our Patriarch, his cause over there is ours. Too much already have these quarrels seemed to be quarrels between East and West. Naturally we are for

* It is fair again to point out that the Orthodox are considerably above the others, though not nearly so well educated as the Uniates. At the Holy Cross school near Jerusalem (the Orth. seminary for Palestine) I found them studying their own Church music from Père Rebours' book for the Uniates. Nor is the inferiority of the others stated as a reproach; it is easily understood and excused. All honour to people who have kept the faith of Christ under such difficulties. Only let it be recognized that the Uniates, far from being a contemptible little sect of hybrids, are intellectually and morally the aristocracy of the East.

the West. But the Uniates are Easterns. They stand for the cause of the Pope on the purest Catholic principle only. To them he is a foreigner. They are naturally much nearer their schismatic neighbours than to Westerns. Heroically they ally themselves with us Westerns against their own kinsfolk, for the sake of Catholic unity. The recognition of the Roman Primacy is far more splendid among them than among us, to whom it is more natural and easier. Indeed, the Pope has no stauncher friends, no more splendid defenders than among these Easterns who bear the contempt of their countrymen, the sneers of Protestants, for him and for unity. Among the Fathers of the early Church we count the witness of the great Eastern bishops to the Papacy as more valuable than the witness of the Pope's own Latins. In the same way and for the same reason the witness of the Uniates is most valuable now.

To say that Latins must respect and honour the venerable rites of Eastern Catholics is to say but little. We owe them more than that. The most complete, the most generous recognition that our brothers of Eastern rites are exactly on the same level as we are, that their position needs no apology, that they have every bit as much right to their laws, their customs and liturgy as we have, ought to be obvious too. The Roman rite has no superior position in principle; it has an undefined but intelligible superiority from the fact that it is so much the most widespread, and then because it is the rite of the chief Patriarch. But it would ill beseem us Latins to remind our Eastern brothers of this. Rather, on our side, we must never forget their perfect canonical equality, the great value of their position in the Church, and their witness for Catholic unity and the Primacy, not less, greater than ours.

ADRIAN FORTESCUE.

MR. WELLS & MODERN SCIENCE

A DISTINCTION between material and spiritual facts is one that cannot be too strongly emphasized, if the possibility of a man of science remaining a Catholic is to be admitted. Some of the best scientists in the past, such as Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, Mendel, Pasteur, the three generations of Becquerels in the past, and J. Becquerel and Branly at the present day, to mention but a few who adorn the firmament of knowledge, have openly professed the Faith. The distinction, as I say, cannot be too clearly made if we are to avoid entanglements of a truly irrelevant, and perhaps irreverent nature, with which, unfortunately, the history of science and the Church so manifestly teems.

Even if man were the descendant of lower types, as seems almost certain, being attested by practically every competent man of science at the present day, although it should be admitted that a few exceptions might be cited to prove the rule; and again, if life has been evolved from apparently inanimate matter, as seems not at all impossible or, as many think, not at all improbable, though still far from certain, for we know not precisely what life is, and still less what matter is; yet the grandeur of the conception of evolution, its coherency from the scientific standpoint, and the support it gives to the continuity of Nature do not detract from, but add to, the ultimate mystery of our being, though it gives a coherency to Nature as a harmonious and consistent whole.*

The development of the individual man, from the child, the embryo, the ovum and sperm, takes not

* The theory of spontaneous generation was held by St. Gregory the Great, St. Augustine and others of the Fathers. It has never been defined, one way or the other, any more than any scientific theory bearing upon the material world. Such views have always been regarded as "pious opinions."

away from the spiritual dignity and nature of his mature faculties. Nor would or should it do so if the atom and the electron, or even the particles of the ether itself, if there be such, were to evolve into an ovum or sperm, and simpler forms of cellular life. One thing is, however, certain, and that is that the earth at one time was so hot that life as we know it could not possibly have existed thereon. That life should have been transmitted from outer space, as Helmholtz, Lord Kelvin, and Arrhenius and others have suggested, is extremely unlikely, for the ultra-violet radiation from the sun would have been sufficient to destroy it. Jean Becquerel has shown this to a high degree of probability. Life, if it was evolved, was evolved in darkness, and the recent experiments of Benjamin Moore on photosynthesis with the aid of light, only confirm the view that I have long since put forward, that the feeble radioactivity of the earth was itself the cause of the synthesis of life, without the aid of light in otherwise similar circumstances. For what light can do, the radiation from radium and such bodies can do likewise, provided the intensity be not sufficient to neutralize the effect, as in the case of solar radiation.

The belief in evolution was held by Huxley more than fifty years ago as an expectation or, as he termed it, an act of philosophical faith, based upon the continuity of Nature. (See his Presidential Address to the British Association, 1870.)

And the trend of modern thought, guided as it is, not by idle guesses but strict inductive reasoning upon facts based upon ever accumulating evidence that, in each case, is forced to pass through the critical furnace of scientific scepticism, is towards the continuity of cause and effect in the operation of nature's laws. Evolution, then, appears to be the master-key to the mysteries of the Universe in its material aspect. So much so that this view is to-day accepted as an established fact by almost every competent judge.

Darwinism, a most unhappy term, is sometimes used

to indicate the theory which Darwin actually worked out; at other times evolution generally; and again, when convenient, it is regarded as synonymous with Lamarckism, or else Neo-Darwinism, such as Weissmannism, and the later work of de Vries and Bateson.

Now Darwinism stands for evolution of species, or adaptation by natural selection and survival of the fittest through *continuous* variations of individuals. No doubt many details in this theory have been abandoned, in the light of more recent research and accurate knowledge of the facts of heredity. But natural selection still continues; the fittest still survives, although the variations are no longer *continuous*; acquired characteristics in the majority of cases are seldom transmitted, if indeed they are transmitted at all. This latter is still an open question; whilst Mendel's great work has opened up new fields of inquiry through his laws of heredity, and proved that variations are *discontinuous*. Yet the fittest still survives—that is, the best adapted to its environment; and natural selection thereby remains as one of the principal factors in evolution; in Neo-Darwinism, no less than in Darwinism itself. Indeed, Darwinism, as the Master left it, has been proved to be inadequate as such. It has been modified in the light of more enlightened knowledge. It has itself submitted to the inviolable laws of its own evolution. It has struggled with other rival theories, hypotheses, and explanations of life's modes of development. It has been sifted, and as far as possible reformed. But in this process it still to-day survives in principle, clothed in a new dress perhaps, but still alive and full of the vigour and promise of youth, which is the stamp and guarantee of the actual truth.

I say this with a full sense of the responsibility of my assertions. And in doing so, I am convinced that they are in the best interests of truth and, therefore, of Holy Church herself.

With these preliminary remarks we may turn to Mr. H. G. Wells' book, *The Outline of History*. It is

indeed a history, though, on the other hand, not perhaps in every sense or even in the best sense a history, because as in most histories the author's bias is well marked, although, however, in a different direction. It is, we believe, on the whole an honest attempt at a history, in so far as his bias is, perhaps, unconscious, and the historian does his best according to his light. He writes as an outsider in the worlds he witnesses ; like a wanderer in some great unknown city, with the inner life of whose citizens he has but a passing acquaintance, and with whose minds he has never learnt to think or properly respond with sufficient understanding. The city is the City of God ; the citizens are, in its later parts, mostly Christians. The inner life is the spiritual life of the Christian, and in particular the life and soul of the Catholic Church, with her many technicalities, practices, doctrines and beliefs which none but those within her fold can properly apprehend.

The " passing show of history," as I should call it, may be accurately described, without giving a true account of the psychological experiences of the striking figures of the crowd, or of the true laws by which the individuals are influenced and led through the maze of its unceasing undulations. To write a history of the world, indeed, that is, one that would be no more than a mere record of events, is all that the historian should aim at. To give the true psychological interpretation of the facts, with a knowledge of the laws operating in the process, might require almost omniscience, and something more than historical knowledge. But who but a Catholic could adequately describe the truly Catholic frame of mind, or understand the intellectual forces which bind Catholics together, irrespectively of the external appearances that seem to influence their conduct ? What importance did the pagan attach to the ardour of the early Christians ? Mr. Wells writes like Gibbon and Bury, as an interested spectator, but none the less as an utter outsider in the procession of those events that manifest the progress

of Christianity, and in particular Catholicism, through the dismal ages of those twenty centuries of unceasing activity and strife.

It may be said that Catholic historians have likewise erred through their predilections, by writing history from the internal rather than the external point of view. Hence, if this be true, their views of the reality are purely relative. It is of advantage, therefore, to have the recorded views of different minds, of the different perspectives of events, of the "passing show" of historical events, influenced as such views undoubtedly are by the historian's environment and respective standards of reference. *Tot homines, quot sententiae!*

Mr. Wells gives us one of these perspectives with singular lucidity, so characteristic of his facile pen. Whilst beginning with a peculiar childlike simplicity, as if he were addressing those for whom Genesis itself was presumably written, his style develops with his theme, till it reaches the ages of civilization, when his mode of expression attains, at times, indeed, the level of the culture he endeavours to describe.

Mr. Wells tries to show, as many have done before him, that "the essence of Christianity has often been lost sight of; and that the Kingdom of Heaven, which was the cardinal principle in the teaching of Christ, is the Brotherhood of mankind—sinners alike, and beloved sons alike—of the Divine Father. There are no privileges, no rebates, and no excuses in the Kingdom of Heaven; instancing the parable of the Good Samaritan; how Jesus cast scorn upon the natural tendency we all obey, to glorify our own people, and to minimize the righteousness of other creeds and other races."

There is, we fear, too great a tendency even nowadays to describe those who differ from us as "heathens," "heretics," or "apostates," without giving them due credit and consideration for the honesty and sincerity of their beliefs. And as such, we merely bring upon ourselves that contempt which we deserve as perverts

from Christianity, as taught by its Founder. This may appear a side issue, but it is a most important issue, for there are few greater culprits in this respect than many otherwise apparently well-meaning "Christians" themselves, who have wandered from the precepts and example of their Master.

It is a duty, therefore, to approach Mr. Wells' book in that honest frame of mind which is the common basis of discussion.

Here I desire to make the fundamental distinction already hinted at, that might, and, as I hope, will, once and for all clear the ground for my subsequent discourse. It is the basis of Catholic philosophy; the distinction between *essence* and *accidents*. As an instance, we learn in the doctrine of the real presence, one of the fundamental tenets of the Catholic faith, the distinction between "matter" and "form." No man of science will admit that the chemical properties of bread and wine are altered by the act of Consecration; and no Catholic who understands what is meant by transubstantiation would maintain such an absurdity. There is no transmutation of the chemical elements as such. Only the "substance," the *noumenon*, or *thing in itself*, the metaphysical *essence* underlying the phenomenon is altered. No man of science, and no Catholic, unless he is blind, would doubt that the bread and wine retain the appearance and the material properties of bread and wine; in fact, that if tested chemically they would be found to possess the chemical properties of bread and wine, and not those of flesh and blood. The percentage of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen in particular would be that of bread and wine. Starch is not converted into a nitrogenous proteid. And in this respect Huxley, who misunderstood the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, entirely misconceived the distinction. The dematerialized substance is all that is changed. The appearance or "matter" remains the same, but the "form" or substance is altered. Christ is really and truly present in "substance" as distinct from

"appearance," as manifested by the material properties of bread and wine, which are but its physical and chemical properties.*

Here, then, we have an instance of the distinction between the material and the immaterial, the natural and the supernatural essence of things, a distinction which applies to any and every Christian mystery with which we may be concerned. The Church deals with the spiritual, the immaterial, or perhaps dematerialized body; Science with the material phenomenon, its physical properties. Science with the world of experience or phenomena; Catholicism with the world beyond experience, or *noumena*, of which we know and can know nothing, except by revelation through the Church and its Founder.

The miracles of Christianity, for instance, first and foremost the Incarnation, then the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection and the Ascension, and the Life Everlasting, to mention but the chief doctrines and miracles of the Christian faith, are entirely beyond the pale of the material world, and Science deals with the material. He who believes in any one of these might, with consistency, accept the whole, and he who refuses one should, with consistency, refuse the whole.

If the scientific world to-day maintains that man was evolved from ancestors of the anthropoid apes—and the evidence for such is, as we say, admitted by the most competent judges to be overwhelming—and, accordingly, in the evolutionary series from reptiles, possibly from amphibia, and almost certainly from fishes, echinodermata, worms, back to the protista, to the most elementary forms of living matter, nay, back to the dust, to which he ultimately, as we know, in time returns, nay, even from the atoms and electrons, into which he ultimately becomes resolved: the cycle of his material history becomes complete, but it touches not, nor in the least

* The doctrine of transubstantiation was anticipated by St. Gregory of Nyssa (185-254). It was formally defined by the Church at the Lateran Council in 1215 during the pontificate of Innocent III.

affects, the dematerialized, spiritual essence of his being, of his beginning any more than of his end as a human soul, and of whose presence his own conscious personality is the revelation. For the consciousness of these facts within the material cycle, in the history of the individual or the race, affects not the grandeur and essence of his being, and as such his spiritual nature is as much above them as it is not of them.

The grand discovery of evolution marks the awakening of the race from the illusions and deceptions of its childhood. As the child on attaining the age of reason discovers his material origin from his parents, and later learns the principles of physiology, so has the human race at length, in the youth or adolescence of the Twentieth Century, finally ascertained its earthly origin through similar gradations from the limbo of apparently inanimate matter ; through the silent process of creative evolution in varying forms, the protista, worms, echinodermata, fishes, possibly amphibia, almost certainly reptiles, on to mammals ; beings akin to the anthropoid apes, the collateral types to the Pithecanthropus, the Heidelberg man, the Neanderthal types, and many others of more recent origin ; the men of the Neolithic age, down to or up to Plato, Aristotle, Newton, Leibnitz, Darwin, and the Einstein of our day.

We frequently see it stated that as *Pithecanthropus* was not an ancestor of man at all, it throws no light on man's origin. It was, in fact, a collateral branch intermediate between man and the apes, but more closely related, perhaps, to man than to the ape, and a most important link in the chain of evidence that man and ape were descended from a common ancestor. The reasoning is purely inductive. But the probability of the theory is the result of the sum total of the accumulated evidence from all sources, and must be admitted to be overwhelming, as we shall presently see.

Those who consider that Darwinism has been exploded by Mendelism betray a singular misapprehension of the

subject. What Mendel has discovered was a law of heredity by which mutations, or variations of considerable divergence, occur. The Darwinian theory of natural selection would apply to them, as well as to the slow process of variation that Darwin supposed to take place, and the time required for the process of evolution would thus be considerably diminished, removing, once for all, the serious obstacle which geologists have felt in the theory of Darwin through the cumulative effect of slight variations.

Professor Hugo de Vries, of Amsterdam, an experimental botanist of exceptional eminence, has found that the deviations from *type* biologists have assumed are, in fact, more marked as *spontaneous variations*, and that, in some cases, the deviations are so pronounced as almost to be regarded as a new or elementary species. He has designated such abrupt variations in a single generation as "mutations." Natural selection operates more rapidly in the survival of such of those as are fitted to survive in their surroundings. He has shown by numerous experiments, largely on the Evening Primrose, a common roadside weed, indigenous in North America, that through some unknown influence of the European soil the tendency to vary abruptly is much enhanced. A change, for instance, from a tall to a dwarf species may be effected in a year, instead of several centuries.

This, of course, does not account for the origin of the mutations or sports, but only for the preservation or selection of particularly adapted types. Darwin, in fact, never pretended to have discovered the origin of variations. He assumed that they were slight and cumulative, while we know to-day that they may be of considerable magnitude. They depend somehow upon some unknown properties of living matter, and are subject to the Mendelian and similar laws. Changes of nutrition are supposed to exercise a great influence in causing these mutations.

It has been found that treating the ovaries of the Evening Primrose, and the seeds of flowers generally,

can give rise to plants of different type, the difference being increased from generation to generation. Similarly by exposing the pollen of plants to the influence of radium such mutation can be produced. If the eggs of the fly known as Drosophila be thus treated, mutations result, the wings may be greatly shortened, whilst these new types breed true for many generations. In some cases, indeed, mere temperature and moisture can effect similar results with flies or beetles, although not quite so consistently, for instance, in altering the colour of the fly. The production of such mutation is irregular. Scientific researches on these lines have been carried out by Loeb, Bancroft, Tower, and others with remarkable results.

It is hardly necessary, in this respect, in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW to enter into a detailed explanation of the epoch-making discovery of Gregov Mendel. Those who are not yet acquainted with it—we do not know if Mr. Wells can be included—will find many discussions on the subject in the earlier numbers of this Review. It has been said that his place in the Temple of Fame should be side by side with that of Charles Darwin, for he has done for heredity and variation what Darwin did for the environment, as factors in the process of evolution. His painstaking and elaborate experiments with garden peas have led to most unexpected results, the discovery that certain characters have definite laws of heredity; tall or dwarf stems, or purple and white flowers, green or yellow peas, smooth or wrinkled surfaces, or smooth and hairy pods, all following the same laws when intermingled and cross-fertilized.

Bateson, Punnett, Locke, Doncaster, and others at Cambridge have shown that the law applies to animals. For instance, the colour of the eyes, the feathers of fowl, and many other characteristics all vary in the same manner.

If the ova of the flowers of a tall-stemmed pea be fertilized with the pollen of the flowers of a dwarf-stemmed pea, the peas thus produced, when sown, are

found to be all tall, and not intermediate, as might have been anticipated. When flowers of these were self-fertilized in the ordinary manner with peas, and the peas sown in their turn, it was found that the stems of this second generation followed the law of three tall and one dwarf. The dwarfs bred true, but the talls, though apparently alike outwardly, yet differed in their transmitting qualities, for one always bred true, but the other two yielded in all subsequent generations tall and small varieties in precisely the same ratio of three to one, as in the second generation.

The character that appears in the first hybrid generation was called "dominant," that is, the tall. The dwarf, which asserts itself in one to three in the second and subsequent generations, was styled "recessive."

Although a most important contribution to the study of heredity, it must not be supposed, as some imagine, that it in any way affected the Darwinian theory, or indeed the theory of evolution. On the contrary, it came as a most powerful aid to the Neo-Darwinians like de Vries, Bateson, and others, for obviously the rapidity with which natural selection would take place must be enhanced. If, when mutation occurs, cross-breeding takes place, and then, say, the "recessive" variety was best suited to the environment, then the elimination of the "dominant" variety would take place rapidly, as the recessive type would continue to breed true, whilst if the dominant variety were best adapted, then the recessive types would still be reproduced from generation to generation in the same proportion for each generation, but in ever-diminishing proportion relatively to the whole, so that the total number of dominants would generally increase.

In Mendel's experiments, the cross-fertilization was of course artificial, but in the wild state of nature with plants generally, whenever such cross-fertilization takes place, natural selection would operate on truly Darwinian lines.

There is nothing whatever about this in Mr. Wells'

book; the earlier portions, indeed, are somewhat scrappy, and the evidence for man's origin, as we have it to-day, is given with less persuasiveness than it might have been, by one who should have been acquainted with the latest advances in science. Mr. Wells relies almost entirely upon the Palæontological discoveries, which of course afford evidence of a most striking nature, although this is not as well done as it might have been, as we shall presently see. Although some space is devoted to Darwin, there is not a word about Neo-Darwinism. Neither Weissmann, nor Mendel, nor de Vries, nor Bateson on discontinuous variations and heredity appears to have attracted his attention. The blood-test method due to Professor H. F. Nuttall, of Cambridge, affording, as it does, evidence of man's relationship to the apes, is passed over as though it were unknown. And the more recent work of Keith and others on "hormones," the secretions of the pineal, pituitary, thyroid, adrenal, and the interstitial glands which affect the development and variation in higher animals, appears to have completely escaped his attention. In truth, Mr. Wells writes as if he were almost a contemporary of Huxley, Tyndall, and Father Gerrard; of the science of the Nineteenth Century, and the first few years of the Twentieth, much as a physicist who came before Röntgen, ignoring the work of the last quarter of a century.

Biological science has made great advances in the last twenty years, second in importance only to those of physical science itself. And the gigantic strides of the latter throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, perhaps the most remarkable developments of human thought during the past century, occupy no place in his History, which is supposed to close with the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

As to Professor Nuttall's blood tests, they showed that man is closely related by blood to the chimpanzee and the other tribes of anthropoid apes, such as the gorilla, the gibbon, and the orang-outang; and furthermore, that the relationship to monkeys generally of the

Old World is more marked than to those of the New World. It has been shown, moreover, that the serum of the blood of an animal represents more definitely its specific properties than do those more tangible features hitherto regarded as tests, such as its fur, and its claws, and teeth. The method consists in mixing the serum of the blood of a rabbit that has been inoculated with the blood of an animal of one species, say a cat, with the blood serum of other animals of various species, such as the lion, tiger, lynx, and others of the feline tribe. If the relationship is a close one, a precipitate is formed, owing to the presence of what are called " precipitins." Similar tests of the relationship between the cat and the dog give no result with solutions of this degree of dilution, but with a greater degree of concentration of solution they demonstrate the more distant connection that none the less exists between them through more remote ancestors. When the solution is very highly diluted, the test applies merely to animals of the same species, and admits of extension by higher and higher dilutions to those having a common parentage.

Conversely, according to the degree of dilution of the solution used, human blood can be distinguished from that of other animals, and the mixture is now actually employed as a recognized test in Medical Jurisprudence, as a ready means of detecting bloodstains. It has the advantage over other methods, that not merely fresh blood, but bloodstains many years old can be detected by this delicate and elegant means. The " precipitin " gives a conclusive chemical reaction, as decisive as any that chemists make in the analysis of arsenic, morphia, or strychnine.

Thus the methods of physical science are brought to bear upon the problems of biology, lifting it to the level of an exact science. Its applications have given unbounded support to the zoologist in proving the generic relationship between birds and reptiles, man and beast.

The question as to whether amphibians should be

classified with fishes, as Huxley is now supposed to have mistakenly done, by placing them in the comprehensive group Ichthyopida, rather than as collateral with reptiles, thus admits of a ready answer. It is now generally held that mammals and birds are descended from reptiles in the same manner that reptiles and amphibians have evolved from fishes, but that the remote ancestors of mammals were no more amphibians than they were birds, though their descent may be traced to aquatic progenitors.

If the Church should ever define any of these things, it would define them as spiritual representations of the truth, not more at variance with the material facts than the changing of water into wine, or the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Hence it is that, taking a clear and clean-cut logical view of the situation, one must dismiss from his mind any apprehension that the Church does, and, in fact, can, act as the interpreter of Nature. Her sphere is of the Spirit, and of the Spirit alone does she attest. It is true that many misguided members of the fold in the past claimed to teach what was in truth beyond their province. They endeavoured to exert their baneful influence against the Copernican theory of the universe. History is again repeating itself in regard to the theory of evolution, and the many problems of modern science. Yet in all the sayings of Christ Himself which have been handed down to us, there is not one that gives us the remotest hint that could have helped in the slightest towards the advancement of our knowledge of the universe, except, perhaps, as regards the power of mind over matter, and again His presence in substance under material form. His teaching was of the Kingdom of Heaven. Man, by his own unaided reason, has had to discover his place in the universe, the origin of his race and the world of his habitation, by the light of his understanding alone. We are told again and again that His kingdom was not of this world, and what He has revealed still remains the fountain head of our spiritual

knowledge, of the faith, and of the Church of His foundation. As the representative on earth of her divine Founder, her teaching is of the divine elements. This distinction has been again and again misunderstood by zealous Christians throughout history with disastrous results to her spiritual mission. But by her guidance her servants "shall need no light of lamp, neither light of sun, for the Lord God shall give them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever." This, obviously, cannot refer to material phenomena. If there is to be "night no more," and yet neither light of sun or lamp, clearly the reference is to the spiritual world. And science must pursue her course unaided and untrammelled, as best she may, without interference or aggression, with perfect freedom and unfettered speculation in her sphere of material manifestations.

JOHN BUTLER BURKE.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

LOCKHART'S life of his illustrious and much-loved father-in-law is one of the great biographies in the English language. Hutton's charming little book in the series of English Men of Letters is a masterpiece. And we have admirable essays on Scott by Leslie Stephen, Verrall, and other able critics. Why Mr. Stalker should think it desirable to add another book to these we cannot say.*

The great success of *Eminent Victorians* will probably incite several persons (not endowed with Mr. Strachey's dramatic faculty) to write books belittling illustrious persons of the early nineteenth century and earlier periods who have as yet escaped. Mr. Stalker claims to set a new presentation of Scott before us; a twentieth century portrait that contains lights and shadows obscure or absent in previous representations. He also claims that he has discussed Scott's first love affair with common sense—the first time it has been so discussed. We cannot see that Lockhart and Hutton were lacking in this desirable quality. Mr. Stalker comments on Scott's behaviour to his first love in a manner which may be what he calls "sensible," but to which we should apply a quite different word. Scott loved and suffered and endured. This is Mr. Stalker's "account": "Walter dawdled on till he was twenty-four, and then, instead of putting his arm round her waist, kissing her, and waiting (one instant) to see how she took *that* . . . —wrote her a declaration of his undying affection; his urgent desire to marry her, and waited for a reply." Scott happened to be a gentleman, as well as a lover. Mr. Stalker, we think, takes far too seriously Scott's allusions to the strict Presbyterian views of his father. The little petulances, such as the allusion to sermon week,

* *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, J. G. Lockhart. *Scott*, "English Men of Letters," by R. H. Hutton. Macmillan and Co. *The Intimate Life of Sir Walter Scott*, by Archibald Stalker. A. C. Black.

and to "religious and sour looks," do not mean much. He sketches, too, the relations of father and son in *Rob Roy* and *Redgauntlet* with real respect and affection. The boy's parents were loving and full of care about the health of their clever child, who, from his very earliest years, was known as "an extraordinary boy." The picture Scott draws in *Redgauntlet* of the elder Fairford is not unpleasant nor devoid of affection, and it is a portrait of Mr. Scott.

Walter had, as readers of Lockhart know, been taken to Kelso by his aunt, Miss Janet Scott, and the child was treated for his lameness by a Dr. Wilson, one of whose daughters wrote some records in a little notebook which has been preserved. Dr. Wilson's children and Walter played together continually, and the account given by Miss Wilson shows Walter in exactly the same light as do all others: affectionate, kind, sociable, and extraordinarily clever. He joined in the games of the little girls up to the point of dressing dolls, only stipulating that all "his dolls should be boys"! Another interesting point is that whereas Walter, up to this time, had lisped, he was for ever reciting the ballad of Hardy Knute. "His right arm flung upwards, he declaimed, 'th-tately th-tepped he East the land, th-tately th-tepped he West.'" One day, Dr. Wilson, with a touch of his lancet, removed the lisp. Years after, Dr. Wilson, who, from his medical works, seems to have been greatly in advance of his time, met Scott at a common friend's house, and this story of the lisp was told. Lady Scott exclaimed, "Well, Dr. Wilson, I will uphold you for the very cleverest doctor in all Great Britain, for you set Scott's tongue agoing then, and it has never stopped since."

Poor Mr. Scott the elder was stricken with paralysis two years before his death, and this clouded the life of his devoted wife. We do not see why Walter's letter to his mother, on hearing the news of his father's death, is "an appalling document," which Mr. Stalker thinks it is. "Your own principles of virtue and religion will,

I well know, give best support in this, the heaviest of human afflictions. The removal of my regretted parent from this earthly scene is, to him, doubtless, the happiest change." Scott was always reticent and delicate, and disliked too much intrusion on "the sanctities of private life." Perhaps we, who are sickened by the revelations of the Divorce Court, would welcome a return to this decent reticence. Mr. Stalker is quite kind to Lady Scott, though his account of the courtship and marriage is marked by the peevish belittling spirit which is found all through the book. The letters of Charlotte Charpentier to Scott during their brief engagement are playful, but within the lines one can read an affection to which her husband bore tender witness after she had been taken from him. Mr. Stalker's assertions that Scott was not at heart a literary man, and that his books are not particularly great are, as it seems to us, quite unfounded. Scott, from his babyhood, loved books (of his own sort), and had a generous appreciation of other people's writings. Mr. Stalker's own view of English literature is so amazing that it must be quoted. No words of ours can do it justice. "*We, who admire Scott, will never let the appraisers of fame forget that all literature was dull before him, and he made it interesting.*" (The italics are ours). "The Elizabethan dramatists were as dull a set of ranters as ever existed. The Restoration writers, with all the resources of obscenity and viciousness, could not be humorous. The Miltons, Popes, Swifts, Fieldings, Grays, and the rest were dull and heavy. Hacks, students, politicians, men about town, all turning to books to pass the time, to offend, or to make money. And then, for the first time since Shakespeare arose a man with joyful power in the description of his fellow creatures.

"Into the literature of England Walter Scott brought enthusiasm, delight in the open air and in sports, with a living realization of former days that was happily due because the labours of antiquarians had prepared the public for the romantic presentation of events and habits

of old times. He put more life into his minor characters than have ever been put by any writer of books in England except Shakespeare, and, *like Shakespeare*, he succeeded best *with these minor characters*." (The italics are ours). This is untrue, ridiculously untrue of Shakespeare.

Alas, alas, we have known graceless persons who have applied the epithet of "dull" to the great "Unknown" himself. But we never saw a queerer jumble of authors than the above list. They can take very good care of themselves, these immortals, but the unconscious humour of the verdict is delightful. The Elizabethan dramatists are certainly not dull, they are terrible, melodramatic, sometimes revolting, but not, emphatically not, *dull.* And Swift, and Fielding, and that exquisite and tender poet, Gray—dull! We suspect the dullness is in another quarter.

Scott was the child, not the creator, of the romantic movement which, so far as England is concerned, began with the publication of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*. But Scott greatly contributed to the vitality and growth of the romantic spirit. And his influence on foreign literature was very great. Mr. Stalker is often quite devoid of real understanding of, and sympathy with, one of the best-loved of the immortals. Scott belongs to that noble band if we may prophesy. He has great limitations, but he has the vital spark of genius, and so long as love for noble literature endures, so long will there be found a "remnant" of lovers of Sir Walter.

Limitations—yes. Sir Walter was not a prophet, nor a moral reformer. Perhaps the man quoted by Mr. Stalker, who pronounced that Scott had no conception of God, was right. We can hardly pronounce on this—who could? Through no fault of his own Scott had a very slight hold on institutional religion. The dullness of the Scottish Sunday, the rigid piety of his father, were repellent to him. But we do not think Scott ever felt bitterness. His son-in-law, in his perfect biography of Sir Walter, tells us of the wonderful tenderness he felt for his parents—their pictures were the only ones

in his dressing-room at Abbotsford. In his desk were various possessions of his mother. His father's washing stand was used by him. "The whole place," says Lockhart "seemed fitted up like a little chapel of the *Lares*."

"Never," says Lockhart, "was a more virtuous or a happier fireside than his." Mr. Stalker seems, by the way, to think that Miss Sophia Scott was a cold and worldly young woman, because she did not express rapturous affection and joy in announcing her engagement to Lockhart. This seems to us most unjust. There was a great sense of decorum and reticence in the Scott family, and we have only to read between the lines in order to see that the marriage was one of affection.

No one again has ever more truly exhibited the virtue of fortitude, alike in bearing illness, bereavement, loss of fortune. Lockhart's noble words should never be forgotten . . . "He found himself naked as Job." How he nerved himself against the storm—how he felt and how he resisted it—how soberly, steadily, and resolvedly he contemplated the possibility of yet, by redoubled exertions, so far retrieving his fortunes as that no man should lose by trusting those for whom he had been pledged—how well he kept his vow, and what price it cost him to do so—all this the reader, I doubt not, appreciates fully. "It seems to me," Lockhart goes on to say, "that strength of character was never put to a severer test than when, for labours of love, such as his had hitherto almost always been—the pleasant exertion of genius for the attainment of ends that owed all their dignity and beauty to a poetical fancy—there came to be substituted the iron pertinacity of daily and nightly toil, in the discharge of a duty which there was nothing but the sense of chivalrous honour to make stringent."

Mr. Stalker says he has no desire to enter into the details of Scott's worries and illness. Unless we read his journals and letters, and Mr. Lockhart's biography, we shall never understand the nobility of Scott's char-

acter. It should never be forgotten that he was absolutely devoid of personal vanity, and had the most generous appreciation of his contemporaries—so far as he knew their works. It is very sad that Scott never read Keats or Shelley. Probably Lockhart and *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* are responsible.

As we read Scott's life, and his journals and letters, we cannot but contrast his manly, virtuous spirit with not a few of his contemporaries and successors in literature. It is only a trifling touch, but there are two entries in his journal which show the habitual trend of his mind. He had been kept awake by the howling of a dog, just after the death of Lady Scott, which loss he felt most deeply: "June 8th, 1826. Bilious and headache this morning. A dog howled all night, and left me little sleep. Poor cur! I daresay he had his distresses, as I have mine." We remember an eminent man of letters who was not too kind to Scott's memory, who used to call heaven and earth to witness to his suffering when disturbed by crowing cocks and barking dogs. This same historian was not an agreeable housemate, and reproached himself bitterly for unkindness to his wife. Scott speaks thus of *his* wife: he says that he often deserved a headache in his younger days without having one, and now nature is paying off old scores. "Ay, but then the want of the affectionate care that used to be ready, with lowered voice and stealthy pace, to smooth the pillow, and offer condolence and assistance, gone, gone—for ever and ever. Well, there is another world, and we'll meet free from the mortal sorrows and frailties which beset us here. Amen. So be it."

Another entry in 1828 is an example of his strong, brave spirit. He is feeling ill and disposed to "think on things melancholy and horrible. God, who subjects us to these strange maladies, whether of mind or body, I cannot say, has placed the power within our own reach, and we should be grateful. I wrestled myself so far out of the Slough of Despond as to take a good long walk, and my mind is restored to its elasticity." Golden

words. Would that many nervous and depressed sufferers would take them as a spur to action.

Mr. Stalker's abuse of Scott for expressing his obligations to the Duke of Wellington in a " servile " manner is due, we hope, to ignorance of the formal manners alike in epistolary and general behaviour prevalent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As to Scott's social views, they were not very enlightened, but witness his kindness to his servants, his way of speaking of the poor, his sympathy and insight in describing their lives and their sorrows. He speaks also of the evils of the industrial system, where there is no personal contact between the employers and the employed.

His love of race was a passion, and, as his biographer says, whatever he had in himself he would fain make out a hereditary claim for.

We have not space to linger over Sir Walter's unfortunate dealings with the Ballantynes. Mr. Lockhart has some excellent remarks on the real cause of what seems Scott's extraordinary carelessness in trusting so much to the Ballantynes, and in setting them up as publishers. His own judgment was not good as far as knowing what books were likely to please the public. We think it not unlikely that Hutton's opinion is correct, that Scott, possibly unconsciously, was better pleased to deal with men to whom *he* could dictate, and who could not dictate to him. Unfortunately, he resented Blackwood's and Constable's advice ; *they* did understand their business as publishers, and the Ballantynes did not. This tendency to prefer inferior men as working colleagues is, we must allow, a moral defect in Scott. But his noble struggle to pay the debts which had accumulated, his resolve that no one should suffer for him, are for ever an example, an inspiration. He had sufferings of every kind, not the least the loss of the joyous life he loved so well, and he bore and fought with a fortitude and courage and kindness which have never been surpassed. Scott was a religious man so far as he understood religion. He was a true son of the eighteenth century in his terror

of religious enthusiasm, but he had faith in God, and a belief in the future life. He did not understand the spiritual life of the soul, and he is extraordinarily ignorant of the Catholic church, her doctrines, her life, her claims. Yet, on his death-bed, was heard "the cadence of the Dies Irae," writes Lockhart, "and the very last stanza that we could make out was the first of a still greater favourite: 'Stabat Mater dolorosa, Juxta crucem lachrymosa, Dum pendebat Filius,'" and we remember the touching exhortation to Mr. Lockhart himself, five days before the end: "My dear, be a good man—be virtuous—be religious—be a good man. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here."

"It was the entire unconsciousness of moral and spiritual efforts, the simple straightforward way in which he laboured for ends of the most ordinary kind, which made it clear how much greater the man was than his ends, how great was the mind and character which prosperity failed to display, but which became visible at once so soon as the storm came down and the night fell," writes Hutton. To the Catholic, Scott is dear, in spite of the strange opinions he held about the faith. He helped to revive the interests in, and respect for, the Middle Ages and no one can very deeply study the Middle Ages without finding himself confronted by the Church. Not improbable is it that Sir Walter, had he been born a little later and lived longer with unimpaired powers, and been interested in the Mother and Mistress of Churches, the only exponent of the principle of authority, might have become a Catholic. Cardinal Newman, we know, loved Scott, and prayed for his soul. And finally, is Scott likely to be read in coming years? It is impossible to say. Yet we cannot but think that there will be found for many a long year people to enjoy Scott's extraordinary freshness and extraordinary power of realizing the past. And in many of the novels the romance is founded not so much on some private love affair as on some political situation, some great event in history, and this is done

with so much care that although the reader insensibly becomes better acquainted with the Scottish life, the politics of the period in which the story moves, he is never bored. Scott never omits details of all kinds—his history passes into the private feelings, the romance of his heroes and heroines, and back again to history, with perfect ease. A few novels are not connected with historical events, such as *The Antiquary* and *Guy Mannering*. Yet Colonel Mannering's youth was spent in India, and about him clings the aroma of the Nabob.

It is an absurd criticism of Carlyle to say Scott draws men and women from the outside. Perhaps he did not, as Hutton suggests, care to analyse and vivisect the characters of his heroines, his great ladies—he had such a chivalrous regard for women. Yet what can excel the wonderful touches which make us see at once the gipsy Meg Merilies, old Mause the Covenanter, the old women who arrange a body for burial, and many more? Above all, the picture of Mary Queen of Scots in *The Abbot?*

And his portraits of men are drawn from deep and true conceptions of character. Consider Balfour of Burleigh in *Old Mortality*; the beggar in *The Antiquary*, and the Antiquary himself; King James in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, and many others. Mr. Stalker (and others) assure us there are greater novelists than Scott, especially in these later times. Scott would be the very first to think so had he lived.

Whatever his merits and demerits, and in spite of, and perhaps because of, his limitations, Sir Walter is of those who arouse not admiration so much as real affection. We love him, we could not do without him. Shakespeare, and Scott, and Molière we would take for purely secular books to our desert island, to our prison, were we doomed to perpetual exile or imprisonment, and our stock of books limited.

May he rest in peace, and find even more than he dared to hope, when he breathed forth the belief that "he and his wife would meet in a better place than this."

E. M. ROMANES.

THE CATHOLIC IDEAL OF MARRIAGE

(1) FROM THE NON-CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

SEVENTEEN years ago, when I first set out to reform the marriage laws, I repeatedly told my colleagues that the only way to obtain our object was to block the divorce courts with poor cases; and to-day the deadlock is such that five judges have to deal with these cases to the exclusion of other business. And this state of things will never be remedied until the proper order is made for local jurisdiction.

The number of cases does not surprise me, for there is a terrible burden of misery in marriage which has for years been suppressed and concealed underground; but I can well understand that the frequency of divorce must cause grave anxiety to many men and women who are not familiar with the facts of the problem, and who, like myself, are afraid of the family losing its prestige as an institution, and being engulfed by a Collectivist State in which citizenship is paramount as against parenthood. To such men and women the Catholic ideal of marriage appeals with great force, and the object of this article is to show to what extent the Catholic ideal should be respected, and how the best side of it can be preserved. In this connection a certain amount of historical retrospect cannot be avoided.

Broadly speaking, one may say that the ancient world exalted the family above the State. For example, in ancient Rome the *paterfamilias* had the most autocratic powers over his wife and children, and even when, in the days of the Empire, the matron asserted her rights as a citizen, this did not in any way diminish the prestige of the family. In the mediæval world the family gradually fell under the control of the Church. Human life was arranged and regulated by the Church from the moment of birth to the moment of death, and even after death. Marriage had now become a sacrament

instead of a contract. To an English lawyer perhaps the best analogy is the distinction between a deed under seal and an instrument of writing under hand. The deed is irrevocable, and requires no consideration; the contract not under seal need not be carried out if the consideration fails.

Marriage, being a sacrament, was indissoluble during the lives of the parties; but, on the other hand, it is well known that there were copious facilities for annulling a marriage without prejudice to the legitimacy of the offspring. I need not labour the point of these facilities, or comment on the fact that they were more open to the rich than to the poor, because I am not, for the moment, concerned to point out the abuses of the system. I think that there is a great deal to be said for preserving the legal fiction of marriage as indissoluble, except that facilities for annulment must never be multiplied so as to make the fact of marriage uncertain, as they certainly were multiplied in the Middle Ages. I need not quote the Council of Trent on this point nor Pope Benedict XIV in 1741, who said that the nullity process was grossly abused. The fact remains that after the Counter-Reformation the facilities for annulment were much restricted and, so far as I know, are no cause of scandal in the present day.

On the other hand, many of the facilities for annulment have found their way into the civil legislation of Catholic countries where there is no divorce. Any reader who wants information on this point need only read the evidence which I gave before the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in 1910 (Vol. III, pp. 490-8). The legislation of Austria, Italy, Spain, and the South American Republics is particularly illuminating. Since that date I have also been able to verify in statistics the statement I then made that a large number of Canadians constantly go to the United States to obtain facilities for divorce.

From the Reformation onwards the Protestant States of Europe have enlarged facilities for the dissolution,

as opposed to the annulment, of marriage on the ground of matrimonial offences and even of disease, as in the case of insanity. I need not enter into a catalogue of the various offences or of the different grounds on which marriage can be dissolved in different Protestant countries, for all this information has been exhaustively digested and set out in the Report of the Royal Commission. But I should like to point out that the whole Protestant theory of divorce bears the mark of ecclesiastical tyranny, inasmuch as it has always prohibited the doctrine of divorce by mutual consent, which was recognized in ancient Rome, and even in mediæval times by many countries which upheld the Roman tradition. On this point I need only refer my readers to the admirable History of Divorce written by Mr. S. B. Kitchin, K.C., and published by Chapman and Hall Ltd.

There are, of course, certain countries to-day—for example, Norway and Sweden—in which the doctrine of divorce by consent has been revived; but I do not think that this revival has been due to anything but the desire to vindicate the liberty of the family and of the individuals who compose the family. I do not think that the doctrine of divorce by consent need endanger the stability or prestige of the family so long as it is tempered by a respectable time limit and subject to the discretionary control of judges or magistrates who have power to determine the financial liability of the parties and all questions concerning the custody of children which cannot be disposed of by mutual agreement.

On the other hand, I think that any theory of divorce which restricts the dissolution of marriage to cases where a matrimonial offence has been committed is liable to great abuse. There must, of course, be occasions for divorce which cannot be solved by mutual consent; but these are few in proportion to the rest. The present tendency in Protestant countries to enlarge the range of offence and to give facilities for obtaining divorce in the case of insanity (as opposed to annulment where

insanity has been concealed before marriage), is likely to create an artificial number of offences and diseases, and in so far as a matrimonial offence becomes a legal fiction, it brings the institution of marriage into contempt.

The principal danger, however, to the institution of marriage is due to the spread of Collectivist doctrines. These doctrines assert the paramount authority of the State, both as against the family and the Church. Neither institution is allowed to have any dignity as compared with the State. The State not only ignores the human being as the member of a family or of a Church, but sets out to destroy any financial solidarity which may be due to the ancient pieties of Church or family. The State seeks popularity by substituting the bureaucratic dole for the more discriminating charity which preserves the unity of a family or of a Church.

Moreover, the predominance of the State frequently brings about the confusion of morality with legality, which is quite as pernicious as the confusion of morality with religion. In my youth I was perturbed by the substitution of faith for works; but to-day the danger is of morality ceasing to have any sanction but the sanction of the State. The modern State educates children in many creeds which neither the children nor the teachers really believe, and which consequently do not promote the morality either of the child or the adult. Public and private morality can be promoted by inculcating a definite theory of human obligations either with or without the assistance of revealed religion. The child may be taught morality on the lines of Confucius or on the lines of revealed religion; but it is useless to associate morality with a religion such as the modern Protestant creed, which the child is pretty certain to throw off in adolescence. For the result is that the adolescent grows up with a sense of obligation to the State, but not to individuals. There is, for instance, a dangerous tendency in Protestant countries to consider that the civil contract of marriage is in itself a moral fetish. Personally, I should respect a woman

who had, for good reasons, lived in concubinage with a man all her life more than a woman who had married again after divorcing four husbands; but I am quite sure that a hotel proprietor in New York City would disagree with me, though I am also sure that most Catholic theologians would sympathize with my view, even if they could not agree with it.

I think I have shown how difficult it is for anyone who respects the institution of the family to support the popular tendency of divorce law reform in this country, which is merely to multiply matrimonial offences without attempting to remedy the causes of permanent separation or enlarging facilities for divorce by consent as outlined above. My own view is that most matrimonial problems could be solved by agreement, subject to judicial sanction and supervision, and that even where that failed, the Church might do much to compose conjugal differences so that after all private resources were exhausted the law courts would not be so full of scandalous and contentious cases as they are now.

It is, of course, difficult for anyone who, like myself, is not a Catholic to know how much trouble the Church does actually take to promote conjugal felicity; but so far as I am aware, the Church does nothing whatever to stem the tide of permanent separation, the effects of which are even more pernicious than the effects of divorce. The ecclesiastical courts appear to exert but little control on the private lives of Catholics. If they did, we might perhaps find that where both parties are at fault the Church would not allow any separation to take place, as was the rule under the old canon law. But so far as my own knowledge goes, the ordinary Catholic family is much more under the control of the State than of the Church; and I draw this inference from the fact that the Church is always appealing to the State to enforce the Catholic ideal of marriage. Every Catholic is invited, as a matter of routine, to register a vote or a signature against any measure of

divorce law reform. But I fail to understand why this appeal to Cæsar should be necessary. Has the Church no effective control over her own children, either by moral suasion or, in the last resort, by excommunication? It would indeed be extraordinary if the secretary of the Athenæum Club could not stop members from smoking in the drawing-room without applying to the police court for a summons against the offending member. Yet it would appear that the Catholic Church cannot rely on her own influence to vindicate the sanctity of Catholic marriage without the assistance of the State. And if this is really the case, it would surely be better for her not to advertise the melancholy fact.

I should be sorry to see the Catholic ideal of marriage discredited, because I consider that though it does not vindicate the dignity of the family and the individual as effectively as the old Roman ideal of self-sufficient liberty, it is yet infinitely less demoralizing than the Collectivist ideal, which reduces marriage to a more or less temporary union between citizens who produce other citizens but are not related to each other except as citizens. The Catholic Church, however (not to mention her Anglican imitators), is simply playing into the hands of Collectivism by invoking the support of the State. For her action is not merely a confession of weakness, but it deeply exasperates non-Catholic citizens, who do not see why the Church should appeal to force instead of using all means of moral suasion according to the words of Saint Chrysostom :—" It is not right for Christians by force and violence to overthrow aberration, but by persuasion and reasoning and gentleness to achieve the salvation of men."

The Church might have some excuse for her present policy if England was at heart Catholic, and if English Catholics were in a strong majority as compared with other denominations. The fact remains, however, that the real sentiment of modern England is neither Catholic nor Protestant, but anti-clerical; and the attempt of the Church to assert legislative control over

non-Catholics and non-Christians can, in the long run, only result in disaster to her prestige and to her ideal of indissoluble marriage. The destruction of this ideal would be deplorable, for however impossible it may be in practice, nothing could be worse for any nation or society than for individuals to contract marriage without any intention of making it, to the best of their power, a lifelong union.

E. S. P. HAYNES.

(2) FROM THE CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

For the faithful Catholic, the indissolubility of the marriage tie is a dogmatic truth, resting ultimately upon the teaching of Our Lord as that teaching has been interpreted by tradition, and in particular by the Council of Trent. In the 24th Session of the Tridentine Assembly (1563) the Fathers enacted a canon (Canon 7) which, though in a strangely inverted form, unmistakably bears reference to the limiting clause in Matt. v. 32 and xix. 9: "Except it be for fornication," and determines that though such fornication may be a legitimate ground for the separation of husband and wife, it does not allow either the guilty or the innocent party to marry again. It is, of course, a curious tribute to the influence of Christian ideals that even now, in many parts of the world, States which recognize the dissolution of the marriage bond nevertheless restrict that dissolution, as Mr. Haynes has so often complained, to cases in which a matrimonial offence has been committed. As Dean Inge and Doctor Sanday explained before the Divorce Commission, with the help of long citations in the original Greek, many non-Catholic divines hold that Our Lord meant to tolerate divorce where the marriage vow had been broken, and that He permitted the re-marriage of the innocent party. It is here, accordingly, that the Council of Trent intervenes, and with the rest of the New Testament teaching and the tradition of the centuries to back it, bars such an interpretation of Our Lord's words, so far, at least, as they concern the Faithful.

But even if the Scriptural evidence were both uncontroverted and uncontrovertible, it is clear that any such appeal to dogmatic authority would be waived aside by a large proportion of those who are most interested in the problem of divorce. For them the only question to be considered is the social welfare of the majority of the race. Does the indissolubility of marriage contribute in the long run to the greater happiness of the greatest number? In spite of superficial appearances I venture to think it does, and it is in support of that proposition that the somewhat random observations which follow have been jotted down.

The keynote of the whole Catholic contention appears to me to have been struck with admirable force and justice in Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical *Arcanum divinae:*

> Further still (he says), if the matter be duly pondered, we shall clearly see these evils to be the more especially dangerous, because, divorce once being tolerated, there will be no restraint powerful enough to keep it within the limits fixed or foreseen. Great is the force of example and the violence of passion even greater. With such incitements it must needs follow that the eagerness for divorce, daily spreading by devious ways, will seize upon the minds of many like a virulent contagious disease, or like a flood of water bursting through every barrier. These are truths that are clear in themselves, but they will become clearer yet if we call to mind the teachings of experience. So soon as the road to divorce began to be made smooth by law, at once quarrels, jealousies and judicial separations largely increased; and such shamelessness of life followed that men who had been in favour of these divorces repented of what they had done, and feared that, if they did not carefully seek a remedy by repealing the law, the commonwealth itself might suffer disaster.

This Encyclical was published in 1880. At that date the number of divorces, except in certain States of the great American Republic, and in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, had nowhere reached an alarming figure. But the developments apprehended by Leo XIII soon made themselves felt. In France, despite the fact that the population remained almost stationary, the divorce

figures climbed from 5,797 in 1887, to 7,999 in 1897, to 10,860 in 1905, and to 16,335 in 1913, the last complete year before the cataclysm of war.* In Germany, during the same period of a quarter of a century, while the population increased by about one-third, the divorces nearly trebled in number. There were 6,357 in 1887; 8,878 in 1897; 12,180 in 1906, and 17,835 in 1913.† Holland presents an almost identical development, but, if anything, slightly more so. Much as in the case of Germany, the population between 1887 and 1913 increased by about one-third, but in the same period the divorces more than trebled. They numbered 337 in 1887, 453 in 1897, 744 in 1906, and in 1913 no less than 1,015.‡ Belgium, with a slightly larger population, and a notably greater proportion of Catholics, is the counterpart of Holland. The Belgian official statistics show 373 divorces in 1890, 901 in 1905, and 1,207 in 1913.§

But of course the most striking example of the dangers of easy divorce comes from the United States. There the figures have soared from 22,919 in 1887, to 44,679 in 1897, to 72,062 in 1906, and to 112,036 in 1916, the last year before America came into the war.‖ I have confined these figures to pre-war conditions because the post-war statistics have hardly anywhere been published, and must now in any case be subject to a certain inflation owing to the congestion of the courts during the continuance of hostilities, and to the influence of other disturbing factors. I will only note that the statistician, Father H. A. Krose, describes the increase in the number of divorce petitions which have come before the German courts since the armistice as "enormously great."

* *Annuaire Statistique de la France* for 1916.

† I take these figures from the *Statistisches Handbuch für das deutsche Reich*, various years.

‡ *Bijdragen tot de Statistiek van Nederland*, No. 207, 1914.

§ *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique* for 1914 (printed in 1920), pp. xxx and 126.

‖ I quote the numbers for 1916 from the periodical *America*, May 7th, 1921.

Further, it is to be noted that all these figures are kept within comparatively moderate limits by the fact that in the countries named a respectable minority of conscientious Catholics are withheld by their religious convictions from availing themselves of their legal right to sue for a divorce. The Vicomte d'Avenal, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (September 1st, 1921), has recently estimated the number of *practising* Catholics in France at about a third of the population. The proportion of observant Catholics in Belgium is probably, or at least was, before the war, a little higher; while in America, Germany and Holland the ratio of Catholics who live up to their religion, as compared with the total population, is no doubt somewhat less. The result, however, is that speaking generally our divorce statistics correspond only to the matrimonial misadventures of two-thirds of the inhabitants of the countries specified. If the Church, to make an impossible supposition, withdrew her ban upon divorce, we might expect all the figures we have been considering, which are already so high, to leap up at a bound by something like fifty per cent. Moreover, it must be remembered that we are here leaving out of account the not inconsiderable indirect effect produced upon public opinion, and upon various social sanctions by the action of the small but respected Catholic minority who steadily set their faces against a lax interpretation of the marriage vow.

I gather from Mr. Haynes' article, and also from what he has elsewhere written, that he is very well satisfied with the provisions of the divorce laws in Norway and Sweden. One naturally asks oneself whether, in these favoured countries, there is any sign of a slowing down in that progressive multiplication of divorces which he himself recognizes as a grave danger to the ideal of family life. No doubt the divorces in Scandinavia are not so very numerous, even as compared with the relatively small population. Belgium, with a population of over seven and a half millions, had 1,207 divorces in

1913. In Norway, with a population of a little over two and a half millions, there were 542 divorces in 1917, the last year for which data are available.* In Sweden, with a population roughly of 5,850,000, there were in 1919, 1,170 divorces.† These figures are not alarming, but they are much higher than those of Belgium. But what here has most especially to be borne in mind, Belgium is one of the most densely populated regions in the world. Norway and Sweden are very sparsely populated, and the towns, generally speaking, are small and few. Now in the country, when people have chosen their mate in life, they settle down for better or for worse, and, as a rule, do not think of change. The craving for divorce grows up in the towns. According to the official estimates printed in the Swedish *Arsbok*, the rural population of that kingdom is two and a quarter times as great as the urban population, but the total number of divorces in the urban districts was more than twice that of the rural areas. In 1919, the urban population numbered 1,701,249; the urban divorces, 779. This works out at one divorce for 2,184 people, which, though not as great as the proportion in the United States, exceeds the highest ratio of divorces in the German Empire, or even in France as long as we take town and country together. Again, we find in Sweden the same steady increase in the figures. According to the official *Arsbok*, from 1881 to 1890 there was an average of 234 divorces per year; from 1891 to 1900 this average had risen to 338; from 1901 to 1910 it stood at 473; from 1911 to 1915 it works out at 732, and as already stated, in 1919 it was 1,170. The statistical returns in Norway correspond closely to those of Sweden. There, also, the rural population is two and a quarter times as great as the urban, while the urban divorces are two and a quarter times more numerous than those of the rural districts. The fact that these Scandinavian countries possess what Mr. Haynes regards

* *Statistisk Aarbok for Kongeriket Norge* for 1918.
† *Statistisk Arsbok for Sverige* for 1921.

as a satisfactory divorce law has not checked the steadily increasing demand to have marriages dissolved, neither can it be said notably to have affected the sexual morality of the inhabitants. As Mr. Haynes rightly pointed out in his evidence before the Divorce Commission, "the figures (of illegitimacy) never include adulterine bastardy, and they depend to some [I should be inclined to urge to a very large] extent upon the prevalence of artificial restraints of conception,"* but they undoubtedly point to a general looseness and licence in the sexual relations. Now in Norway, in spite of the operation of these beneficial (?) divorce laws, and in spite, we may presume, of an increased prevalence of contraceptive practices, the illegitimate birth-rate which, in 1910, stood at 6.57 per hundred births, became 7.12 in 1914; 7.1 in 1916, and 7.2 in 1917. In Sweden, things are worse; between 1891 and 1900 the average illegitimate birth-rate was 10.9; between 1901 and 1910, 12.8; in 1912 it was 15.4; in 1914 it was 15.9, and in 1916, the last year for which the 1921 *Arsbok* gives returns, though it had fallen slightly, it still stood at 14.9.

No doubt Mr. Haynes will urge, as he urged before the Divorce Commission,† that in Austria, a country at least nominally Catholic, which does not permit divorce, "the illegitimacy figures are far higher than in any other European country." Whatever may be the reason, this, I submit, is no longer true. Those for Austria, appallingly high as they seem, are now lower than those for Sweden in spite of the large-minded divorce regulations prevalent in Scandinavia.‡ Again, take Uruguay, of which Mr. Haynes says in his evidence (Q. 43,123): "A very liberal divorce law has been introduced in Monte Video in 1908. . . . Divorce by consent is allowed, and residence is a sufficient test of jurisdiction." Is there any evidence that this more

* Question 43,111. † Q. 43,123.

‡ The latest figures I have been able to obtain for Austria are in the *Oesterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch* for 1915. From this we may learn that the legitimate births in 1907 were 845,515, the illegitimate 121,396. In 1913 the figures were: legitimate 730,068, illegitimate 106,720.

indulgent marriage legislation has led to the prevalence of a higher morality in the sexual relations ? I have not myself had access to the Uruguayan official publications, but a recent article in the Spanish periodical *Razón y Fe* quotes at large from the most recent year book,* published at Monte Video in 1920. In 1913, five years after the new divorce laws had been in operation, out of 40,315 children born in Uruguay, 9,330 were illegitimate, which gives an illegitimate birth-rate of 30.11 per cent. In 1914, the illegitimate birth-rate was 26.55 ; in 1915, it was 29.66 ; in 1916, 28.3 ; in 1917, 32.49 ; in 1918 it reached the astounding figure of 37.25. Enlarged divorce facilities do not therefore seem to have done much to improve the morality of the Republic of Uruguay.

Be this, however, as it may, my main contention is that the ever-increasing prevalence of divorce, which the figures above quoted show to be practically inevitable, once the indissolubility of marriage is abandoned in principle, must surely, if slowly, undermine the conception of matrimony as a sacred and lifelong engagement. Mr. Haynes deprecates anything which will bring the institution of marriage into contempt, but can he tell us of any country where divorce looms large in which this process is not going on ? Matrimony is becoming a mere experiment, or at best a contract voidable upon the non-fulfilment of certain conditions, and, in the ideas of many, terminable at will. The words which Catholics and Anglicans alike have inherited from their pre-Reformation forefathers, " for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness or in health, till death do us part," amount to little more than a mockery in the mouth of the man or woman who engages a partner in life merely upon good behaviour and the continuance of mutual satisfaction. As Mr. Gilbert Chesterton says with admirable force of the advocates of further relaxation in our present laws : " Such people say they want

* " Los Males del Divorcio," by H. Gil, in *Razón y Fe*, August, 1921, pp. 417-8.

divorce, without asking themselves whether they want marriage," or again, in another essay :

> They must surely see that in England at present, as in many parts of America in the past, the new liberty is being taken in the spirit of licence, as if the exception were to be the rule, or, rather, perhaps the absence of rule. This will especially be made manifest if we consider that the effect of the process is accumulative like a snowball, and returns on itself like a snowball. The obvious effect of frivolous divorce will be frivolous marriage. If people can be separated for no reason, they will feel it all the easier to be united for no reason . . . There seems no particular reason why a man should not elaborately calculate that he could stand a particular lady's temper for ten months ; or reckon that he would have enjoyed and exhausted her repertoire of drawing-room songs in two years.*

Neither does it seem to me to be any answer to urge that in countries which, practically speaking, have never or only recently recognized divorce—in Austria, for example, or in Spain, or in Italy—marriage is too often brought into contempt by the immorality or concubinage of the husband. I do not think that Mr. Haynes himself would press this argument, for he has written, in one of his papers on the subject, that :

> In countries like China and Japan sexual laxity is not necessarily associated with any disregard of parental obligations, and this is also the case in countries like Russia and the Latin countries, though it is, of course, an offence against the traditional morality of the Catholic Church, and probably for that reason adultery is a criminal offence in Italy and Spain.†

But even if a particularly low standard of conjugal fidelity were imputable to Austria and the Latin countries—which is not proved—that would be no reason for discrediting marriage still further by reducing it to the level of a sort of legal fiction. As the matter stands at the present day, when Secularist and Collectivist ideas are almost everywhere in the ascendant, this sacred institution of marriage, upon the inviolability of which the happiness of families, and above all, the

* G. K. Chesterton, *The Superstition of Divorce*, p. 137.
† E. S. P. Haynes, *Divorce as it might be* (1915), p. 76.

physical and moral welfare of the children, so largely depend, is practically at the mercy of each successive government which comes into power. At any moment a new divorce law may be passed, wider facilities given, more frivolous pretexts rendered admissible for dissolving the contract. And as the door is forced more widely open, it becomes more and more impossible to close it again, or even to push it back a single inch. It seems time that, on Mr. Haynes' own principles, he ought to be able to give us Catholics credit for resisting divorce, not pig-headedly or vexatiously, but wisely from our own point of view, because we see in every further development a new threat to the home, and a steady undermining of the sanctity of the marriage-tie.

It is not, therefore, a matter of smoking in the drawing-room of the Athenæum Club; it is rather the case of a member who is discovered to be engaged in a conspiracy to blow up Buckingham Palace or the Houses of Parliament. In such an emergency you do not lay the matter before the secretary, or the club committee, but you communicate with Scotland Yard. Surely there are principles which are so fundamental that though one is perfectly aware of the terrible suffering which may result in some particular cases, or even in many such cases, still it is felt that at all costs the principle has to be maintained. Take, for example, the question of euthanasia. The patient, who is dying by inches of an agonizing cancer, may beg his medical attendant to put an end to his misery, but even in this rationalistic age it is felt that the dangers to society at large would be too great if any such procedure were legalized. Moreover, we commonly accept the principle that in some matters the average man requires to be protected from his own weakness of will, partly for his own benefit, partly for the benefit of society at large. The Church fully recognizes that her spiritual penalties are powerless where passion, greed, and other strong elemental forces come into play. Undoubtedly, in such circumstances, she is apt to call to her aid the protection of the State.

There are cases and circumstances in which moral suasion is wholly inadequate. Of course, the citizen who has assimilated at his board school what Mr. Haynes describes as "a definite theory of human obligations with or without the assistance of revealed religion," ought to be capable of withstanding the temptation of the perennially open beer shop, but, rightly or wrongly, the public opinion of the country seems agreed that it is better for all of us if the State imposes restrictions upon the hours when liquor can be sold.

Without prolonging this article to undue limits it would be impossible to deal adequately with the marriage law of the Middle Ages, or even with the question of the invalidation of Catholic marriages in recent years. And yet I am unwilling to quit the subject without saying a word upon what Mr. Haynes must pardon me for calling the *legend* of the Church's remedy by annulment. Speaking with all due respect, both on account of the pains which he has devoted to the study of these questions, and of the authority which his name carries with many conscientious advocates of divorce, I still must hold that Mr. Haynes has misconceived the whole situation as regards not only the Middle Ages, but also the present day. That a decree of annulment has occasionally been obtained from ecclesiastical authority, sometimes by means of perjured evidence, sometimes by unscrupulously taking advantage of the loopholes which the most skilfully drafted legal enactment can never wholly provide against, is hardly to be questioned. We must remember that the Canon Law is of mediæval construction, and is by no means all of the same date. It has been a thousand times tinkered at, in many directions there are chinks and crannies, and in every age the trained legalist, whose assistance has been retained for a handsome fee, will find, not only his pecuniary advantage, but even a certain professional delight in driving a coach and four through what looks like a solid obstacle in his path. As to the Middle Ages, we have no statistics and, practically speaking, no court records. The cases

of which the memory is preserved are just those which excited protest or caused scandal or inflamed partisan passions. In many such instances we know no more than the broad facts, often communicated through a hostile channel. Of the technical grounds which were submitted to the judges, we have not the least inkling. Consequently, when it is asserted that "in the mediæval Church there were copious facilities for annulling marriage,"* with the implication that these were a systematic substitute for divorce, I must ask for some better authority than a reference to a work like Mr. Kitchin's popular *History of Divorce*. One expects something more than undocumented assertions borrowed from Dr. H. C. Lea or Pothier. Where, I must ask, are the definite cases? What is the evidence in each? Is there any proof that the instances alleged were common and typical?

But one definite objection to the legend of relief by annulment I may at least offer for Mr. Haynes' consideration. If he will look at any recent issue of the *Oesterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch* he will find such data as the following. I take the figures for the year 1912 because they are exceptionally high.

1. Einverständlich geschiedene Ehen	2,027
2. Prozessual geschiedene Ehen	682
3. Getrennte (akatholische) Ehen	489
4. Für ungültig erklärte Ehen	32

In Austria, before the war, there was no proper divorce for Catholics. The *Geschiedene Ehen* were simply judicial separations, the parties to which could not re-marry. There were 2,027 such separations by mutual consent; 682 cases where the plaintiff obtained release by process of law; 489 divorces in the proper sense, but granted only to non-catholics; and 32 annulments, which of course enabled either party to re-marry. Now, I submit, if such annulments were a pure subterfuge and easy to obtain, surely many of the 2,709 separated

* Cf. also Haynes, *Divorce Problems of To-day*, p. 39.

couples would have preferred to procure an annulment and thus be left free to marry again.*

The data just given regarding Austria are taken, as I have said, from the official *Handbuch*, and similar statistics, varying slightly in the numbers, appear in the successive issues. Yet no less distinguished a jurist than Lord Justice Buckmaster stated in the House of Lords on April 12th of the present year :

> While the Roman Catholic Church did not recognize divorce yet the decrees of nullity of marriage granted in Austria, a Roman Catholic country, before the war were more in number than the divorce decrees in this country. The Roman Catholic Church, with all its power and authority and desire to maintain the unity and sanctity of married life, was compelled by the very necessity of the case to permit something which was the equivalent of divorce.†

But, it will be objected, these annulments may have been obtained in the ecclesiastical courts. I have before me a letter addressed from Vienna to Mr. W. P. Mara, the Honorary Secretary of the Westminster Catholic Federation. The letter, dated April 10th, 1921, bears the coat of arms and the signature of the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, and states that to obtain legal recognition all nullity suits have to pass through a series of three successive hearings in differently constituted civil courts, and that these cases of nullity are very rare. Indeed, the number seems now to be infinitesimal, as an article in the *Neues* 8 *Uhr Blatt* of last April mentions that according to the figures for 1918 then recently published there were only three such annulments in

* In Italy we have a similar state of things. The *Annuario Statistico* for 1916 gives the number of applications for a judicial separation presented in 1914. They numbered 2,371, and in 979 cases the decree of separation was granted. But there is no word of any annulments. They surely would not be omitted except for the reason that the number is insignificant.

† *The Morning Post*, April 13th. Similarly Dr. H. C. Headlam, in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1921—"The principle (of annulling marriage) has been carried to an excessive degree by the Roman Catholic Church, and it is one of the main arguments against too strict a law of marriage that a body which prides itself on refusing divorce under any circumstances should accompany it by recognizing the right of annulling marriage on grounds which in many instances have been scandalous." (p. 231).

that year. Further, the evidence of the officials of the Rota, the Roman tribunal by which, practically speaking, all the nullity suits of the ecclesiastical courts throughout the world have ultimately to be decided, is equally conclusive. Through the kindness of Sir Stuart Coats I have been allowed to see two letters lately addressed to him by a high official of the Rota, who states that after careful investigation he has found that "during the last five years, i.e., from 1916 to 1920 inclusively, 84 matrimonial cases of nullity have been dealt with by our tribunal, an average of 17 per year, and in 61 cases the marriage has been declared null, in 23 valid."

The writer insists, further, that with very few exceptions, all nullity suits before ecclesiastical courts in any part of the world are bound to come before the Congregation of the Rota, and he also gives the following interesting details regarding the grounds upon which such suits are commonly brought:

The cause of nullity in a great many cases is the forced consent of the girl, due to unlawful compulsion on the part of her parents. Last year, for instance, we dealt with twenty-three cases of nullity: twelve were brought on the ground of forced consent; in eleven of these the marriage was declared null, in one valid. Six others were for defect of consent; four of these were declared null, two valid. Two more were for clandestinity, i.e., marriages contracted without the parish priest of either of the parties or without his authorization or that of the bishop of either bride or bridegroom; one was declared null, the other valid. Two more were pronounced to be null on account of impotency. The twenty-third and last case was based on the alleged madness of one of the parties at the time the marriage took place. This case was not proved in the opinion of the judges, in spite of a strong medical opinion in favour of nullity, and the marriage was pronounced valid.

One can hardly imagine that the most censorious critic of the matrimonial legislation of the Catholic Church could find anything to carp at in the details here given.

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

GIBBON AND THE EBIONITES

GIBBON'S History deals with the great transition between the pagan and the Christian world: the transformation of the one into the other. Therefore his main task as an historian is the setting down of what actually happened in the growth of the Church, which was the concomitant and instrument of that change. He stands or falls, therefore, as an historian not by his like or dislike of the Church and its doctrine, but by his accuracy or inaccuracy, his truth or falsehood, his knowledge or ignorance of what took place in the formation of the Church.

Now, the Incarnation is the cardinal doctrine of the Catholic Church. God was made man in Jesus Christ. Our Lord is one Person but one with two natures, human and divine. Jesus Christ was a man, an historical personage. But in Him, of Him, and His very self from the first moment of his earthly existence was also the Godhead pre-existent from all Eternity. Such is the Catholic Doctrine of the Incarnation. On this doctrine all the development of our civilization has depended. All the body of religion we inherit (and religion it is that makes a culture) derives, even to its details, from that affirmation.

How did this doctrine of the Incarnation arise ? That is the main question for an historian. If he tells the story aright his history is sound, no matter whether he believes or disbelieves the doctrine. If he tells the story falsely he is a bad historian, however strongly he may hold or deny the point of faith. I may ridicule or admire the Sunday observance of the English. But, if admiring it, I make it arise in the Thirteenth Century, I am a bad historian. If, ridiculing it, I make it arise in the Eighteenth Century, I am a bad historian. If I trace it to the Reformation I am writing sound history, whether I sneer at it or whether I revere it.

So much being clear, let us examine the position of

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Gibbon as an historian of this doctrine : the Incarnation. As an historian he has to answer the questions : " *How did that doctrine arise ? At what time and by what processes ? Is it original to the Church and contained in its first pronouncements, gradually increasing in definition and precision; or is it an innovation, imposed upon the original Christian conception and gradually corrupting that conception by further novel accretions ?* "

That is what we have to examine in judging Gibbon as an historian in this matter, posing, as he does, for a general historian of European development. Like nearly all the educated men of his time (and even to-day most of ours), he thinks the whole thing a folly. But that does not concern his value as an historian. As an historian he is there to tell us how the folly arose and grew, and if, in his desire to render it absurd and to detach from it those who still believe it, he falsifies the story, then his history is bad history and his reputation as an historian is a cheat.

Gibbon's statement on this matter is, in general, the following : The original Christian Church conceived Jesus Christ to be a man like ourselves and nothing more. That original Church survived in a body called *the Ebionites*, who continued for centuries, though in dwindling numbers, to maintain this pristine attitude. The idea that the man Jesus Christ was also God, was imposed from without, coming from the pagan world ; it was a novelty and a corruption, which increased with time in its divergence from the primitive doctrine. Such is Gibbon's historical statement. I propose to examine it.

Gibbon's statement in affirmation of his cardinal point, that the Ebionites were the original Church, is to be found in the following passages : (*a*) Chapter XV, paragraphs 9 and 10 ; (*b*) Chapter XXI, paragraphs 8 and 9 ; (*c*) Chapter XVII, paragraph 2. Of these the significant passages and notes run as follows :

(*a*) The Jewish converts who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah . . . respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion. But they obstinately adhered

to the ceremonies of their ancestors. . . . The history of the Church of Jerusalem affords a likely proof . . . of the deep impression which the Jewish religion had made on the mind of its [the Church of Jerusalem's] sectaries. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews and the congregation . . . united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.*

It was natural that the primitive tradition of a church which was founded only forty days after the death of Christ . . . should be viewed as the standard of orthodoxy. . . . The Jewish converts or, as they were afterwards called, Nazarenes, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitude that, from all the various religions of Polytheism enlisted under the banner of Christ. . . . The ruin of the Temple (and) City was severely felt by the Nazarenes . . . who . . . retired to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where that ancient church languished above sixty years. . . . But at length, under the reign of Hadrian . . . the emperor founded a new city on Mount Sion to which he gave the privileges of a colony . . . denouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish people who should dare to approach its precincts. . . . The Nazarenes had only one way left to escape the . . . proscription. They elected Marcus for their bishop, of the race of the Gentiles . . . at his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic Law . . . the crimes of heresy and schism were imputed to the obscure remnant . . . which refused to accompany their Latin Bishop—still preserved their former habitation of Pella, and . . . soon received from the poverty of their undertaking, as well as of their condition, the epithet of *Ebionites*.† In a few years it became a matter of doubt whether a man who sincerely acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the laws of Moses could hope for salvation.‡

(*b*) The faith of the Ebionites, perhaps of the Nazarenes . . . revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets . . . the promised Messiah. . . . Some of them might confess that he was born of a Virgin but they absolutely rejected (His) preceding existence. . . . About fifty years afterwards the Ebionites (are) mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve.§

* "Paene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant." Sulp. Sev. II. 31. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l., iv. c. 5.

† Some writers have been pleased to create an Ebion, the imaginary author of their sect . . . but we may more safely rely on the learned Eusebius than on the vehement Tertullian or the credulous Epiphanius.

‡ See the *Trypho* of Justin Martyr, and Tillemont.

§ See the *Trypho*, pp. 143-144.

(*c*) A laudable regard for the honour of the first proselytes has countenanced the belief, the hope, the wish, that the Ebionites or at least, the Nazarenes, were distinguished only by their obstinate perseverance in . . . Mosaic rites. . . . Yet . . . criticism must deny (them) any proper knowledge of the Divinity of Christ. Their grosser apprehensions were incapable of discerning their God, who had studiously disguised his celestial character. The familiar companions of Jesus of Nazareth conversed with . . . a . . . friend who in all the . . . actions . . . of . . . life appeared of the same species with themselves.*

. . . In the insufficient creed of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites a distinction is faintly noticed between the heretics who uphold the generation of Christ in the common order of Nature and the less guilty schismatics who revered the virginity of his Mother.

Now let us collate these passages and extract the definite historical statements to which Gibbon has committed himself. They are these :

1. The companions of Jesus of Nazareth naturally thought Him a mere man : for He was just like themselves and said nothing to give them any idea that He was God. Even the strongest supporters of His Divinity writing hundreds of years after, when legend had had time to grow, had to confess that He and His companions hardly ever—or very rarely—affirmed it. But they thought Him a great teacher and prophet and even the Messiah.

2. In that frame of mind they continued as " the first proselytes " and were the original Church, arising and remaining in Jerusalem. They were Jews, of course, continuing to practise the Jewish religion and thus showed that they felt Christ to be merely human. This body went for a hundred years and more unmolested and respected.

3. But meanwhile the Church was spreading among heathens who were familiar with the idea of the divine in human form. From them came in the conception that Christ was God. The new Gentile churches began

* Chrysostom and Athanasius confess that the Divinity of Christ is rarely mentioned by himself or his apostles.

to preach this novelty, but the original uncorrupted Jewish Church at Jerusalem never accepted it.

4. At last the action of Hadrian, rather more than 100 years after the Crucifixion, in preventing Jews from approaching the site of Jerusalem caused most of the members of this original Church (which had settled beyond Jordan) to modify their attitude. They chose a Gentile bishop, gave up Jewish rites and so got the privilege of visiting Jerusalem; but a sturdy remnant stood out, continued to deny Our Lord's divinity, and, the least corrupted of them, even to deny His miraculous birth. Their increasing poverty and insignificance gave them the name of "Ebionites," that is, "poor people," but from them in that state we can discover what the Church originally taught concerning the nature of Our Lord.

There is Gibbon's history of the way in which the Doctrine of the Incarnation was imposed upon a primitive Church which originally had no idea of it.

Now let us contrast this fantasy with actual history. We shall find, when we turn from the make-belief and assumption of Gibbon to sober history, that the real facts have no relation to his romance save to contradict it. We shall find that his relation is a close mixture of guesswork stated for fact and of pretended acquaintance with original authorities, whom, in fact, Gibbon left unread. For we shall discover sober history establishing these three points:

(i) That no one in antiquity had ever heard of the Ebionites as a survival of the original Church; even the members of the sect making no such claim.

(ii) That they were a definite heresy with a definite historic origin, *and a definite historical founder*, one Ebion.

(iii) That the early Church in Jerusalem is especially marked from its beginnings by its strong attachment to the doctrine of the Incarnation.

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History is not a process of guesswork and suggestion, it is the record of events based upon evidence. First, therefore, we must tabulate the evidence.

There exists upon this small and obscure heretical sect of Ebionites not a word of evidence till the close of the Second Century: about as long a time after the Crucifixion as, say, the Accession of King Edward VII was from the time of Dean Swift, or the recent Great War from the Seven Years' War and the exploits of Frederick the Great. There is no mention of their existence until that time. From this first mention of them we have seven witnesses giving direct evidence upon them; others (like St. Hilary and Theodoret, etc.) repeat what these seven had said, but they, the seven, are our first witnesses. These seven are, in order of time, St. Irenaeus, St. Hippolytus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome. The very rare allusions to them from other than these seven are either repetitions of what the seven tell us or condemnation without historical statement. St. Irenaeus presumably wrote his passage on the Ebionites *c.* A.D. 180-200. St. Hippolytus, a younger companion of St. Irenaeus, wrote probably *c.* A.D. 200-210. Tertullian's passage may be of the same date, but is probably a little later, say, A.D. 210-220. Origen has several passages on the Ebionites scattered up and down his surviving works. They are of much the same date, say, 210-230, and specially valuable because he lived in and saw all there was to see of Palestine and Jerusalem at that time. Eusebius wrote his passage on the Ebionites about 100 years later, 320-30. I call him a "first-class witness" on account of his great position as an historian, but it is clear that his source is Origen. St. Epiphanius, a lifetime later again, say, 370-400; St. Jerome is roughly contemporary with St. Epiphanius, but most of his passages probably later by a few years.

Now (i), the first thing we discover about our seven witnesses is that not one of them has a single word to say about any Ebionite claim to be the original Church. They do not, as might be expected, if Gibbon's history were

sound, protest with indignation against such a claim. They do not argue against it. They do not even allude to it with contempt. They have never heard of it. That is the capital point which we find at the outset of our inquiry and it is of a decisive character. All these witnesses testify that the Church of their time looked on the Ebionites as an obscure sect of heretics, that is, of people who said they had arrived at a right statement on an unprovable and transcendental religious doctrine, but whose statement was at issue with that of the Church in general. None of them had so much as heard of the further claim on the part of this sect that it held unbroken continuity with the original Church and was, in fact, that same Church from which all others had seceded. The general reader of Gibbon would never suspect this and is not intended to suspect it. The very few who have the leisure to consult the actual evidence know it to be so. Gibbon may have read that evidence—it is doubtful. If he did, he suppressed it.

(ii) Next we discover that all save two of our witnesses who talk of the *origin* of the Ebionites at all put down that heresy to a particular heresiarch, *Ebion*; and the only testimony we have to his date points to the period following the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70: so that he was not himself a contemporary with the founding of the Church but a man of the second generation, whose innovation (or, as he would have called it, reconstruction) was a definite, separate, personal act as have been all the inceptions of all heretical sects. No doubt he claimed to have discovered, resuscitated or disinterred an original doctrine—all heresiarchs do that. Indeed, he followed an elder innovator, Cerinthus. But at any rate he, Ebion, was the point of departure; it is from him that the Ebionites date. This point, the existence of a particular early heresiarch, Ebion, a real person in history, is of critical importance. If the word "Ebionite" simply means a certain little church holding a doctrine of indefinite antiquity (to wit, the doctrine that Our Lord was a mere man), then a wild hypothesis *can* be framed—how-

ever lacking in proof—that such a body, such a doctrine, was that of the Apostles at Pentecost. But if we find a definite historical personage starting this body long *after* Pentecost, then even as a wild hypothesis the thing is impossible.

It is on this account that all rationalist critics, from the early Eighteenth Century to Harnack in our own day, have denied in chorus the existence of Ebion, have called him " a fiction," and have dismissed him as an imaginary person conjured up to explain the existence of the little Ebionite community which they desire to be the survival of the early Church. They have had grounds for this denial of an historical Ebion. It has been adopted by many sound historians not warped by anti-Christian bias. But I maintain that it must now be abandoned, in the light of a new correlation of testimony and especially in the light of a piece of evidence which (I think) I now present for the first time. I have read all that our seven witnesses have to say in the matter. I have also noted the less numerous citations made from them by those who deny the existence of Ebion, but I have also discovered a further proof that he certainly did exist. I will proceed to set down this process of proof, and I think my readers will admit that it settles the matter once and for all.

Of our seven witnesses, one, the earliest, St. Irenaeus, is silent upon the matter of Ebion. He speaks only of the heresy itself. Of the remaining six, Eusebius says nothing of him, and repeats Origen's remark that the word "Ebionite" means "poor" and properly attaches to them from the poverty of their doctrine; all the other five mention Ebion as an actual person. But this is not all. If we consider the date and the position of our witnesses the proof is still stronger. Of our seven witnesses one, Eusebius, is clearly repeating a statement of Origen's. So that our real list is six rather than seven. Of the six, one, as I have said, St. Irenaeus, says nothing about the heresiarch one way or the other, but merely talks about the heresy—as a thousand talk to-day about Calvinism without mentioning Calvin. All the remaining five speak of

Ebion, a real person. The earliest, St. Hippolytus, a companion and disciple of St. Irenaeus, does so; the latest, St. Jerome, two hundred years later does so; and so does his contemporary St. Epiphanius; and so do the two in between, Tertullian and Origen. There is a complete consensus in favour of Ebion's existence, and no voice against it.

This is strong enough in all conscience—but there is more. Of the five direct witnesses who tell us of this Ebion, two, St. Hippolytus and Tertullian, wrote in the West, but *three*, Origen, St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome, wrote in the East. Now Ebion, being of Palestine, was of the East; the Western writers might get a distorted story, but the Eastern witnesses were on the spot and dealt with record close at hand. Well, of these three Eastern witnesses (who all take Ebion for granted as a real person, like Marcion or Cerinthus), two, St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome, are voluminous, making continual allusion to the Ebionites and their strange habits and ideas: both continually say "Ebion"—but one St., Epiphanius, and he alone, really goes into detail, specializes on the little sect, tells us all about it and devotes a whole book of his work to them. The others give no more than references, chance phrases, or paragraphs; but St. Epiphanius is the historian of them—and it is precisely St. Epiphanius who gives us details on Ebion, makes his existence—already certain from the other witnesses—certain beyond the shadow of doubt. He writes of him as I might write, at an equal distance of time, of Bunyan or Cromwell.

In the face of such crushing evidence the matter can no longer stand in doubt. There was a very real Ebion and he started the Ebionites. How then did an opposite opinion, denying his existence, arise? Why is it still held? What arguments could it adduce? Before answering this question I will quote in detail the original authorities for my statement, lest I be accused of mere affirmations. This done I will show how the denial of Ebion's existence and the corresponding theory that the

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Ebionites were something aboriginal without a founder—and, indeed, the true descendants of the early Church—could be suggested a lifetime ago, and why that piece of bad history survives.

Here, then, first are the historic testimonies to Ebion :

Hippolytus (*c.* A.D. 200-210).—*Haeres*, vii. 35 :

"κὰι Κηρίνθου κὰι Ἐβίωνος σχολης,"

"Of the school of Cerinthus and *Ebion*."

Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 210-220).—*De Carn.*, xiv :

"Poterit haec opinio *Hebioni* convenire, qui nudum hominem, etc."

"This opinion would suit *Ebion*, who made of Jesus a mere man."

De Praescript, x :

"Et *Hebion* et Simon."

"*Ebion* also, and Simon."

xxxiii :

"*Ebionis* haeresis est."

"It is the Heresy of *Ebion*."

xlviii :

"Hujusque successor *Hebion* Fuit."

"And his [i.e. Cerinthus] successor was *Ebion*."

Origen (*c.* 210-230).—*Comment. in Epist. ad. Rom.* :

"Hoc et *Ebion* facit."

"*Ebion* acts thus."

St. Jerome (*c.* 390-410).—*In Epistol. ad Galat*, Lib. II, Cap. iii :

"*Ebion* ille Haeresiarches."

"*Ebion* that Haeresiarch."

In Epistol. ad Ephes., Lib. II, Cap. iv :

"Adversum *Ebionem* facit."

"Contradicts *Ebion*."

In Epistol. ad. Galat., Lib. I, Cap. i :

"*Ebionis* dogma."

"Ebion's doctrine."

De Situ (under "Genesis") :

"Et *a principe* Ebionitae Nuncpantur."

"And are called Ebionites *after their founder*."

In Joana, Lib. I, Cap. i (in verse 3) :

"*Ebion* dignus pro humilitate," etc.

"*Ebion*, worthy from the baseness," etc.

Gibbon and the Ebionites

Comment. in Epistol. ad Galat., Lib. I, Cap. i. (in verse 1) :

" *Ebionis Heresis.*"

" *Ebion's* Haeresy."

Comment. in Epistol. ad Titum, Cap. iii, 10 and 11. (In a list of Haeresiarchs) :

" *Ebionem.*"

" *Ebion.*"

Dialog. ad Lucif. 23 :

" Cerinthum et Hujus successorem *Ebionem.*"

" Cerinthus and his successor *Ebion.*"

Dialog. ad Lucif. 23 :

" *Ebionis* baptisma."

" *Ebion's* baptism."

St. Epiphanius (*c.* 380-400).—*Haerses.* (In a whole chapter dealing entirely with Ebion and his heresy). :

xxx. 1 :

" Εβίων ἀφ' ὑπερ Εβιωναῖοι."

" *Ebion* from whom the Ebionites get their name."

xxx. 2.

" Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εβίων . . . ἐπειδή . . . ἐν Πέλλῃ τινὶ πόλει . . . γέγονεν ἐκ τούτου προφασίς τῷ Εβίωνι."

" *Ebion* [began the Heresy] after the Christians had left for Pella."

xxx. 3:

" Εβίων . . . ὡριζετο."

" *Ebion* taught thus."

xxx. 18:

" ὁ Εβίων ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ ἔιχε τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ Ῥωμῃ."

" *Ebion* spread his heresy through Asia and Rome." etc., etc. *Passim.*

I said, before presenting all this mass of evidence, that the reader might well wonder how, in the face of it, such nonsense as the notion of Ebion's never having existed could have arisen. The story is worth a short digression, because it is a beautiful model of that modern disease in history, the worship of guesswork and the neglect of fact.

Gibbon began, of course, by *wanting* Ebion to be a myth. Not a few orthodox authorities had preceded him and were to follow him. But *he* has a motive. He is so keen on it that he departs here from his master, Mosheim, who consents to leave the matter in doubt. To

put forward the Ebionites, with their denial of the Incarnation, as the Primitive Church would be impossible if they had a founder. The Rationalizers, whom Gibbon copied, selected all evidence that could be twisted into a denial of Ebion's existence, emphasized that evidence; and belittled all that was against them. What was in their favour? First that St. Irenaeus, the earliest witness, in his very few sentences about this obscure heresy, spoke only of its false doctrines without mentioning its founder. Next, that Tertullian, who (they thought) was the first to talk definitely of Ebion, wrote in the West, far away from places where the Ebionites lived and could be studied, so that he might have got hold of a doubtful story. Both these arguments were weak and negative. The only argument worth considering was the fact that two witnesses who lived in the East, Origen and Eusebius the historian, both allude (Origen more than once) to the fact that Ebionite in Aramaic (and Hebrew) means "*poor*," and both say "The Ebionites, so-called from the poverty of their view of Christ." When it was pointed out that St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome both take Ebion's existence as a piece of common knowledge and allude to him again and again, and both lived on the spot and in the East where they could study the thing at first-hand, it was answered that these two authorities were late—a century and a half after Origen and nearly a century after Eusebius. When it was pointed out that Eusebius merely copied Origen, they said that Origen, alone, was conclusive because he had lived in Palestine, knew Aramaic and Hebrew well and outweighed all the others.

It was not a strong position but, such as it was, there is the statement of it. So things stood till 1842: on an insufficient reading of the witnesses, on a very few excerpts so far studied, the contention that Ebion never lived stood (up to 1842) on this ground: that St. Irenaeus, the earliest witness, did not mention the actual word "Ebion" but only "Ebionite," and that, of the two next earliest witnesses, Tertullian and Origen, the one who knew Hebrew and was on the spot, said the name was

attached to the poverty of their doctrine and only the one writing far away said there had been a real Ebion. The later witnesses they ruled out.

But in 1842 the lost books of St. Hippolytus were discovered: and Hippolytus was the close companion and disciple of St. Irenaeus and earlier than Tertullian. In these recovered books Ebion is mentioned as a real man, the founder of the heresy; and his existence is taken for granted. The discovery was a shock to the Rationalizers, but a piece of guesswork once rooted in a sceptical mind is hard to eradicate. They said that even if Hippolytus, this newly found and very early witness, and even if his master, Irenaeus, believed there had been an Ebion, they, though they wrote in Greek and though the elder one was Eastern in origin, yet lived in the West and were therefore to be discredited. Origen was the only witness worth hearing. *He* said plainly that "Ebionite" was but a nickname given to the heretics from the poverty of their doctrines—as the word "Ebion" also meant "a poor man." *He* had no idea of any Ebion as a person and never mentioned such a man.

They were quite sure of that. Why were they quite sure? Because they had not read enough. Because, through the commonest of academic faults, they copied in succession what earlier writers had said, without sufficiently looking up their original authorities. Because their learned footnotes, pretending to full knowledge of these authorities, were humbug.* If they had read more fully they would have been disturbed to note that the witnesses who tell us about Ebion and call him the founder of the sect, knew all about this pun upon his name and the use that can be made of it for ridiculing the Ebionites. Thus Epiphanius (xxx, 17) points out that Ebion means "a beggar" and rubs in the moral about "Ebionites" and poverty of doctrine thoroughly; he uses the play on words just as much as Origen, yet he also talks over and

* It is comic to note Harnack's grave reproach against his contemporary brother Rationalizer, Hilgenfeld, for maintaining the existence of Ebion. For neither he *nor Hilgenfeld* had sufficiently read their original authorities. They were both spinning theories.

over again of Ebion, the real man. The one remark does not exclude the other. St. Jerome does the same: he knows all about Ebion, the man, but he also uses the established commentary on the significance of the name—its appositeness: thus in his Commentary on Isaia (Lib. XVIII, cap. lxvi) he has "*Ebionitae, qui pro humilitate Sensus nomen pauperum susceperunt.*" "The Ebionites, who had to bear that name from the baseness of their appreciation." The pun was a standing jest or sneer or note of contempt which in no way excluded a knowledge that Ebion, with his highly suitable name, was a very real personage.

Those who denied the existence of Ebion had not read these passages and therefore, even in the matter of Origen, their one apparent authority, they were off their guard. *For Origen himself took Ebion for granted as a real man, the founder of the heresy, and, as we have seen, mentions him by name directly.* That is absolutely conclusive, and it means that the opposing school—still continued in so recent a writer as Harnack—has not a leg to stand on. I found the passage as I read my authorities for this study of Gibbon, and I have already quoted it in this article. The reader will find it in Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. (Book III, chapter xi, in the Latin form): "*Hoc* (i.e., destroying God's law) *et EBION facit, hoc et omnes qui in fide Catholica aliquid corruptionis inserunt.*" "This is what EBION does; this is what all those do who introduce any corruption of the Catholic faith."

We may regard the matter as settled. There was an Ebion. He was an heresiarch. He originated the heresy which bears his name.

(iii) Not only is the whole of antiquity quite ignorant of any claim by the Ebionites to represent the early Church, not only does the whole of antiquity testify to the founding of the Ebionites as a special heresy by a particular and known founder, one Ebion, but there is a mass of positive testimony as well to the fact that the primitive Church, surviving in and near Jerusalem, while

naturally clinging for a man's lifetime, and more, to the social practices of their Jewish ancestry were (as one might expect) full of the Incarnation and worshipped Christ as God, like all others outside the heresy of Cerinthus and his successors. It is perfectly true that this clinging to traditional custom made trouble from the beginning—we know *that* from the earliest documents, from the Canon of the New Testament itself. There was even an extreme though dwindling party which wanted for a long time after to impose Jewish rites upon non-Jewish converts. But there was never any sort of connection between this survival of Jewish rites and a denial of the Incarnation. The statement that there was such a connection is a gratuitous falsehood, glaring in Gibbon, and repeated by his successors. I will present the proofs, general and particular.

(*a*) There is no protest to be found anywhere in any other Church against the denial or ignoring of the Incarnation by the early Jewish Church in Jerusalem. Among all that world of gentile converts which took the Divinity of Jesus Christ for granted, not a word exists to suggest that one of the Apostolic Churches—that of Jerusalem—stood in such amazing contrast to the rest and denied so fundamental a conception.

No one will contest that the Church in its very earliest form, I mean within the first two human generations of its existence, clung closely, as clues to Orthodoxy, to two guides. (1) Consanguinity with the family of Our Lord. (2) (*more important*) The constant tradition of what we call the Apostolic Sees—that is the bishoprics certainly founded by Apostles. As to the clue of consanguinity, we know that the first and second Bishops of Jerusalem were specially chosen because they were relatives of Our Lord according to the flesh. As to the second, we know with equal certitude that at least five churches were without dispute, and in the very earliest times, regarded as possessing apostolic foundation. These five are, in historical order of their foundation, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Ephesus and Alexandria, with, of course,

no certain dates for the last two. Jerusalem, as one of the five, and as the oldest of the five, could not possibly have differed entirely upon a main doctrine without the most violent effect of such divergence appearing among her contemporaries. There is not a trace of it.

That is the first and main piece of negative evidence proving the falsity of Gibbon's history.

(*b*) The Jews are observed everywhere, in the very earliest times, to be the most violent enemies of the nascent Church, and the basis of their enmity was precisely the *claim to Divinity* put forward, according to the Gospels, by Jesus Christ Himself, and certainly by the Church immediately after His ministry on earth. The animosity aroused in Jews by the particular doctrine of Christ's *Godhead* is apparent in every narrative of the Gospels, within whatever narrow limits of date you choose to put each document. It appears again in the Acts of the Apostles, whatever date you choose to ascribe to that document; it appears in the undoubtedly authentic Acts of St. Polycarp—and so forth. The irritation produced in Jewry by the doctrine of the Incarnation is a chief mark of the very earliest times.

Not only is this a plain historical fact, but it is one which—had we no record of it—might be inferred by common sense. It is obvious from what we know of the intense Jewish religious feeling that the one thing most sure to offend it would be a claim to Divinity, made by a man on his own account, or by his followers. It would violently offend all that great mass of the Jewish nation which rejected the Gospel and from the very first attacked the small body that accepted Jesus as the Messiah. It was this doctrine evidently—the doctrine of Our Lord's Divinity—which inspired the antagonism.

Now if this violent opposition, particularly directed against the doctrine of the Incarnation, were seen historically arising at some later date than the first founding of the Church; if it were seen growing in volume and (what is most important of all as a piece of proof) accompanied by allusions to it as an innovation, *then* you would

have an argument in favour of the theory that this doctrine was imposed upon the early Church from without. *Then* you would have an argument in favour of the theory that the Church, in its very first form, knew nothing of the idea. You would even have a presumption in favour of the theory that so novel an idea came from the Pagan world. For the Incarnation is an idea utterly foreign to Jewish tradition and to the Jewish stamp of mind, as indeed is the whole spirit of the New Testament and all the social and political consequences of Catholic doctrine in the development of European culture. But there is no trace of any such attitude upon the part of the Jews. They never say "Christ was a man whom, a long time after his death, people began to call God." On the contrary, from the very beginning, from Christ's own lifetime *according to their own history*, they resisted what was (to them) the monstrous doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. From the very beginning—with the exception of those few who accepted the Christ as the Messiah—they heaped abuse and insult upon Him and treated Him and His followers as a sort of national enemy. There is no trace of a time in which that doctrine of the Incarnation was not the cardinal point differentiating the mass of the Jews from the new Church, whether in its Gentile mass or in its small particular fragment of Jewish Christians.

These two negative arguments would alone be sufficient for our case, and it is significant that Gibbon entirely ignores them. But there is positive evidence as well which clinches the matter. Few and fragmentary as are the non-canonical documents that have come down to us from the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages—that is, from the first two lifetimes after the Crucifixion, from the period, say, between A.D. 30 and A.D. 170 or 180—we can find in them a full exposure of Gibbon's erroneous history. It will be admitted, of course, that the canonical text of the New Testament makes nonsense of such history. The four Gospels and the Acts, if accepted as the earliest record, give ample testimony to the friction be-

tween those who maintained Jewish customs at the very beginning and those who were willing to discard them, but they are unanimous in favour of the Divinity of Our Lord, and so far from suggesting that the Church at Jerusalem denied the Incarnation, they specifically affirm, through the members of that very Church, that it was that very Church's creed. But to rely upon the canonical documents alone is of little value in our controversy, because the violent irritation which the Christian Church excites in its opponents forbids them to accept the Gospels or Acts as historical evidence. I rely, therefore, for positive evidence in the matter upon documents not canonical.

We have three main original documents of this sort, dealing specifically with the case in point—that is, with the original Faith of the Church at Jerusalem: three writers as our witnesses. These three witnesses are: (α) Ignatius, (β) Hegesippus, (γ) Justin.

(*c*) St. Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch and was put to death round about the year 110. He was, upon every presumption, an old man at that time; also he had then been Bishop of Antioch for many years, though we are unable to discover a fixed date for his first occupation of the See. The Crucifixion took place more than eighty but less than ninety years before St. Ignatius was put to death. St. Ignatius stands, therefore, to the very first foundations of the Church very much as a man, now old, stands in England to-day towards the Reform Bill, the Liberal movement of Free Trade, etc., immediately succeeding, or as an Irishman stands to Daniel O'Connell's movement, or a Frenchman to the Monarchy of July. He was to the very first years of the Church what a boy who has fought in the Great War is to the South African War and the reign of Edward VII. He could almost remember Pentecost. He could remember clearly the affirmations of doctrine made within ten years of Pentecost. We are in the presence of a witness who mixed intimately with the whole mass of people who had first made those affirmations and who himself continued and

repeated those affirmations. Now St. Ignatius takes the Incarnation for granted.

But there is more than this. St. Ignatius is a witness to the fact that *in his time* and *as an innovation* new and false doctrine on the Incarnation was arising. He bears ample testimony to a growing doctrine which saw Our Lord *only* as God and belittled or eliminated his human nature, but he also bears witness to the recent appearance of the opposite error. In his letter to the Philadelphians he writes of, and warns people against, those who would corrupt that doctrine of the Incarnation by "lessening." The evidence of St. Ignatius is quite clear: (1) That the doctrine of the Incarnation is the original doctrine. (2) That something had begun in his time (and evidently, from the way he writes, rather late in his time) some movement, which tended to lessen, to whittle down this original affirmation of Our Lord's Divinity.

(*d*) Our next witness is Hegesippus. We have of Hegesippus nothing but fragments, for which we depend upon Eusebius; but the fragments of Hegesippus are clear and, what is even more important, Eusebius tells us in so many words that Hegesippus wrote his *Memoirs* (as they were called) in very simple, straightforward language. They are therefore of the highest value. Hegesippus lived in the generation immediately after St. Ignatius. We know that he was alive on the two dates 130 and 176. We may affirm without error that he was born within ten years one way or the other of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, within, say, thirty years of the death of St. John, and less than a hundred years after the Crucifixion. He stands therefore to the inception of the Church at Jerusalem very much as a man of my generation stands to the French Revolution and Napoleon's wars, or as a young man at Oxford to-day stands to the Days of the Regent. We know that he met as a young man many older men, and that he was particular to examine all evidence he could find. He made it his business to establish strict records—among other things he carefully set down lists of bishops in each See. What is greatly to

our point, *he was himself a Jew and probably a Jew from Palestine*. Now the light Hegesippus throws upon Gibbon's falsehood of an original Palestinian Church denying the Incarnation, lies in two points; the first well-known in another connection, but the second hitherto neglected.

1. He tells us that he went about everywhere consulting the bishops of all the main churches and found the same doctrine in every place. That is a frequently cited passage. But—what is conclusive and yet not noticed:

2. He also tells us that there had been no divergence of opinion upon the main point of doctrine *in the Church at Jerusalem itself* (to which he particularly alludes) until the death of St. James, the first bishop, the one who was called "the brother of the Lord." We cannot exactly fix the date of St. James's death, though there is plenty of converging testimony to make it late. It certainly took place in the lifetime of the older men whom Hegesippus had met and talked with when he himself was young, and he therefore had evidence at first hand. His words are quite plain: the first trouble that arose in the Church at Jerusalem was raised by one Thebutis. Thebutis was aggrieved because Simeon, a cousin of the Lord and of the late Bishop, was given the bishopric of Jerusalem, which he desired for himself. In his anger he started a separatist movement in which he allied himself with the pressure exercised by the non-Christian Jews upon the Christian Jews.

This is of the very first importance. We have here direct historical evidence of an innovation. It was an innovation earlier than Ebion's, but contemporary perhaps with the corresponding innovation of Cerinthus whom we know that Ebion followed, and it was an innovation of essentially the same kind as Ebion's, to wit a reaction away from the Godhead of Christ towards the old Jewish feeling, which feeling, as we know, abhorred the idea of divinity in a man.

(*e*) Our third witness is St. Justin. St. Justin is of much the same date as Hegesippus, and may even have

written somewhat earlier the document to which I here refer, which is his argument against Trypho. St. Justin also was a Jew, and also was well acquainted with the state of the particular community in question: the Church of Jerusalem. What St. Justin says to Trypho is in substance this: "I condemn those Christians who, because they are of Jewish nationality, try to *impose* their national customs upon other Christians: I also condemn those Christians who, because they are not of Jewish nationality, refuse to associate with our Jewish converts. The only real test of orthodoxy is whether a man accepts *the full doctrine* in the matter of Christ. If he does, however fond he be of Jewish customs, he is my brother Christian." St. Justin is not content with the phrase "the full doctrine in the matter of Christ." He is at the pains of going into the matter most fully and saying exactly what it is: and he emphasizes the doctrine of the Incarnation thoroughly—the pre-existence and Divinity of Jesus Christ. We conclude immediately from this witness that the Church at Jerusalem accepted the doctrine of the Incarnation as did every other. That is exactly what we should expect, but it is also definitely witnessed to by St. Justin.

We may sum up the positive evidence therefore, and say that within living memory of the Apostles one witness, St. Ignatius, and two other witnesses (Hegesippus and St. Justin) living in close communion with their immediate successors, present us with a Church in Jerusalem which: (1) had exactly the same doctrine of the Incarnation as all the other churches and (2) had already been disturbed by heresy, a long lifetime after the Crucifixion, with the implication that (3) this first disturbance was in the nature of a reaction towards the older Jewish abhorrence of divinity in any human being. Our three witnesses therefore directly contradict the thesis that the original Jewish Church in Jerusalem, the Church of the Apostles, knew nothing of the Incarnation. They confirm in the most positive manner the doctrinal agreement of that Church with its fellows; what is more, they confirm in

different degrees the statement (the first and third by implication, the second by the most minute and detailed affirmation) that the denial of the Incarnation at Jerusalem was a novelty introduced by a definitely known innovator.

We are now in a position to summarise the whole exposure of Gibbon's incapacity as an historian in this capital matter of the Ebionites. He is full of particular errors and omissions. He does not know the source of Eusebius' statement. He conceives Tertullian to be the sole early witness to Ebion. He omits or is ignorant of the evidence of Hegesippus and Ignatius; he refers to Trypho because those whom he was copying refer to Trypho: but has not read him, for if he had he would have seen the passage on the Incarnation immediately following his reference and contradicting his version of it.

He is as uninformed in his general statements as in his particular. He tells his readers that the Ebionites with their denial of the Incarnation were the survivors and representatives of the early Church in Jerusalem, and hence had no founder—their name "Ebionim" being only derived from its verbal meaning "poor men"; and that the doctrine was a later corruption introduced from the Gentile world. To prove his point that there was no heresiarch, Ebion, he cites Eusebius as not mentioning him. The rest of his statement is mere assertion.

That citation is ignorant, and the assertions accompanying it are purely imaginary. Had Gibbon known that Eusebius copied Origen, and had he read his Origen he would have found that Origen *does* mention Ebion—as do all his contemporaries and successors over and over again: while as for the general assertion we have full proof of its falsity from the fact that (i) No contemporary witness has ever heard of such a theory or of any such claim made by the Ebionites themselves; (ii) All the earliest contemporary witnesses without exception tell us that the Ebionite sect was a special heresy, and all but one allude to, and some even describe, its founder; while

(iii) the Church of Jerusalem was never even alluded to as denying the Incarnation, was specially hated by the Jews for *defending* the Incarnation, and is particularly pointed out, by all the early evidence we have, as being devoted to that doctrine. The whole of this pivotal group of passages in Gibbon's work is historically worthless.

HILAIRE BELLOC.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

A LECTURER or tourist going to the States for the first time will find Mr. C. R. Enoch's *America and England* (Daniel O'Connor) an excellent statistical résumé of the different States, their character and products, but the Historical Glimpse is much less reliable. In discussing the somewhat imaginary parallels dividing British from American territory he produces an imaginary President—"the more peaceable President Calhoun!" Unfortunately his name is not on the roll of the American Presidents. It is also a blunder to record the battle on Look-out Mountain during the Civil War as "between the forces of Hooker and Sherman." The general view is that they were both Northerners. Mr. Enoch's dates are astray. He tells us that "in 1852 the Federals and the Confederates made it (Nashville) a battleground," and later speaks of the electorate of November, 1914, when he means the vote which returned Wilson in 1916; and we learn that Admiral Sims was instructed "not to let the British pull the wood over his eyes." If we remember, it was wool. We are afraid the whole tone of the book must be intensely irritating to American readers. Mr. Enoch should read Lowell's essay on a certain condescension he observed in English writers, except that his condescension borders on contempt. His account of social life devotes only a small paragraph to the Catholic Church in the States. "We shall realize the fact that America is in very considerable degree a Roman Catholic country. . . . In every State of the formerly Puritan New England Roman Catholics predominate over the Protestant and other churches . . . It would appear that the membership of the Romish Church increases much more rapidly than that of the various Protestant sects, and this condition is not explainable by the matter of immigration alone." It is curious to hear that "The English Church with all its magnificent work, traditions and power would seem to have become somewhat stereotyped and fettered."

In contrast John Ayscough has devoted a whole volume to the Catholic Church in America. His *First Impressions in America* (John Long) will serve as a handbook to any Catholic lecturer, for he covered the whole continent and seems hardly ever to have been off consecrated ground! It is true that Mgr. Bickerstaffe Drew already enjoyed a literary vogue in America (he seems to have struck a John Ayscough Club) and carried the Roman purple, which gave him a prestige beyond the attainment of the ordinary lecturer. Indeed, his progress seems to have been little less than triumphal, for he was mistaken for a Cardinal or a Count. Indeed, one of the "gentlemen of colour" on the Pullman cars handed him his hat with a low bow and the assurance "not a speck of dust on it now, Cardinal." The book is little more than a Catholic Baedeker describing the points, hosts and route of his tour. It is only when he touched the Grand Canyon or the Washington Pew in Alexandria that he lets his well-known and welcome style come to his paper. It will be read with real pleasure by every one of his American friends mentioned. It is seldom that English lecturers are as appreciative or polite. The book will serve once more to emphasize the organized growth of the Church in America, its educational, social and national powers and potentialities. S. L.

IN Lionel Johnson England lost a poet and literature a sound critic. Robert Shafer has rescued some of his full-dress *Reviews and Critical Papers* from the files (Elkin Mathews). His judgment on the prime writers of the 'nineties could not be replaced. He judged them upon the twin scales of literary merit and Christian philosophy. Mr. Shafer guesses truly "that a chief influence saving him from the mental and moral confusion on every side was his entry into the Roman Catholic Church." His sentences on writers are epigrammatic but unstrained. "It is not so much the reflections upon life as the reflections of life that Mr. Kipling values," is as sound as his explanation of Kipling's taste—"Irritated by silly

sentiment he takes up silly cynicism ; angry with foolish shamefacedness he adopts a foolish shamelessness." Stevenson's *Wrecker* he found " as confused as the *Iliad*, as adventurous as the *Odyssey*," and compared his soul and heart against Kipling's memory and eye. On Meredith he became singularly illuminating: "Critics have published lists of Mr. Meredith's failures in epigram. They might as well be called his failures in epic." The Meredithian phrasing seemed due to Meredith's difference from any other novelist—he sees thoughts as things, emotions as images, the abstract as the concrete." Lionel Johnson's reviews become essays full of considered thought or accurate reminiscence. " If we go through Golden Square, which is most living to us : Mr. Matthew Bramble or Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Ralph Nickleby or Cardinal Wiseman ? " He came into his own when reviewing Sir Thomas Hawkins' translation of Father Caussin's *Holy Court*, one of the English Catholic classics to which the author of *John Inglesant* was much indebted, and from which he, Johnson, snatched phrases like " The just are here below as little halcyons on the trembling of the waters or nightingales on thorns." Of Manning's *Pastime Papers* he said notably that " Thackeray might have written them, using the precision of Aristotle and the brevity of Bacon." S. L.

SO much is said—all to the same tedious effect—in temporary criticism, about " the Victorians," that (in search of a very common kind of subtlety) the obvious is neglected. Now in the classifying of writers by their century, the arbitrary date is always insisted on. And with reason, because the men of letters themselves have done it, as grotesquely as their critics are doing it in the present journalism. That the end of one century, as our race computes time, should suggest to French authors that they should be decadent, and that the beginning of another should suggest youth and the boast of it—these are follies. It is hard to believe, but impossible to doubt, the influence this ending and this beginning had over

Coventry Patmore

the multitude of minor authors. Never before was any literature so decadent as in that *fin de siècle*, never before was any brag so braggart as the youthfulness of the last twenty years. It really seems to have occurred to no one that it was the arbitrary "century" that was old, the arbitrary "century" that was young.

The middle eighteen-hundreds had no such preposterous labellings. And yet they might, with some little show of reason, have called themselves middle-aged; for the authors of those years held an even way, showed themselves steady, unboastful, related to all times, classic, romantic, new. It was a middle-aged time, and made no boast of it. Its young men had no new century to proclaim, nor its old men any old; and the result of this freedom from sheeplike thronging was a most memorable individuality in the great men of about the 'fifties and onwards. There never was so much separate and single literature in our language as then. For the Elizabethans were, at any rate, Elizabethan, the Augustans Augustan; whereas it is only by ignorance that we call the Victorians Victorian. Coventry Patmore—whose newspaper articles, written between the years 1885 and 1896, have been collected and issued by the Oxford University Press under the title of *Courage in Politics*—took the fullest advantage of this middle-aged liberty. There was no one anywhere to resemble him. The most conscious of himself and the least conscious of his contemporaries, he was among many other things the most original of great poets, and the authors and readers who have gathered in flocks and herds have neither understood him nor even understood that there was anything to understand. He was single, and he spoke to the single minds.

Patmore's prose work is pure prose, and separated from his poetry by the lack of the beauty and mystery of poetry. It is bent upon saying plainly something that needed saying. In his anonymous magazine and newspaper work, which a distinguished student presents in this volume, we find what the poet intended—a forthright statement of his principles, political, social, moral, and

of his opinions. Now, the principles, seeing with what passion Patmore held them, could not be too insistently proclaimed; he had a right to his violence; even the reader who opposes him knows that he is meeting a great man foot to foot. The Catholic religion, the administration of morality—which the Catholic religion, through her sacraments, claims and practises and enforces—this is the rock of Patmore's footing. But when, leaving principles for opinions, we come to Patmore's literary criticism, we find something that may be accused of arrogance. But he is arrogant with dignity, and his very caprice has a kind of noble vehemence that we cannot wish away. His paper on *The Vicar of Wakefield* rouses a protest in almost every line; and so with the praise of certain more modern novelists. His whim is that of an honest man. But there is a reason in his caprice. And of the literary work much is a protest *against* the caprice of criticism. Patmore crushes the fanaticism (even though the fanaticism was that of Macaulay, Tennyson, Spedding, George Eliot) that coupled Jane Austen's name with Shakespeare's; against it he opposes mere good sense; his fervent praise of Dr. Bridges and of Francis Thompson, for example, has the fervour of good sense. And in the quieter opinions we come upon phrases and thoughts in the highest degree worthy of the poet and thinker, such as this in the essay on Bridges' *Prometheus*: "The poem, like nature, is full of symbolism, and innocent of conscious intention."

Mr. Page, to whom we owe this valuable little volume, has done his work of collection and presentation with admirable diligence and a judgment that proves his capacity for the noble intellectual work of admiration.

A. M.

THE able series of Hibbert Lectures, entitled *The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy illustrated from the works of S. Thomas Aquinas* (Williams and Norgate), by P. H. Wicksteed, M.A., forms a collection that in various ways will astonish the reader. Apart

from its ideal get-up, its scholarly patience and thoroughness, its notes illustrative of each lecture (sometimes as long as, and in one instance longer than, the lecture itself), and the two additional *Excursus* on the Intellect and Will, and the Beatific Vision—the main issues of the book call for attentive consideration. The scope, in short, is a statement of the philosophy of St. Thomas, a criticism of the same, and an epilogue, definitely religious. As a study of the philosophical system of St. Thomas it is unique. There are few Thomists who will not gather much from its wide survey, its penetrating and luminous analysis; there are none who would not be stimulated by the writer's sincere and enthusiastic appreciation of the Angelic Doctor. He not only explains the mental atmosphere of the Thirteenth Century, the motives which determined the adoption of the system of Aristotle in preference to a more congenial Platonism, but he shrinks from no subtlety, no characteristic views of the great Doctor, and rightly discerns the relative excellence of his greatest productions. "In the *Contra Gentiles*," he writes, "Aquinas leads us with consummate skill and unwavering sincerity to the acceptance on their own merits of the greater number of the positive beliefs of his Church; and at the same time the whole vital movement of his argument tends, with ever-increasing insistence, towards something beyond itself, and attunes the reader's mind to accept the super-rational sequel." And again: "The *Contra Gentiles*, in the majesty of its progress, in the continuity of its structure, in its sustained fervour, and in its masterly construction, is the outstanding representative to the disinterested student of philosophy and literature, of what scholasticism at its highest could achieve."

Mr. Wicksteed is alive to the intense seriousness of the purpose of St. Thomas, his transparent honesty, and the angelic perspicacity of his intelligence. And as the crowning example of his own comprehension of the mind of his author, we may commend the reader to the lecture on Psychology.

But however delightful all this may be to the student of Aquinas, it is not the vitally important subject of these lectures. Repeatedly, even in the earlier pages, we encounter expressions which reveal a bias, or inward dissatisfaction. Take as an instance: "The *Contra Gentiles* is undoubtedly the greatest achievement of S. Thomas Aquinas. It is obvious enough to the modern reader that the conclusion inspires the argument, and does not rest upon it; but the work is a superb monument to the faith that inspired it. It is impossible not to be impressed by its grandeur. It sweeps the eye of the spirit upwards from its base to its summit, and the lines on which it rises lift our souls towards the fulfilment of their promise, even if they find it not where Aquinas found it." We are conscious of some forcing of a view when we read of the "grading" of the Trinity; and the mind of the writer is disclosed, little by little, and indeed logically enough; for with the rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, there is no place for a God-man; while miracles, the Eucharist, the sacraments, properly so called, and a ministerial priesthood are summarily dismissed.

The "Church," as a divine institution, is not mentioned. Ecclesiastical tradition seems to be as fickle and contradictory as tradition in England since the Sixteenth Century. Dogma appears as the bane of religion. Human reason is the final test of right religion. And thus, after the sublime loftiness of Aquinas, we are landed on the arid flats of rationalism. Criticism becomes more frequent, and at times even fierce and indignant, as when we read of "the worst aberration of Christian ethics," and the "ghastly doctrine of eternal punishment." Such are regarded as the occasional but serious lapses of St. Thomas. Still, we are told that, in general, "He is an exceptionally systematic thinker and writer. As a rule, he is scrupulous to advance, step by step, and if he has to anticipate a proposition, not yet established, he is careful to note the fact, and to promise the proof required further on—a promise which

he may be relied upon to keep with faultless fidelity."

Mr. Wicksteed is indeed as far removed in spirit from any vulgar rationalism as he is from idealism, materialism, Platonism, or pragmatism. He is the best type of that "modern mind" to which he makes frequent reference. A peculiar quality of the book is its strict and conscious limitation. After all, it is St. Thomas that is brought up for judgment. No advocate pleads for him. His position is interpreted by the thought and requirements of the "modern mind." No scholastic since his day is mentioned who might explain, interpret, or adjust his principles—who might, in other words, "modernize" him, as he would have modernized himself. The writer seems to overlook the fact that, transcendent as was the genius of St. Thomas, he was addressing the men of his time in their particular mood of thought, not the "modern mind." He spoke to them of what they wanted to know, and cared little to explain what they already understood or accepted. Had it fallen within the scope of the writer to have made further acquaintance with applications which, since the days of St. Thomas, have been made wisely and abundantly, he would have found that his criticisms had been already considered, and we might have hoped that his requirements would have been satisfied.

How far he has strayed from the tone and spirit of the Holy Doctor is but too apparent. Aquinas was essentially engaged in making an *alliance* between the ecclesiastical tradition and the Aristotelian philosophy, and it was his firm conviction that both were true. Yet, "Strictly speaking, Aquinas has no authority . . . The Church of Rome has to find its own solution of the problem of the universe amid the changing elements and conditions that define it." And more than that: "To modern thought there is no such science as theology, in the sense that Aquinas taught it. Theology is not a religion. There is and there can be no body of ascertained, approved, and accurately-defined truth, or even any principles and data, concerning the First Cause,

and the supersensuous world, which imposes itself upon us by an authority that we may not question." On the other hand, "The difference between the atmosphere one breathes with Aquinas and that of modern apologetic theology is physically palpable." And we arrive at length at the pathetic admission that "Outside the Church of Rome we have only broken fragments of the great tradition of the mediæval church. For those of us, then, who *are* outside it, what will become of those spiritual treasures gathered by that tradition when it is left to rely upon its own elements of beauty, strength and truth?" "The answer to such a question," he remarks, "may be doubtful and disputable enough." Still, he attempts an answer. That answer is modernism. The book, as a whole, is, to ourselves personally, a painful disappointment. It will, however, be useful to the professor as setting forth a view—and a current view—with skill and erudition. H. P.

PAOLO SARPI was the first to write a history of the Council of Trent. His history was hostile. Pallavicino took up the defence of the Council. Neither writer was properly furnished with the requisite documents. Ranke wrote in 1834 that a new historian would have to begin from the commencement, and see all the documents, to be equal to his subject. "This is a labour," he added, "which will never be performed; those who have the power will not do it; and those who have the will have not the means." That was the situation in 1834. Since then Pope Leo XIII has thrown open the incomparable treasures of the Vatican to the researches of scholars. The Görres Society has stood sponsor to the work of recovery, competent editors have been found, and a stupendous undertaking is now far on the way to completion. The DUBLIN REVIEW of January, 1902, greeted the appearance of the first volume of a work on the Council of Trent as "one of the most important and monumental works of the century." Two succeeding volumes were noticed in January, 1913. The events of the last

few years have impeded the work of the editors and the printing of the volumes; still it is a fine record that six out of the twelve volumes projected have already been published, namely: *Diaria* (I, II, IV, V), *Acta* (VIII), *Epistulae* (X), the last two of which are now submitted to us for review.

Vol. X, *Epistularum pars prima* (Herder), under the editorship of Godofredus Buschbell, was printed in 1915-16. The object of the volume is to provide in a single collection a complete series of the correspondence appertaining to the Council. The greatest pains have been taken to secure absolute accuracy. This edition, therefore, supersedes the partial collections of Druffel (1887) and Charles Brande (1899). The letters in the present series extend from March 5th, 1545, to March 11th, 1547. The libraries of Florence, Naples, the Vatican, Trent, Innsbruck, etc., have been searched. The material gathered comprises letters of the legates to the Pope, and of the Pope to the legates (through his secretaries, Alexander Farnesius and Maffaeus). The president was J. Maria Cardinal del Monte (afterwards Julius III). The chief correspondent was Marcellus Cardinal Cervini (afterwards Marcellus II). The third legate was Cardinal Pole, of whom only a few letters are given. The letters deal with the Council, its convocation, the assembling of the bishops, the preparations for the conferences, the discussions, with all the political, theological, social and domestic questions arising out of it. Two factors are ubiquitous, the susceptibilities of the civil power and the intransigeance of the reformers. The volume contains 665 letters, some being of considerable length. We have all the chief actors of this dramatic period, expressing in private or semi-private letters their views, hopes and fears of the needed reformation of the Church, as well as the all but insuperable difficulty of holding the Council at all. The letters are mostly in Italian, and are as full of life and detail as the letters of a first-class newspaper correspondent of to-day. We meet with the grave and the commonplace, complaints and misunder-

standings, the tale of the poverty of the bishops, and of the debts contracted by those who were in charge of the financial arrangements of the Council. When one looks on the very human side of things, it seems little short of a miracle that so magnificent a result should have eventually been reached. Cardinal Cervini, who with all his prudence, sagacity and holiness, ever remains a man, tells us how "*il mio male è assai migliorato; la debilità dello stomaco e degli altri membri ancora resta.*" And he adds that Cardinal Pole is suffering from "*una profunda e continua doglia nel braccio sinistro, causato da catarro freddo, che l'impedisce il sonno.*" Cervini complains that it is no light matter to have to write every other day to apologize for his action. He begs to be removed from his charge "*perchè qui me si dimonstra aperta malavolentia; ed io senza l'aggiunta di questi altri fastidi havevo prima bisogno di attendere un poco a la mia sanità et riposarmi, come sapete et che tante volte ve n'havemo scritto.*" He then adds in his own writing: "*Essendo invecchiato in questi dicenovi mesi per dieci anni.*" He implores to be set free: "*trovandomi tanto stracco et sopra fatto dalle faccende et della qualità di questo aere, che non mi basta l'animo di reggermi molto più.*" But the Pope could not dispense with his services at Trent and desired him to remain for a little while longer, adding, in the words of the secretary: "*La esorta a portare in patientia questo resto di tempo che ci manca. . . . Et tanto più ne esorta, quanto spera, che approssimandosi il buon tempo, la si davrà trovare ragionevolmente ogni di meglio*, etc."

The *Tomus octavus*, or *Actuum Pars Quinta* (Herder) contains documents relative to the preparations for the final sitting of the Council (September, 1559, to January, 1562) and the discussions and decrees between January and September, 1562. Nothing more stirring the realms of controversy could be well imagined. We have before us all that belongs to the invitation of the reformers to attend the Council, the condemnation of unsound books, communion under one or two kinds, abuses attaching to the celebration of mass, together with orders and clerical

conduct. We are occupied with the vitals of the reformation, and are listening to the pleadings of cardinals, representatives of Catholic powers, illustrious bishops, St. Charles Borromeo, James Laynez, General of the Jesuits, Peter Soto, O.P., Peter Canisius and the great theologian Salmeron.

The reader will be struck by the freedom and extent of the discussion on the burning topics which engaged the attention of the speakers. The final statement, expressed in the calm and majestic Latin of the Decreta, affords no suggestion of the difficulties of the times, or of the complications of every kind by which the bishops were harrassed, of the domination of the civil powers, of the marked and irreconcilable differences of opinion among the Fathers of the Counçil, or of their almost fierce determination to effect a reform *in capite et membris*. Here all is laid before us in the words of the chief actors. We have before us the opinions of each and the reasons in support of them. Among the existing decrees we find the reserved question as to granting the cup to the laity. How many are aware that the Fathers, hopelessly disagreeing on any practical issue, agreed only to defer the subject altogether ? How many non-Catholics are aware that their case for communion under both kinds was fully, forcibly and eloquently set out again and again by ardent and convinced advocates ? How many theologians even have read the *votum* of Laynez which is here reproduced in full ? Naturally one looks for something concerning ourselves in England. But alas ! there is little enough. Bishop Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph was the only bishop present from the British Isles. More than once the Fathers desired that Elizabeth should be requested to release the bishops she kept in prison. Pius IV wrote twice to Mary Queen of Scots, asking her to send bishops to the Synod. Amongst the tragic misadventures which brought about our national apostacy, we must note the letter full of kindness addressed by him to Queen Elizabeth : but the letter was never delivered ! Both these volumes are uniform in style, printing and editing with

the previous volumes of the series. The undertaking is truly colossal, and has so far been splendidly achieved; and the volumes undoubtedly claim a place of honour in our libraries. H. P.

WE English are not a race of philosophers, and when individuals amongst us turn their attention to speculation, their courses are as independent as their individual peculiarities. At all events, if we are to judge of the output of ourselves and of our Scottish brethren by the names in *A History of English Philosophy*, by W. R. Sorley (Cambridge Univ. Press), it is clear that we scorn to be fettered by any authority, be it Plato, Aristotle, or any other celebrity. The author reminds us that Jeremy Bentham was the first to form a school in England, and tells us how Bacon, Hobbes, Locke and Hume, each in his turn, had failed. Jeremy Bentham succeeded: his "utilitarian group presents an appearance unknown before in English philosophy—a simple set of doctrines held in common, with various fields assigned for their application, and a band of zealous workers, labouring for the same end and united in reverence for their master." The book is a story and a criticism. The story consists of biographical elements, just enough to display a personality and define the position of the writer in question. The criticism is uniformly good, well conceived, and though expressed sometimes with a quiet irony or an apt quotation, is always without offence. This is as much as to say that the book will prove a delight to the philosopher: and that it has charmed the reviewer may be some gratification to the author after the amount of reading which the book has involved. The author's purpose is always to give prominence to the central ideas of a system, its originality or otherwise, its trend, its unconscious assumptions, or inconsistency on some point or other. And while to the end it remains impossible to divine Professor Sorley's predilection in philosophy, he has done something, and we think justly, to rehabilitate Lord Herbert of Cherbury and some of the Deists, whom he distinguishes

from the more aggressive free-thinkers. On the other hand, the reader will probably think less of Hume than he may have done hitherto, except perhaps as a stylist. He portrays with a completely detached mind the much criticized views of Adam Smith and Malthus. His usual calm yields place almost to enthusiasm when he writes of Thomas Reid and others that "The most powerful reply to Hume—indeed the only competent attempt to refute his philosophy as a whole—came from one of a group of scholars in Aberdeen."

The interest grows keener when he discourses of "Jeremy Bentham, famous as the leader of a school of thought and practice known sometimes as philosophical radicalism." After remarking that Bentham was not the discoverer of the hedonistic principle he adds: "The relentless consistency and thoroughness with which he applied it had never been anticipated; and this made him the founder of a new and powerful school." Interest grows still keener when the Victorian era opens with Sir William Hamilton and follows with J. S. Mill, Spencer, G. H. Lewes and H. Sidgwick. History, bibliography, criticism, comparison and contrast, leave nothing to be desired. But, finally, we ask ourselves what is the outcome of all this independent and conflicting speculation? Confessedly philosophy is concerned with the great things of existence; yet as to the supremely great things —being, knowledge, certitude, morality, origins, the eternal, the future—we are still in a maze of mutually destructive opinions. When we have escaped from the quagmire of pessimism, we are thrust into the darkness of doubt. It is the special merit of the writer to have made this clear, although this was possibly not his intention. And we can only endorse the opening statement of his Retrospect that "the preceding survey of English philosophy breaks off at a moment when the interest is at its height" —on the supposition that we have reached the end of the fourth act of a fearful tragedy, and may hope for happier things in the fifth.

Notwithstanding the decline of English philosophy in

the earlier decades of the Nineteenth Century, he is of opinion that "In the three centuries under review, perhaps no other country can show more names of the first rank in philosophy and of greater permanent influence upon the course of human thought." We may in a sense agree with the words quoted from J. T. Merz that the "individual character of the English philosophy entitles it to rank as one of the most important phases in the history of modern thought." There has been much labour, indeed, with little real gain. The comparative Chronological Table will be found useful, and the Bibliography, opening with the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, will be still more precious in the eyes of many. An exhaustive Index of Names completes a work to whose merits we are conscious of having failed to do full justice. But we may express a regret that there has been little or no Catholic philosophy in this country between the Reformation and the close of the Nineteenth Century. For all that we might have expected some mention of St. George Mivart, *Truth*; Thomas Harper, *The Metaphysics of the School*; Wilfrid Ward, *The Clothes of Religion*; certain volumes of the *Stonyhurst Series of Philosophical Manuals.* But we regret our unfortunate condition rather than the omission we have noted; and the volume should prove an object lesson for our Colleges and University Houses. H. P.

MR. W. J. FERRAR is to be congratulated on being the first to render into English the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius (S.P.C.K.), a work of no little importance in the literature of apologetics. In his "Introduction" he points out that, as contrasted with the *Praeparatio*, the *Demonstratio* is "a manual of instruction for the faithful, rather than a challenge to the unbelieving," although some parts of it do seem designed to influence those outside the fold, and in special to counteract the arguments of Porphyry, the champion of a rival creed. Of the original twenty books of the *Demonstratio* only ten remain, and their main theme is the Divinity of Christ and His Incarnate Life regarded as a fulfilment of

prophecy. The date of the work, as a whole, is probably, as Mr. Ferrar shows, about A.D. 314-18, and in addition to its value as apologetic it is interesting for its Christology and for the references it contains to the Eucharist, to both which matters of doctrine Mr. Ferrar devotes sections of his Introduction in which the views of Eusebius are conveniently summed up. The chief interest of the work centres in the third book, in which, to quote Mr. Ferrar, "we feel the touch of something fresh, free, original, something that springs from keen personal interest." It consists, in the main, of a vigorous reply to attacks upon Christ as a deceiver and wizard, and a defence of the honesty and veracity of His disciples by means of an argument of the *reductio ad absurdum* type, conducted with great dialectical skill. Old Cambridge men, with recollections still vivid of bygone "Little-Go's," will recognize, not without a grin of unholy glee, that the execrable Archdeacon, whose "ghost" haunted many a sleepless night, was, after all, no "mighty-mouthed inventor" of harmonies and "evidences," but merely a most barefaced plagiarist. For here, in these pages of Eusebius's *Proof*, are all the well-known catchwords of that plaguy Paley—his proofs and prophecies, his argument from "labours, dangers and sufferings," and the rest of the trapping which flapped about the outlines of that archidiaconal spectre now at last banished to its own place, on the dismal shores of Acheron—no longer Cam—"unwept, unhonoured and unsung."

Mr. Ferrar has carried out his task carefully and well. His translation is clear and readable, and there are but few places in the notes which call for criticism: The name "Diodatus" (p. 102 n. and Vol. II, pp. 31, 166) is rather mystifying; it is waste of time to give two notes (pp. 120 and 155) on Porphyry, when one would suffice; there is clearly something wrong with the punctuation in the rendering of the quotation from Porphyry on p. 154. The corruption in the text noted in Vol. II, p. 160, might be remedied—one is tempted to suggest—by the insertion of τά before (or after) γε. R. G. B.

Some Recent Books

THE *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* is a work of marvellous erudition and orderly arrangement, in which the story of Persian literature from 1265 to 1502 is told with the clearness and critical acumen which characterize all Professor Browne's admirable work (Cambridge University Press).

First, we have a summary of the history, giving an account of the kings and the chief events of their reigns, then follows the story of the authors' lives and their works, told in their own words, and in their own tongue, with admirable translations, so that we have a well-chosen anthology of the whole period. Many of the extracts are from rare and unpublished MSS. not yet accessible to the ordinary student. The illustrations are beautifully reproduced and carefully selected for their artistic merit and literary interest. Throughout the work the conciseness and clearness of the learned author mark this as a classic book of reference. There is a very full index of thirty-nine pages, as well as marginal analysis, so that every help is given for easy reference to the exact information required. The Cambridge University Press has brought this work out in beautiful type and style.

It would be difficult to find a time in the world's history when tyranny and abominable cruelty ran riot with such fury as in this period. The Tartar sovereigns gloried in frightfulness. Timúr's savagery gloated over the hundreds of thousands he ruthlessly slew. He left those terrible towers of human heads as the monuments to his greatness! How wonderful that the Persians were able, in times like these, to preserve a taste for the arts and sciences—even to found and endow schools of learning.

For centuries, reaching right back to the dawn of history, the wild tribes of the north have been the scourge of the civilization of the south all over the world. Like beasts of prey, they swooped down on the peaceful and industrious dwellers in the south. They knew no law that would restrain them from murder and rapine.

Pirates of the land, they lived by wholesale plunder; to them nothing was sacred, for they were mastered by the lust of slaughter as the easiest means of gratifying the cravings of their debased animal nature.

We can well understand how this constant struggle of the barbarian against civilization gave rise to the belief that there are times in the world's history when God is powerless, and the Spirit of Evil has it all his own way. This was the explanation offered by Greek and Roman myth in the story of the struggle between Zeus and the Titans; by the ancient and modern fire-worshippers of the east in the constant war of Ahriman (the devil) and Hormuzd (God) who were believed, each in his own turn, to be omnipotent and irresistible. Even when the bright dawn of the Resurrection of Our Lord shone out upon the world with its clear revelation that He had taken death and sin captive, the old error seized hold on vast numbers. The Church of God suffered severe losses through the pernicious teaching of the Manichæans, and the many wicked sects that sprang up under their baneful influence.

The clear teaching of scripture and theology assures us that God gives sufficient means of grace to every soul for salvation, and that He wishes all to be saved. In spite of the long and difficult controversies that have arisen on this question, the thesis stands firm. On this fact rests the important dogma that besides those who are in visible communion with the Holy See, there is a vast multitude who belong to the soul of the Church. Their ignorance is invincible, and they are not responsible for what they cannot help. They have some of the truth, but not the whole truth. For them, the Church unceasingly prays with full confidence that they are members of the one true fold in the sight of God. So it was that the early Fathers of the Church discovered in Plato's philosophy a divine preparation for the regenerating teaching of Christianity. In this they followed the same principle as St. Paul. This dogma leads us to wonder what may be the place of the Sufis

in the world's history. Are they building up an ideal, as Plato, Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus did, which, in God's own time, is to be a powerful help in bringing these ancient nations of the east into the fold of the Church ?

Amidst so much corruption, there are many authors who, in elegant and musical language, breathe forth the noblest aspirations of the soul, and remind us how forcibly "the Spirit breatheth where He will." The lines of Maghribi, page 339, might have been written of Our Lord's life on earth, so devoutly do they tell how God became poor to enrich us, His creatures.

The brutality of the Tartar stands out in terrible contrast to the Persian ideals that struggled so hard to live. True, the descendants of Timúr were lovers of books. Schools of caligraphy and miniature painting flourished under their fostering but proudly selfish patronage. Their whole ambition was a brilliant court to outshine their rivals. Manuscripts reached the highest artistic perfection, written on beautiful paper, embellished with splendid illuminations in gold, silver, and charming colours, miniatures and floral designs of wonderful grace, bound in an artistic style which still stands unrivalled. Arts, crafts, and sciences had their periods of encouragement, but the Tartar's nature could not build up anything to last. His spasmodic attempts to build were as surely followed by the lust for destruction, as his drunken orgies were by the outbursts of ungovernable fury.

Foremost among these patrons of art was Baysungur, grandson of Timúr. He assembled talented men from all parts. The famous preface to Firdawsi's Shah Namah was written at his command, and bears his name. He kept forty artists at work producing some of the finest MSS. the world has seen. So, too, the Moghul emperors at Delhi were noble patrons of art and letters, as witness the magnificent MSS. produced under their direction, and the beautiful Taj Mahal which remain to-day to tell of the splendour that has passed.

History of Persian Literature

We now choose from the rich store of Professor Browne's volume a few passages showing the varied interest of these records of the past.

In the history of Gaykhatu's brief reign of four years, 1291-5, there is an account of his ventures in trying to fill his empty treasury by introducing paper money, and calling in the gold and silver. His wanton extravagance had brought the king into great straits. His minister persuaded him to introduce the chao, paper money, like that which had been in use in the Chinese Empire. Gold and silver were called in, and stringent laws were made against those who altered or defaced the paper currency. Proclamations were issued setting out the many advantages of paper money, and the prosperity that its introduction would surely bring to the people. Worn-out notes were to be replaced by new ones at ten per cent. less than their face value. Such mad finance fired the indignation of the people. In three days the bazaars of Tabriz closed. No one would accept the chao, and business came to a standstill. All were furious at the gross swindle thrust upon them.

Ghazan, 1295-1304, stands out as one of the great kings of the period. Compared with the other Tartar monarchs he was merciful and kind to the poor. A generous patron of art and letters, he was himself well skilled in the knowledge of his time, proficient in languages, history, and science. It is recorded that he knew that the Scotch paid tribute to England, and that there were no snakes in Ireland. He set himself earnestly to work in raising the morality of his subjects, and richly endowed a library, hospital, observatory, and school of philosophy.

The account of the incomparable Hafiz is most interesting. There is a summary of the bibliography, MSS. and translations. Professor Browne compares, at some length, the translations of the same ode by Bicknell, Walter Leaf and Miss Bell. This comparison well illustrates the great difficulties that face translators of

Persian literature. A free paraphrase by skilful hands gives the best idea of the poet.

The Sortes Virgilianae have their counterpart in the auguries from Hafiz. Elaborate tables were prepared for the guidance of those seeking guidance. Many instances are gathered of the striking aptness of these auguries and their effect on the conduct of those who used this mode of divination.

There are ten pages giving extracts from Kamal of Khujand from a MS. in Professor Browne's own collection, very valuable to the student, for the works of this poet do not seem to have been published, and the MSS. are very rare.

It is usually thought that florid bombast is characteristic of Persian literature. This, Professor Browne assures us, is not true of genuine Persian, but came in from Tartar, Turkish and Indian patronage. Simplicity and sobriety mark the best products of Persian genius.

Among authors that write in Turkish we have the account of the Babur Namah, a work of unique interest, in which the Emperor gives his impressions and recollections with the utmost frankness, even such details as the date when he first shaved.

How dark and troubled were these terrible centuries of Persian History! How precarious the lives of the noble authors and craftsmen, who sought to hand on her ancient culture, enriched with the fruits of their own industry! J. F. P.

MISS SOMERVILLE'S art grows, though it might seem impossible. This first novel clear of the great partnership convinces one of the folly of attributing to one partner the greater achievement, as was sometimes done while the partnership was yet in being. What *Irish Memories* suggested is here ratified. To each of the partners belong the sense of humour, the close and careful study of their types, the *plein air*. To Martin Ross must now be attributed the somewhat gloomy power, the tragedy. She must have had a large share in *The Real*

An Enthusiast

Charlotte, and she was evident in *Mount Music*. The dark shades were hers, the full sunshine her collaborator's. *An Enthusiast* (Longmans) is a sad story, and yet we rise from the reading unshadowed. It is the most lovable of the Somerville and Ross books, more lovable, and far more fully realized, than *Dan Russell the Fox* and *The Silver Fox*, to which it is in the succession. The laughter is not boisterous as it sometimes was in the "R.M." stories; it is the gay and gentle undercurrent to the sad story, sad, but never tragic, because of its compunction and sweetness.

Nowadays, when one is nauseated with the sex novel, it is a happiness to be plunged back into romantic love, in poor Dan Palliser's honest, clean, unhappy love for Car Ducarrig. Anything so clean could be unfortunate and unhappy, but it stands too much in the light to be gloomy or tragic. There seems to me a remarkable development of seriousness and sympathy in the new book. The Somerville and Ross books might have had before for their Celtic country-people a certain alien air. They were "the Quality" books, and, as became them, they never saw really eye to eye with the people. When they were most tender it was always the Quality, and one felt that there was a whole undiscovered country to which they had no entrance. Something has happened. The great-granddaughter of the Right Hon. Charles Kendal Bushe, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that wise, eloquent and patriotic man, has undergone some subtle process of conversion. The rebel in her has awakened; she understands; her eyes have looked on the undiscovered country. The book is of to-day and yesterday. It might well be dark, but it is light. Dan Palliser lives and is beloved. There is not a character in the book which does not live. When you have closed it and laid it down the characters remain with you; you will be able, years hence, to recall Dan Palliser and Car Ducarrig and her precious spouse, and Mrs. Palliser, and Katie de Vere, and Eileen Caulfield, who might quite easily have been colourless, as though they lived and you had known them—to say

nothing of Baby Bullet, that triumph of portraiture, and Jimmy Ryan and Tom McLoughlin, and all the rest of the county and town-folk. As for the horses and dogs—you know Lizzie and Peggy like your own dogs, and Tara—but then the partnership could always get inside a horse or a dog. The sympathetic drawing of Father Hugh is part of the big advance Miss Somerville has made. The *plein air* is beautiful as always, and the Irish hunting-field and the Irish race-course will never be dead so long as the work of the partnership survives. There are beautiful things one wants to quote, as this of the moonlight:

"The boat lay still in the radiance that was over all, that strange radiance that instead of illuminating and revealing what it shines on as does the sun, transmutes into the mystery of its own silver the things it loves, and blots all else into impenetrable blackness." Has anyone discovered that of the moon before? Miss Somerville is indeed richly equipped. She is novelist, poet, painter and humorist all in one. K. T.

THE making of an anthology must always be a revelation of the mind of the maker. There are certain anthologies which reveal so exquisite a critical faculty as to give their makers a place in literature, separate and distinct. Such an anthology was Francis Turner Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, such W. E. Henley's *Lyra Horica*; such, in a somewhat lesser degree, Professor Quiller-Couch's *Golden Pomp*, and his *Oxford Book*. In recent times there has been *Poems of To-day*, which could hardly be bettered within its scope, and a quite new book, *An Anthology of Modern English Verse*, which is as good as the best of them. One would like very much to place with these, or near these, *Irish Poets of To-day*, an anthology compiled by L. D'O. Walters (Fisher Unwin); but unfortunately there is little inspiration in the choice. In any haphazard selection from Anglo-Irish poetry of to-day there must be enough of beauty and inspiration to make the volume worth having—but the latest antho-

logy has been too inclusive, on the one hand, while there are strange exclusions on the other: Alice Milligan, for example, and Emily Lawless, Ethna Carbury, and John Todhunter, to name but a few. The anthologist has got together with her beautiful things not a little that is commonplace, and, when she is handling the work of real poets her critical judgment seems to be subordinated to something else. For instance, Eva Gore-Booth's poem to Dora Sigerson, deeply interesting as it is from its circumstances, is very far indeed from representing Eva Gore-Booth at her best. The choice of " A. E.'s " poems is perhaps the best in the book, although one might shut one's eyes and pick from " A. E." being sure of finding a jewel. One is glad, too, to find the anthologist doing anything so unhackneyed as representing Yeats by *The Wild Swans at Coole*, that beautiful poem in which " the cold companionable water " is figuratively caught into words. I do not know of any poem which has more of vision and atmosphere. There is nothing final in such an anthology as this, and the meaning and essence of a good anthology is that it should be final within its scope, the seal of acceptance set on all its contents. But here a good many people are included who will have no place in the anthologies to come, even in the Irish anthologies, which must needs be, since the Anglo-Irish poetry is a thing of comparatively recent growth, so much more comprehensive than the English anthologies. Perhaps, indeed, the period which D'O. Walters' anthology deals with has been closed. Its fields have been picked of their finest blossoms, not once, but many times since W. B. Yeats published his *Book of Irish Verse* nearly thirty years ago. The next Irish anthologist must go to the many patriotic publications in which the poetry that is the very heart of the young has been revealing itself since 1916.

K. T.

MISS ELIZABETH BOYLE O'REILLY has produced in *How France Built Her Cathedrals* a book of beauty and worth (Harpers). She has been a

passionate pilgrim to the great French cathedrals, like many another, but unlike many another she has brought to her pilgrimage a discerning eye and an understanding heart. She has also a capacity for going to the roots of things, and she does not concern herself only with the architecture of the cathedrals and how they came to be built; she asks also why they came to be built, and sufficiently answers her own question. This is not a book only for specialists. It can be read with great advantage by the man sitting in his armchair at home to whom Chartres and Soissons, Arras and Rheims are but names. The book will probably send him to see for himself those great dreams in stone. For the one who is meditating such a pilgrimage, it will prepare the way; while for those who know and venerate the great Christian art of the cathedrals it will be a happiness to revisit them in this industrious and enthusiastic lady's company. She has shown the true spirit of the student in tracing the beginnings of Gothic art and its developments, and she has accumulated a great mass of facts. Nevertheless she is far from being merely dry-as-dust It is no mere catalogue of the builder's art. In Cluny she places St. Bernard, and we see a good deal of him in his human and appealing aspect, as in Tours St. Martin, in Rheims Joan of Arc, and so on. She has produced a book which is learned without being pedantic, which, while satisfying and helping the student, will please the reader of literary and artistic books. One realizes how France, who now marshals her armies, in the days when she wore the proud title of Eldest Daughter of the Church set her cathedrals and churches from end to end of the land, being always a builder. A series of very graceful and precise drawings by Mr. A. Paul de Lisle illuminate a scholarly and workmanlike book, tightly packed with information, yet with a certain vision and poetry. K. T.

WE were rather puzzled by the title of Mr. Evan Morgan's *Trial by Ordeal* (John Lane), until we thought that perhaps it was Pamela Coombe who was

being tried, and not Mr. Charles Tancred, about whose many emotions and few activities the book is written. But then, temperament itself, not to insist on illness (and Mr. Tancred was genuinely ill), can be an ordeal. And alas, it was too strong for him, when to his own consistent self-mismanagement Miss Blond added the interference of her villainous mean passions. On the whole, let us assume that the ordeal is that by which a section of society tries itself, finds itself wanting, and which it uses on the whole as its instrument of self-extinction. Tancred is pushed, or pushes himself, back into his rôle of invalid-recluse; Pamela sees herself in terms of a "white shadow" upon his cornfields; Harriet, Tancred's mistress first and last, takes morphia; and everyone else, we expect, if we dare not hope, conspires to give it to Miss Blond. The person by far most likely to survive is a quaint and most lovably wise old don, the incarnation of a long-lost Oxford. We struggle, again, to hope that the "clever" denizens of Balliol and Boar's Hill are not numerous enough to replace him; but if they are not, then who will? Mr. Morgan does not answer that, but confines himself to his grim job of castigating, by depicting it, the brood that is spoilt and spoils. Through the book you look in vain for a principle of life, for any clear idea, and consequently for any creative action, let alone any unselfishness, except, always, on the part of the beloved Dr. Bodderby.

We do not mean by this that the book was not worth writing: far from it; no one could expect Mr. Morgan to be other than subtle, vivid, a prose-poet, and up to date—by which we mean that he sees that the world is dying for lack of creed and code, and that the section he chooses to portray not only has let both of these essentials escape it, but is too weak-fingered to retain its grasp on them even when, for a moment, it has clutched at them. We should like him to test his experience, and display to us its width and depth, for in this novel he looks only at a narrow poppy-fertile field, by writing another in which the world begins once more to provide spiritual

food. And to re-read himself a little more carefully. " Eccentric like all men of letters are supposed to be " is either very careless, or the book's cruellest gibe at the usually most precious-tongued Tancred. And the printer has made a bewildering mess of the French.

C. C. M.

A RELIEF, after these, to turn to a happy book; *Renewal*, by M. E. Francis (G. Allen and Unwin). I use the word advisedly, for despite the austere theme, and pages of true anguish, happiness begins and underlies the story and renews itself, better than before, at its end. I do not allude only to that ripple of humour which plays over all that Mrs. Blundell writes, and which refreshes so far more than does the flash and noise of farce; the humour is here, assuredly, and all the delightful qualities of her work, which, in the DUBLIN REVIEW, it would be unnecessary and almost impertinent to rehearse. " M. E. Francis " has gone back to Dorset, and no more need be said. But I mean a happiness which is deeper and more healing than any pleasure merely, however innocent. Pleasure cannot co-exist with pain: this happiness accomplishes that feat, and indeed, would have not known itself fully without the suffering.

From the outset the keen air of the Lancashire fells strikes across the soft winds of the rose-clad south where Margaret Ford came to live thirty years ago. You guess what she will stand for, when you see, first, her glorious garden, and then her room where the crucifix hangs lonely on white walls. And at once you know that no problem will be shirked. This brave and tender-hearted mother cannot understand the ideals of her son, home from the horrors of war, and determined to have learnt its lesson and to preserve as far as may be its comradeship, its co-operation, and to renew the face of the earth—literally the earth, that it is his lot to farm. But even he requires a shock to show him that while he has carried the pipes low enough " to water the cattle," it had not occurred to him to take them as low as the cottagers. Yet

Mrs. Ford can point out that this "labour saving" generation is no healthier nor more prolific than that which carried water from the well, and soon enough the new taps are green with rust and the sinks are choked. The O mops don't get into the corners. . . . Who shall effect the renewal of *minds and hearts*? Hester Winwood, the lady-landgirl from nowhere? She certainly tries to, and befriends Jessie, the girl whom the grave housewives and elders of the district judge to be "bad in her nature." And were they wrong? The authoress seems to want to prove their case against Hester and herself, and all the other cases. Thus, was Jack Digwell wrong, who would be her faithful lover, but marry her, never? So true is it that the average Englishman "has a conscience, but it has nothing to do with the ten commandments." It is wonderful how intimately the authoress gets inside the minds of these men and women, without ever making us feel she is didactic, or exhibiting types merely.

But the real problem is in Hester's soul. Shall this tortured and tragic girl, eager only to work the past into oblivion, reveal herself to Ford, when at last he loves her and she him? Jack and Jessie teach her not to go to him with a lie in her soul; and Margaret, in the hour of revelation, is but Christ-like enough to forgive the Magdalen, but not to receive her into her home. It looks as if all the hearts in this story were to be broken; but Jessie expiates, in her own way, and saves thereby the life of the girl, whom in her uncontrolledness, she yet adored. Margaret and Robert learn how to enrich and apply the superb principles of life which are already theirs; and in all, save, perhaps, poor Jack, life springs anew. An obtuse reviewer of a recent novel of M. Bourget's confused, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, forgiveness with condonation, and marvelled to see a husband, after the chaos of the war, receive back his erring wife because . . . well, she had been to confession. Possibly Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's *Not Known Here*, having explained the only meaning of the war, coupled with Mrs. Blundell's *Renewal*,

which explains the only principles of reconstruction, may enlighten him and many another. A grave, happy, and healing book. C. C. M.

ADAM AND CAROLINE (Collins), by Conal O'Riordan, marks an astonishing advance on *Adam of Dublin*. The book would have been worth writing if only for the sake of Mr. Macarthy. Mr. Macarthy is a definite creation, and has the right to exist for ever. He is a thousand times more noteworthy than Adam, who is confused beyond what the rapid alternations of boyhood's crises justify. The reason is, that the author is sincere, when talking through Mr. Macarthy, but often far from single-minded when preaching through Adam. Yet into what the impressionable Adam would have grown up, under stress of priest holy, lovable, and ignorant, and priest presumably not ignorant, but hateful; of anti-clerical German philosophist; of intellectualist and decadent drawing-rooms; of his hideous background; and of Mr. Macarthy, not we, assuredly, would prophesy. It is not his confusion of mind that we resent . . . Heaven help him! all things considered, he was remarkably homogeneous. But we experience always the same shock when Mr. O'Riordan begins to preach through him; Adam at once becomes intolerable, and the book, at once, dull. Alas, towards the end, where a savage indignation does indeed flare through the sordid pigments chosen by the author—legitimately chosen—the marionette Adam all but stiffens even Mr. Macarthy into unreality. The indignation is genuine enough to prevent that, but only just. At one other point Mr. Macarthy succumbs to the author's forceful complex: when he can see in a nun's life only the supreme example of selfishness. But perhaps, after all, an episode in Mr. Macarthy's own life, to be revealed in the promised volume, *Adam and Barbara*, may explain this intellectual and emotional side-slip. This makes us say, cannot Mr. O'Riordan observe and portray an Irish lay-sister, who shall make a truer counterpart to Father Innocent than even Father Steele?

Or a priest who is lovable, yet not a fool ; and intelligent, yet not unorthodox ? Yes, not even half unorthodox ? They exist. And is he really incapable of drawing a girl who is lovable ? They too exist. Why are all the girls in these two books smeared from head to foot with vulgarity ? Why *all* ? Somewhere in the book the author makes some one—not only say that he who is superior intellectually is so morally—thin and academic theme—but, sing the praise of cleverness. Pitiable cheat of a caricature of Wisdom ! Cleverness ! a god for undergraduates ! a Muse for boarding-houses ! We struggle against the fear that the author believes himself. Why " struggle " ? Because the worst crime of cynicism is that it tempts the least cynical into the cynic's mood, namely, that of contempt. Contempt, doubtless, of the cynic ; yet none the less, contempt. A vigorous jet of love springs perseveringly through the clogging weeds and mire of this sad story : would that the author could strengthen it yet more ; then we shall have the impression that he is not a chilled and ineffectual onlooker, alien, if not hostile, to the resurrection that we surmise in Ireland. But if he and other new Irish authors represent, and are not in defiance of, the reality, *Adam and Barbara* has no chance of being a happy book ; and if not happy, not God-like ; and if not God-like, dying. We implore nothing " clever," nothing contemptuous, nothing hateful.

C. C. M.

PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, by Terence MacSwiney (The Talbot Press) is the enunciation of a doctrine which is generally felt in Ireland to have saved the national soul, and may yet save that of England and of Western civilization. It is a protest against the doctrine of imperialists, and against the *laissez-faire* attitude towards it of the mass of Europeans. Oswald Spengler, a powerful German philosophic mind, in his recent book, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, regards that attitude, that doctrine, and its consummation as the inexorable final state of Europe as we know it, and that during the

next few centuries. All cultures, he says, are organisms; all have been flattened into civilization in some international way, and ours is going to be no exception. MacSwiney replies: It may be so, but the national form is my star, and I am going to follow it. I will take my place with St. Joan of Arc and Leonidas, and I believe I will be a nobler inspiration for the times to come than Napoleon, Hindenburg or Lloyd George. Demosthenes preached my doctrine, and though he failed, his words are a burning and a shining light, more so than the conquests of Alexander.

A grain of religion is better than a ton of economics or philosophy; and for those who believe in a free Ireland and a free England MacSwiney is better than Mill or Adam Smith. Free Souls are better than Free Trade or Free Thought. And MacSwiney is fundamentally concerned with the soul. As he is a Catholic, the book takes naturally a form which is almost that of a Catholic ascetic treatise. Principles are stated with religious fervour, but the details of their application and defence, whether in daily life or the crises of history, are never forgotten.

A methodical treatise on Liberty, viewed in this manner, is almost new in English prose. In Ireland, when the Irish Party were in the ascendant, talk about freedom was generally of the kind known as "sunburstry." MacSwiney has to forge many new moulds of expressions; sometimes they are unequal to his pioneer thought, but his pioneer fervour nearly always fuses them to light and flame. Catholic theologians of recent times have largely enlisted in the ranks of imperialism, and he has to appeal over their heads to their scholastic origins. His views on militarism square neither with Jingoism nor conscientious objection. His long fast would have won him a halo in the early Irish Church. It caused spiritual exaltation in his own land and throughout the world, except among those who had an *odium theologicum* against him. Even the *Morning Post* and the Belfast Press took off their hats to him. His funeral was a grace vouchsafed

to the City of London. His book may be the same for imperialists of goodwill.

> And not the Roman who endured the flame,
> Not Scaevola outshines MacSwiney's fame.

P. B.

THE Irish Text Society have brought out the second part of the *Contention of the Bards*, already noticed in the DUBLIN. Father McKenna has left the reading public as well as the specialist under no doubt as to that famous Contention. Whether it was a literary rivalry or a political strife between the North and South of Ireland, it left a landmark in Irish writing. For that we can only be grateful to the division of sentiment which raged poetically between Ulster and the rest of Ireland at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. But the poets often expressed sense as well as sentiment, and some of the quatrains would bear reproduction to-day. For instance, how sound the lines run (bearing in mind that the division was with an Ulster as Irish and Gaelic as the South): "That every man should learn his own rights or know his ancestors' good deeds is no reason why the two races owning Ireland should attack each other."

And again: "Sharp spears are not the arms to settle history." Tradition and right in a cause are better stated in classical and enduring metre than by bloodshed and warfare. The reader suspects that the Bards fulfilled the function of the modern editorial when he finds one replying to another, "I will not shrink from stating the truth to refute your loquacity and to set right the successive errors you din into people's ears"! But the appeal is not to the politicians, but to the saints. There is something refreshing in "All the big talk in the world cannot belie the saints." A little bitterly the Southern poet recalls "From you in the North come the rough words that set folk against each other." But the Southern poet McDiarmada can say a good deal in a poem of four lines:

We could carry off in spite of them
By leave of the King and His power,
Their heads as well as their tribute
From Mogh's Half so proud.

North Ireland was Mogh's Half and the South Conn's Half in poetic parlance. The poetic names for Ireland were innumerable. We cull two which are new to us: "Land of the Three Fair Ones" and "Bright Fort of the Breagha." Somehow we prefer these to "Land of Cakes" for a country's name. In spite of the difficult and restricted form of metre, real poetic thought often flashes through. We have seldom met anything so daring as the divine analogy, which the Bard uses to claim the Norman families of Burke, Butler and Barry for Ireland, thanks to their female Gaelic descent. "God share Heaven's Palace with me," he quietly remarks, "because our bond of kinship is the kinship of Thy pure Mother!" In other words, "As I hope for Heaven, an Irish mother makes the Butlers and Barrys kin with us as the Blessed Virgin by the Incarnation makes us kin with God."

S. L.

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